



Explanations of the upper compartment of this Elegant Copper Plate are annexed to the respective Portraits — The lower Division contains an excellent Likeness of MR JOHN FOX, supported by Religion & Truth, the Former of whom breathing out Idolatry & Superstition, is emblematically offering the acceptable sacrifice of a Contrite Heart, while the Latter is trampling on Hypocrisy, dispelling the clouds of Priestcraft & bringing to light the abominable Persecutions, Tyrannies & Cruelties of the Romish Church.



T H E  
N E W A N D C O M P L E T E  
B O O K o f M A R T Y R S,  
O R, A N  
U n i v e r s a l H i s t o r y o f M a r t y r d o m:

B E I N G  
F O X ' s B O O K O F M A R T Y R S,

Revised and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

C O N T A I N I N G

Not only a New, Copious, Complete, Universal and Authentic Account of the Lives, Actions, Characters, Trials, Religious Principles, Sufferings, Tortures, and Triumphant Deaths, of the

E N G L I S H P R O T E S T A N T M A R T Y R S,

In the REIGN of QUEEN MARY the FIRST,

But also a Genuine, Full, and Circumstantial History of all the many dreadful and cruel PERSECUTIONS against the CHURCH of CHRIST, in all Parts of the World, by Papists, Pagans, Jews, Turks, and Others,

From the very EARLIEST AGES of the CHURCH, to the PRESENT PERIOD.

Comprehending the Life, Meritorious Sufferings, and Martyrdom of our Blessed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, with the Martyrdoms of the Apostles, Evangelists, Disciples, and other Primitive Martyrs.—And including the TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS, under the ROMAN EMPERORS, and many other Particulars under the following General Heads:

An Ecclesiastical History of the Persecutions in Persia, under Sapoors: and the Persecutions under the Arian Vandals.—The horrid Persecutions under the Papacy; particularly the Martyrdoms of the Waldenses and Albigenes in France.—The Persecutions in Germany and Poland.—The Cruelties exercised in Bohemia and Lusatia.—The Martyrdoms in Italy.—The shocking Barbarities practised by the Inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, Goa, &c. and the Popish Persecutions of the Protestants during the Massacre of Paris.—A full Account of all the English Martyrdoms, particularly those in the Times of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary I. wherein are amply displayed all the Butcheries, Tortures, and Cruelties exercised by the Roman Catholics against the Protestants, in the Reign of that tyrannical King and bloody Queen.—The Persecutions of the Quakers, &c.—Persecutions in the West of England by

JUDGES JEFFREYS.—Persecutions in Holland, Flanders, Scotland, &c.—The bloody Irish Massacre.—The great Spanish Invasion.—The dreadful Fire of London.—The shocking Gunpowder Plot.—The horrid Conspiracies in 1678.—The barbarous Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and the Designs of Perkins, Friend, and Fenwick, for the Re-establishment of Popery, and the Extirpation of Protestantism.—The Martyrdoms of the Missionaries in China.—The Persecutions in the East-Indies.—The Barbarities exercised in America.—The Cruelties practised on the Christians of Abyssinia and Georgia.—The late Persecutions in France against the Calas Family.—Also the final Establishment of the Reformed Religion in the various Protestant Countries.—With a great Number of other Cruelties exercised against the Christian Martyrs, not related in any other Work of the Kind.

Together with the MARTYRDOMS of

The FAITHFUL and VIRTUOUS in the first Ages of the World; the Persecutions of the Maccabees by the Greeks; of the Hebrews by the Egyptians; and of the Children of Israel by the Philistines, and other barbarous Nations.

Throughout this Work will be interspersed Accounts of several singular Judgments against Persecutors, a great Variety of Original ANECDOTES, the Letters which passed between the Martyrs, Letters from Bishop BONNER, and other Papists, to the Magistrates, &c. concerning the Methods of Indictment and Treatment, Translations of Popish Bulls, and other Deeds of Destruction, levelled against the Protestants, in England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. &c. suitable Notes and practical Reflections adapted to the various Subjects, and many curious LIVES and MEMOIRS; to which will be added, an Account of the Life and Death of the original Author, the Rev. Mr. JOHN FOX.

THE WHOLE FORMING AT ONCE

A General Christian Martyrology, and Complete History of Persecutions.

A Work Calculated to promote the Protestant Religion, and expel Romish Superstition, and, by giving a pious and Christian Turn to the Mind, be of general Use and Advantage to Mankind.

THE WHOLE ORIGINALLY COMPOSED

By the Rev. Mr. JOHN FOX, M. A. formerly of Magdalen College, Oxford,  
And PREBENDARY in the CHURCH of SALISBURY; And

NOW Revised, Corrected and Improved, with many necessary additional Articles relating to the Acts and Monuments of the Church, not to be found in any other Publication of this Sort, and written in a clear intelligible Style, free from that Obscurity of Language, and Tedioufness of Diction, as well as that imperfect Brevity and Conciseness, which have been so much complained of in former Works of this kind.

By PAUL WRIGHT, D. D. F. S. A.

Vicar of Oakley and Rector of Snorham in Essex, late of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge; and Author of the Complete BRITISH FAMILY BIBLE, and of the New and Complete LIFE of Our Blessed LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, elegantly printed in Folio: both of which Works (with the inimitable Sets of fine Copper-Plates) have met with universal Approbation, as the best and most perfectly complete Works of the Kind, for the Use of all Christian Families.

*Embellished with a great Variety of COPPER-PLATES, representing the various Modes of cruelly torturing the Christian Martyrs for their Constancy.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for ALEX. HOGG & Co. at the KING'S-ARMS, No. 16, PATERNOSTER-ROW.  
By M. ALLEN, Paternoster-Row.



# P R E F A C E.

**W**E can with Truth affirm, that the *Acts and Monuments of the Glorious PROTESTANT MARTYRS* is a Work worthy of a Place in the Hearts as well as Libraries of All serious CHRISTIANS. FOX's COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS has been long Recommended by Protestant Divines of every Denomination; and among the public Testimonies which have appeared from Time to Time, in favour of this valuable Work, are the names of a *Toplady*, a *Whitfield*, a *Wisley*, a *Madan*, a *Hill*, a *Ryland*, and many other Ministers of the Gospel, extracts from whose Letters are printed on the other side.

The Lives and Sufferings of the Holy Martyrs may be considered, by every candid Person, as a strong *presumptive Evidence* for the Truth of the Christian Religion; for it is impossible that so many thousands, of both sexes, of all ranks and professions, rich and poor, learned and simple, should at such distant times and places have conspired, as it were, against their own lives, to establish a faith, of whose truth they were not *full convinced*. The greatest enemies to Christianity cannot deny but that there have been thousands, among the sufferers for the truth of Christ's Doctrine, who were very competent judges of the degree of evidence offered in support of it, and sufficiently independent to be influenced either by rewards or threats. Many of them were also sufficiently learned to inquire into the stability of the Scripture proofs brought to prove Jesus Christ to be actually the expected saviour of mankind, which entirely sets aside the adversary's plea against some few, who they say were ignorant weak people, who took their faith upon the credit of others. We know, on the contrary, from the following history, that men of the strongest sense, and brightest parts, were converts to christianity; and having once believed from conviction, arising from a fair examination of its internal and external evidence, were too honest and impartial to deny what they had openly professed to believe.

There is a wide difference between an intemperate, misguided zeal, which rushes into perils without sufficient reason, and that calm and steady courage which meets danger with temper, when unavoidable. Our Saviour himself gave an example of this prudential conduct, by oftentimes retiring from imminent danger: and he gave it as a charge to his first followers, "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another." So that the Holy Martyrs, those brave men who unavoidably sealed the testimony of the Gospel with their blood, following their blessed master's advice, cannot be ranked with rash and hot-headed zealots.

The progress of Popery has so greatly increased of late, that there is now an absolute necessity for using every effort to suppress such dangerous and contagious principles, and to exert ourselves, and carry into execution every means that can be concerted for promoting the cause of Protestantism; and surely nothing can be a better means to stem the torrent of Popery, than a publication of the following work.

From the tenets of the Holy Martyrs we may acquire the principles of the christian religion, from their morals we may learn how to live, from their fortitude how to suffer, and from their deaths how to die.

Let us therefore, take example, in various stations of life, from the integrity and resolution of these departed brethren in Christ; and as a noble conduct is praise-worthy, let us be ready, in whatever sense our Lord requires a sacrifice, to *go and do likewise*.

We think it needless here to give a tedious detail of all the particulars, which will be contained in this important undertaking; but it may be necessary to observe to our Readers, that this work will not (like several imperfect publications on the subject) be a trifling summary of mere names—not an inaccurate index or lifeless *abridgement*—not a crude indigested compendium—but a full and *complete edition* of FOX's ORIGINAL BOOK of MARTYRS, including the CHRISTIAN MARTYROLOGY, from the most early age of persecution to the *present time*; and containing a display, and fuller account than has hitherto been published in any book of the kind, of the *Lives, Religious Principles, Cruel Persecutions, Sufferings, Tortures, and Triumphant Deaths*, of all those faithful *Christians* and *godly Martyrs*, whose constancy was tried for the truth of the Gospel, and who have sealed their faith in our most holy religion with their *Blood*.

This work is well calculated to serve the *Protestant Cause*. It will teach us how to conquer sin, our grand persecutor; to make our appetites and passions *Martyrs to our Duty*, and hence we may learn, that there is not any thing so difficult, but we may overcome through divine help. We have the same cause, the same Lord and Master on our side, the same recompence of reward to encourage us; and having so great a *cloud of witnesses*, let us press forward, and the same heaven will be our portion for ever.

PROTESTANT FAMILIES! read, value, and recommend this *Book of Martyrs* to your friends and connections; which, next to the Bible, will be the most valuable legacy you can leave to your children; for herein you will find exhibited not only the characters of the best men, but those noble principles which enabled them to brave the severest tortures which *Popish Cruelty* and *Pagan Barbarity* could invent. We here see those mournful tragedies that have been acted in our own country, upon our own countrymen; and here, as in a glass, we see, refined from all corruptions of popery, &c. that pure religion of Jesus Christ, which we are in duty bound to propagate, and leave uncorrupted to our dearest posterity.

In these MONUMENTS of our illustrious Martyrs, we behold displayed, as they are in the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the established Church, those essential, fundamental principles, to which the Church was reformed, and for which her glorious Martyrs were burned. We here meet with a most valuable general history of the Church; and will hence be convinced, how much it is our duty to check, by such a publication, the infidelity and the immoralities of the present age.

MINISTERS of GOD's HOLY WORD! wish this publication success in the name of the Lord. What doctrine has Popery not corrupted? What branch of worship has Popery not perverted and defiled? What law of God has Popery not trampled on and despised? Call to mind the horrid scenes exhibited by her bloody perpetrators of cruelty. In this New and Complete BOOK of MARTYRS, you will find them faithfully related. Assist then, we entreat you, it's diffusion; that so, by our united efforts, it may prove mighty, through God, to strengthen the Protestant faith; and to prevent the least encroachments of those erroneous sentiments, and those human inventions, that were artfully framed only to enslave us in time, and deceive us for eternity.

PAUL WRIGHT, Editor.



# RECOMMENDATIONS OF THIS WORK.

TO THE PRINTER AND PUBLISHER.

SIR,

IT was a saying of the famous Dr. South, that "Popery is not only the worst religion, but the greatest evil that can possibly come into any country." The contents of the following sheets furnish us with ample proof of this. THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS, written by JOHN FOX, a man of rare and excellent endowments, both natural and acquired, I most heartily recommend to persons of both sexes, and of every condition in life. As the author lived at the time when the bloody scenes herein related were exhibited, and his integrity, learning and piety, are equalled by few, (by none exceeded) the credibility of his testimony can be called in question only by those, whose interest or principles lead them to espouse and promote the cause of Popery.

Lock Chapel.

MARTIN MADAN.

SIR,

IT gives me unspeakable pleasure, to find, that you design to republish Fox's *Martyrology*, which I consider as a faithful and judicious compendium of the most valuable and ecclesiastical history extant in our language, and a work eminently calculated to display, and to guard us against the principles and the spirit of Popery;—to perpetuate the holy lives, and faithful testimonies and the triumphant deaths of those evangelical worthies, who resisted error, even unto blood;—to exalt the standard of CHRIST;—to exhibit the loving-kindness of the HOLY GHOST, who gave such grace and power unto men; and to stand as the best commentary on those inestimable truths, which (through the good hand of God upon us) still continue to shine in the *Liturgy*, *Articles*, and *Homilies*, of our ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

I wish this performance much success, in the name of the Lord. May its diffusion be very extensive, and its usefulness very great. May it prove mighty, through God, to make the Protestant Churches in general, and our own National Church in particular, *remember FROM WHENCE they are fallen*: stir them up to doctrinal and practical *repentance*, and bring them back to their *first* principles, and to their *first* works!—With this Prayer, breathed from the inmost of my heart, I remain, Sir,

Your affectionate well-wisher.

AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY.

Orange-Street, Leicester-Square.

SIR,

I AM glad to hear you propose re-printing FOX'S BOOK of MARTYRS: it will, no doubt, be received with great acceptance, and very cheerfully encouraged by all who have any sense of the excellency and glory of that religion, for which the noble worthies of which it speaks, suffered and died. It has ever been esteemed one of the most invaluable treasures of human production: it is its own best recommendation; and it need only be known in order to be admired by all who are happily possessed of the power and spirit of the religion of the blessed Jesus. I pray God it may be the means of increasing the highly-favoured number; and am,

Your humble Servant,

CHARLES DE COETLOGON.

South-Street, Grosvenor-Square.

SIR,

AS I think the BOOK of MARTYRS should be in every body's hands, it gives me pleasure to hear of its being re-publishing. I trust it will be the means of reviving that spirit of genuine Christianity which inspired the noble Martyrs in these lands, and of uniting the hearts of God's children in these decisive times, to the support of their one common cause, and in love to one another.

If you think my name can in the least promote the reading of that valuable work, you are welcome to make use of it; and I am, Sir, Your very humble Servant,

Swallow-Street.

JOHN TROTTER.

SIR,

THE BOOK of MARTYRS was well calculated to serve the Protestant cause, against the SUPERSTITION and CRUELTY of the Church of Rome. The Editor deserves the thanks of all serious Protestants, for his labour in making so valuable a book easily attainable.

Your humble Servant,

JAMES WEBB.

Fetter-Lane.

SIR,

I Heartily join in recommending FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS to the perusal of every Protestant family and all English readers.

Eagle-Street, Red-Lion-Square.

ANDREW GIFFORD.

SIR,

THE exceeding great value I entertain for the doctrines of the Reformation makes me esteem the present general departure from them, a circumstance not a little to be lamented: I therefore most heartily concur with the other respectable Gentlemen, whose names you have sent me, in Recommending the BOOK of MARTYRS; in which not only the characters of the best of men are most excellently set forth, but also those noble principles which enabled them with such uncommon patience to bear the utmost barbarity which tyranny and Popery could invent.

I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

ROWLAND HILL.

SIR,

NO book in the world is so well adapted to display the cruel and blood-thirsty spirit of Popery in the most striking light as the BOOK of MARTYRS: and this part especially is suited to an English reader: he is not here led up to the times of Nero, of Dioclesian, or to the martyrdom of Polycarp, Ignatius, Cyprian, but he is shewn the bloody tragedies acted in his own country, and upon his own countrymen: here you see that great and amiable servant of God, lord Cobham, hung up by the waist, over a dreadful fire, and roasted alive! Here you see an Hooper burned at Gloucester, in so cruel a manner, that his ribs fly open, and you behold his heart beating with life, in the midst of the flames.—Here you see that neither the accurate learning of a Ridley, the godly simplicity of a Latimer, nor the distinguished benevolence of a Cranmer, can be any protection from the outrageous fury of Popery.

I am, Sir, your sincere friend and servant,

JOHN RYLAND.

Northampton.

SIR,

HISTORY being calculated to catch the attention of persons of all ranks, many, who cannot without some reluctance sit down to read other serious publications, will, we trust, easily be prevailed upon to read that useful and interesting HISTORY contained in FOX'S BOOK of MARTYRS; and as the attentive perusal of it cannot fail being followed with good effect, I therefore feel a peculiar pleasure in recommending the same to sober, sensible and religious persons of every description.

Jewin-Street Chapel,

LONDON.

T. PRIESTLEY,

Author of the Evangelical Explanation of the Bible.



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# THE NEW AND COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS,

O R, A N

## Universal History of Martyrdom:

B E I N G

## FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS,

Revised and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

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### B O O K I.

C O N T A I N I N G

A New, Copious, Complete, and Universal History of the Lives, Acts, Monuments, Trials, Persecutions, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths of the

### P R O T E S T A N T M A R T Y R S,

During the Reign of MARY the FIRST, commonly called, on Account of her Superstition, Bigotry, and Persecuting Spirit, BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

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### I N T R O D U C T I O N:

Being a Preliminary Discourse, giving an Account of the principal Errors, Rites, Ceremonies, and Superstitious Practices, of the ROMISH CHURCH.

**B**EFORE we enter upon those bloody tragedies that were acted in England during the tyrannical reign of queen Mary, we think it necessary, especially for the information of the younger part of our readers, to give an account of the main errors, superstitious ceremonies, and human inventions, of the Romish church; in abhorrence of which, the first Reformers and blessed Martyrs, who made the sacred scriptures their sole guide, separated from that church, and resisting popish idolatry, even unto death, sealed the sacred truths of the everlasting gospel with their precious blood. To attempt a formal refutation of the various absurdities belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, would be foreign to the design of this work, and afford little entertainment; we shall however select those that are more material, and prove that they are mere effects of human invention, by contrasting them with passages taken from the word of God, the only true rule by which we can possibly judge in all matters of revealed religion. The Romish church affirms, that out of her communion there is no salvation; yet they receive, profess, and teach, as the true catholic faith, the following strange, unscriptural, and inhuman maxims, tenets, and carnal observances.

**TRADITIONS.]** The church of Rome having deprived the laity of the Bible, substitutes in its stead apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions; and obliges her disciples to admit for truth whatever she teaches them: but what do the holy scriptures say? "Why do ye transgress the commandment of God by your traditions?" Matt. xv. 3. 9. &c. They also command us "to call no man master (in spiritual concerns):

to try the spirits; and to beware of false teachers."

**PRAYERS and DIVINE SERVICE in LATIN.]** The Roman Catholics will not interpret the scriptures, otherwise than according to the sense of holy Mother Church, and the pretended unanimous consent of the fathers: they assert also, that the scriptures ought not to be read publicly, nor indifferently by all; and that the common people may be enslaved by gross ignorance, they perform public worship in an unknown tongue, contrary to the rule laid down by the apostle, "That all things should be done to edification." St. Paul says, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful." And, writing to Timothy, he reminds him, that "from a child hast thou known the scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus."

**SEVEN SACRAMENTS.]** Two only were instituted by Christ, to which the Romish church has added five more, making in all seven, necessary to salvation, namely, the Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony. To those two which Christ instituted, she has added a mixture of her own inventions; for in the sacrament of baptism, she uses salt, oil, or spittle; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the laity have only the bread administered to them; and even not that, after the manner ordained by Christ, who broke the bread and gave it to his disciples; instead of which, the church of Rome administers to her members not bread, but a wafer, and that not broke, but put whole by the priest into the mouths of the communicants. These wafers are smaller than those made for the priests, who, with them, drink the sacramental wine alone, to which the rest of the congregation



congregation have as good a right, from the institution of our blessed Lord, who said, "Drink ye all of this," &c. Matt. xxvi. 27.

**THE MASS.]** Roman Catholics believe it to be a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore calls it the Sacrament of the Altar; whereas the death of Christ was a full and complete sacrifice, "in which he hath, by one offering, perfected for ever them that are sanctified. He himself is a priest for ever; who, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; and who through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God." See St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. ix. and x. It was on account of this gross absurdity, and the irreligious application of it, that our first reformers suffered, and so many were put to death in the reign of queen Mary.

**TRANSUBSTANTIATION.]** Roman Catholics profess, that in the most holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, there is really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Christ; and that the whole substance of the bread is turned into his body, and the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which conversion, so contradictory to our senses, they call Transubstantiation, but at the same time they affirm, that under either kind or species only, one whole, entire Christ, and the true sacrament is received. But why are those words, "This is my body," to be taken in a literal sense, any more than those concerning the cup? Our Saviour says, "I am the true vine; I am the door." St. Paul says, "Our fathers drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ;" and, writing to the Corinthians, he affirms, that "he had fed them with milk." Can these passages be taken literally? Why then must we be forced to interpret our Saviour's words in a literal sense, when the meaning is both clearer and more natural, when taken in a figurative one? "Take, eat; thus, in like manner, shall my body be broken for you, for the remission of sins. This cup represents the signing of the New Testament with my blood; and as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the Lord's death till he come," 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.

**PURGATORY.]** This, they say, is a certain place, in which, as in a prison, after death, those souls, by the prayers of the faithful, are purged, which in this life could not be fully cleansed; no, not by the blood of Christ: and notwithstanding it is asserted in the scriptures, that "if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness," 1 John i. 9. This place of purgatory is in the power of the pope, who dispenses the indulgence, and directs the treasury of his merits, by which the pains are mitigated, and the deliverance hastened. For the tormented sufferers, in this ideal inquisition, his monks and friars say masses, all of whom must be paid for their trouble; because, No penny, no pater-noster; by which bubble the church of Rome amasses great wealth.

**IDOLATROUS and CREATURE-WORSHIP.]** In all the Romish worship, the blessed virgin is a principal object of adoration. She is stiled queen of Heaven, lady of the world, the only hope of sinners, queen of angels, patroness of men; advocate for sinners, mother of mercies; under which titles they desire her, by the power of a mother, to command her Son. In some prayers, they invoke God to bring them to heaven by the merits and mediation of the virgin Mary and all her saints, and that they may enjoy perpetual soundness both of body and mind, by her glorious intercession. Hence it might be imagined by a papist, that the sacred writings were full of encomiums on this pretended mother of God; whereas, on the contrary, we do not find Christ in any part of scripture called the Son of Mary, nor that he at any time calls her mother; and when the woman cried, "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked;" "Yea, (returns our Lord) rather blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." Nor does our Saviour own any relation but that of a disciple; for when his mother and brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him, Jesus answered, "Who are my mother and

my brethren?" And looking round upon his disciples, he saith, "Behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother." Of the like strain are also their prayers to other saints and angels; by which they derogate from the honour of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and transfer his offices to others; though the Scriptures expressly assert, there is but one mediator between God and man, who is sufficiently able to deliver and save, to the uttermost, all who by faith come unto him. Nor must we omit under this head the idolatry of the mass, in the elevation of the host, to which the poor deluded people kneel down, and which they, whatever their artful priests pretend to the contrary, solemnly adore and worship, agreeable to an express article of their creed, and the command of one of their popes, who enjoins that the host is to be worshipped in *Latera*, whereby the second commandment is infringed, which the Romish church have endeavoured as much as possible to suppress, and in many of their little manuals they leave it quite out.

**PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY.]** This is politically supported by a pretended Infallibility; Auricular Confession, founded upon the priest's power to forgive sins; Indulgences; Pretended Relics; Penance; Pardons; Strings of Beads, for Ave-Marys, and Paternosters; Celibacy; Merits and Works of Supererogation; Restrictions; Monkish Austerities; Religious Vows and Orders; Palms; Candles; decorated Images; Incense; Holy Water, or (as Mr. Fox in the preface to his third volume, more properly calls it) Conjuring Water; Christening of Bells; hallowed Flowers and Branches; Agnus Dei; Oblations; Consecrations; with a variety of other devices, tricks, and impositions; to which may be added certain

**LUDICROUS FORMS and CEREMONIES.]** At the feast of Christmas, in commemoration of the nativity of our blessed Lord, Roman Catholics have exhibited in their churches a cradle, with an image of an infant in it, which is rocked with great seeming devotion; and on Good-Friday they have the figure of our Saviour on the cross, and then they perform the service which they call the Tenebress; having abundance of lighted candles, all of which they extinguish one by one, hereby celebrating the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion: after which the body is taken down from the cross and put into a sepulchre, and men stand to watch it; with more of the same childish mummary that might be related, as if the Son of God came down from heaven to furnish men with a subject for dramatic representation.

**STRANGE and CRUEL MAXIMS.]** Papists hold, that heretics (for so they call the protestants) may not be termed children, or kindred.

By the heresy of the father, the child is freed from all obligations of natural obedience.

When a christian king becomes an heretic, his subjects are forthwith freed from their allegiance.

It is not lawful for christians to tolerate any king, who draweth his subjects into heresy.

They ought to endeavour to depose him, and set up another in his place.

They ought to expel him the kingdom as the enemy of Christ. This is the undoubted judgment of the most learned, and agreeable to apostolic truth.

Faith is not to be kept with heretics, and papists may have a dispensation, for the breach of oaths, or any secret practices against them, for the good of the Romish church; and it is lawful to torture, burn their bodies, or otherways kill them, for the good of their souls.

Now the above scheme of popery, if duly attended to, will convince every unprejudiced mind, that a mixture of paganism and judaism; absurdity and idolatry, run throughout the whole, and that it is a crafty design to establish a dominion over the consciences, persons, and properties, of it's deluded professors; yet all these false doctrines, and irreligious practices, the wretched slaves of papal tyranny are obliged to swallow down; and to doubt of one single iota is, according to the priest, damnable; for, says a Roman Catholic, at the close of his creed,



*I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the pope of Rome who is Christ's vicar, and successor to St. Peter, the prince of the apostles.*

*I also, without doubt, receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and councils, especially by the holy synod of Trent; and all things contrary to them, with all heresies, condemned, rejected, and cursed by the church, I likewise reject, condemn, and curse.*

*Lastly. This true Catholic Faith, without which no man can be saved, which at present I freely hold and profess, I will (by God's help) constantly retain and confess, entire and inviolable, to my latest breath, and take care, to the utmost of my power, that the same shall be taught, held, and professed by all under me, and whose care shall belong to me in my office; so help me God, and the holy Evangelists.*

Having thus given an account of the notorious corruptions and abuses which the Romish church has introduced into her complex system of absurdities and idolatries, we proceed to give a full and faithful display of the intolerant, cruel, and dreadful bloody spirit of popery, as exemplified in the persecutions, sufferings, and martyrdoms, of the persevering, holy, constant, and now blessed martyrs. Our general design is, to open the eyes of the lukewarm, to confirm weak and unlearned christians in their most holy faith, and to guard all who profess the faith of Christ, from the stratagems of those, who seek to draw them from the simplicity and truth of the everlasting gospel; and we submit the whole to the judgment of the candid reader, imploring that divine blessing, which is necessary to crown our labours, and every spiritual attempt, with such success, as may redound to the glory of God, and the eternal welfare of all our fellow Christians.

## C H A P. I.

*The ACCESSION of QUEEN MARY, and the various ALTERATIONS in RELIGION, TROUBLES in the STATE, and PERSECUTIONS in the CHURCH, that happened in ENGLAND, after her CORONATION, and in the First Year of her REIGN.*

THE Roman Catholics assert, (and what will they not say to colour over their inhuman practices, and bloody deeds?) "That all those who suffered death, during the reign of Queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in consequence of their having stood up in defence of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown." To disprove this is no difficult matter, seeing every one, conversant in history, must know, that those who are tried on the statute of the 25th of Edward I. Chap. 26, are to be hanged and quartered; but with what assurance can even a Papist affirm, that ever a man in England was burned for high treason? We admit, that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of those were burned. Why, if they were traitors, take them before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Nay, allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not give them power to execute; otherwise, why were they obliged to certify to the chancellor, that the accused person was a heretic, before they could obtain a warrant for his execution? The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they were carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. We thought it necessary to premise thus much, that our British youth may not be led away by popish insinuations; for if you will but consider, they will be convinced, that the popish assertion is false. There was not one of those who were burned in England, ever accused of high treason, much less were they tried at common law. And this should teach young persons to value a history of transactions in their own country, particularly of their Blessed Martyrs, in order that they may be able to detect the falsehoods advanced by Romish priests, and their numerous emissaries. Having said thus much, by way of caution, we shall, without farther preface, enter upon the narrative, which, as we have promised, shall be a **NEW and COMPLETE HISTORY** of the Acts and Monuments of our glorious Martyrs.

During the time that king Edward VI. was afflicted by a long illness, a marriage was provided, concluded, and solemnized in the month of May, between the lord Guildford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, daughter of the duke of Suffolk; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's second sister, who was first married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles, duke of Suffolk. The marriage being consummated, and the king growing every day worse, he was prevailed upon to set aside, by his last will and testament, his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and to leave his crown to lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter.

To this order subscribed all the king's council, and

the chief of the nobility, the lord mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and principal lawyers of the realm, except justice Hales of Kent, a true protestant, and upright judge, who, having given his consent to the lady Mary's being queen, would upon no account therefore subscribe to the lady Jane. How he was rewarded for his integrity by Mary, will be seen in the sequel. But the objections made by others in the realm against lady Mary's reigning were, because they feared she would marry with a foreigner, and by that means entangle the crown; and it was generally believed, that she would bring in the pope, and quite alter the religion, used both in the days of her father king Henry, and in those of her brother Edward VI. which afterwards came to pass.

What gave rise to this conjecture, was the great stubbornness she shewed and declared in her brother's days, as evidently appears from those letters that passed between her, king Edward, and the council. Not long after this, through the violence of his illness, that most hopeful prince, Edward VI. departed this life; immediately after whose death, lady Jane Gray was, by the consent of the nobles, proclaimed queen, in London and other popular cities, and was there so acknowledged and called.

There was little difference in age between this young lady, and king Edward; but as to learning and knowledge of the languages, she was not only equal, but superior to him, having had the advantage of a man of most excellent learning for her tutor; and had her fortune been equal to her fine wit and education, no doubt she would have been comparable, not only to the most eminent among women, but even to men of the University, who had taken several degrees there in the schools.

In the mean time, while those things were upon the anvil, and working in London, lady Mary, having received advice of her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council in the stile and manner following.

The Lady Mary's Letter to the Lords of the Council, claiming the Crown upon her Brother's Decease.

My Lords,

WE greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy, which news how woeful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you



you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust, that there is no good true subject that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having estfoons [quickly] amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst; and that ye will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of other our true subjects and friends, which, in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole assiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person only employ yourselves, and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth, not failing hereof, as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant on this behalf. Given under our signet, at our manor of Kening-hall, the 9th of July, 1553."

To this Letter of the Lady Mary, the Lords of the Council returned the following Answer.

**M**ADAM, we have received your letters, the 9th of this instant, declaring your supposed titles which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord king Edward VI. a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title to the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII. and the lady Katherine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the fundry acts of parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate, and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will upon just confide-

ration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and goodly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord king Edward VI. and agreed upon by the nobles and great personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane her subjects, from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect shew yourself quiet and obedient (as you ought), you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare.

From the Tower of London, in this 9th of July, 1553.

"Your ladyship's friends, shewing yourself an obedient subject,

Thomas Canterbury	Henry Arundel	R. Cotton
The Marquis of	Shrewsbury	John Gates
Winchester	Pembroke	W. Peter
John Bedford	Cobham	W. Cecil
Wm. Northampton	R. Rich	John Cheek
Tho. Ely Chancellor	Huntington	John Mason
Northumberland	Darcy	Edward North
Henry Suffolk	Cheyney	R. Bowes."

All these persons, except the duke of Northumberland, and Sir John Gates, were afterwards by a special or general pardon discharged.

Lady Mary, after having received the above answer, and perceiving thereby the lords' minds, made haste privately out of London, relying chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and not destitute altogether of secret advertisements from some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, and resolute conduct, and perceiving that things went not according to their late expectations, they gathered speedily a body of troops together, and fixed upon the duke of Suffolk, for their general; but afterwards changing their minds, they thought it best to let the duke of Suffolk keep the Tower where lord Guildford and lady Jane then lodged, and to send the duke of Northumberland, with several other lords and gentlemen. In which expedition, notwithstanding the guards were very unwilling to march at first, yet, through the persuasion and importunity of the lord treasurer Cholmei, and others, they were at last induced to assist the duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, the duke marched from London after the best manner, having both his times and journey prescribed him by the council, that he might not do any thing but upon warrant. In the mean time lady Mary, fatigued with travelling up and down, and considering where to fix most for her advantage, withdrew at length into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where, on account of his having subdued the rebels in her brother's reign, she understood the name of Northumberland was very much hated; and procuring to herself aid and assistance, on every side, as she could, she kept herself close for a time within Framingham castle.

At this place first resorted to her the men of Suffolk, who being among the number of the most zealous reformers, promised her their support, but with this stipulation, that Mary should not attempt to alter that religion which, by laws and orders publicly enacted, was established in her brother king Edward's days, and which had been generally received by the consent of the whole realm. With this condition she readily complied, and knowing that faith is not to be kept with heretics, she scrupled not to promise them faithfully, upon the word of a queen, that no innovation should be made in religion; which promise had she as religiously kept, as they did willingly engage to protect and preserve her, at the expence of their lives, she had acted worthy of her high descent, and made her reign more stable through future tranquillity; for let a king or queen, or any private person, be ever so powerful, yet breach of promise is an ill supporter of peace and quietness, fear worse, cruelty worst of all.

However, lady Mary, thus powerfully guarded and faithfully assisted, for the present, vanquished the duke, and



and all lady Jane's adherents. In consideration whereof, when the Suffolk protestants afterwards reminded their most gracious queen Mary of her promise, she made them the following severe and ungrateful reply: "Forasmuch (said she) as you, being but the members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive, that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." And with a view of striking greater terror into others, a certain gentleman, near Windham side, named Dobbe, for advertising her by a humble petition of her promise, was punished with standing three times in the pillory. Many others were likewise imprisoned, for having delivered her books and supplications, collected out of the scriptures, thereby exhorting her to continue in the true reformed religion then established.

But to return to the duke of Northumberland, who, having his warrant under the broad seal, proceeded on his march; but his short journeys, assigned him by commission, and the tedious delays in his rout, added an increasing strength to lady Mary's cause, especially as, at this time, the hearts of the people began to be much inclined to her; which, when the council at London perceived, and understood how the common people began to withdraw from them to her, as did also several of the nobility, they forthwith changed their measures, and proclaimed for queen lady Mary, eldest daughter to Henry VIII. appointed by parliament to succeed, king Edward dying without issue. As to the duke of Northumberland, he was left destitute and forsaken at Cambridge. Upon this he proclaimed Mary queen; yet this piece of policy did him no service; for he was arrested, as were likewise some of his sons, and the earl of Huntington, with a few others; who were all sent to the Tower, as traitors to the crown.

Thus was lady Mary seated on the throne of England, who, to a disagreeable person and weak mind, had united bigotry, superstition, and cruelty. She seems to have inherited more of her mother's, than her father's qualities. Henry was fiery, rough, and ungovernable; but Catherine, with a severe and implacable rancour against protestants, assumed the character of a saint. It was the same with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own hand writing, now in the British Museum. In this letter, which is addressed to bishop Gardiner, she declares her fixed intention of burning every protestant; and it contains an insinuation, that, as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This was the strongest instance of her weakness that she could shew; for the convents had been demolished, except a few of their churches; and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government, both in church and state. But reason and bigotry cannot accord. That narrowness of spirit, which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition, Mary thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and to trample on the privileges of mankind.

No sooner had this queen, by the Suffolk protestants, the sword of authority put into her hand, than she began to employ it against those who had supported the title of lady Jane Gray. This devoted victim remained with her husband, lord Guildford, almost five months in the Tower, waiting her pleasure. But the duke of Northumberland, within a month after his confinement there, was condemned, brought to the scaffold, and beheaded, notwithstanding a promise made him of his life, if he would but renounce his religion and hear mass; which he not only did, but also exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith. The Papists immediately published and spread abroad his recantation: but the duke, in consequence of his crimes arising from a fordid ambition, died unpitied; nay, he was insulted on the scaffold by those who remembered in what manner he had acted to their beloved Somerset. It may be proper to observe, this duke of Northumberland was not of the great Percy family, which at that time was under a cloud;

but he was the grandson of that Dudley, who was executed in the year 1509, for having acted inconsistent with the common law.

The execution of this nobleman was followed with that of sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates; the former of whom confessed his faith in the reformed religion, and lamented that he had not lived more conformably thereto. Queen Mary having begun her reign with the blood of these men, and with hearing mass in the Tower, and having also released from thence Stephen Gardiner; were sufficient indications to the protestant part of the nation, that she would not perform what she had promised the Suffolk men; and besides these ill omens, there were other things, which every day more and more discomfited the people, and which plainly declared the queen to bear no good will to the reformation. Gardiner was not only released, but made lord chancellor, and bishop of Winchester, by turning out Dr. Poynt; Bonner was made bishop of London, by displacing good Dr. Ridley; Dr. Day was promoted to the bishopric of Durham, by putting out Scory; Dr. Tonstal to the bishopric of Chichester; Dr. Heath to that of Worcester; Hooper was committed to the fleet; and Dr. Vesie was made bishop of Exeter, by displacing Miles Coverdale: all which changes, and transactions, being particularly noted, occasioned great heaviness to all good men, and, on the other hand, great rejoicing to the wicked. In which discord of minds, and diversity of affections, there was now to be seen a miserable prospect of things throughout the whole nation; for they who could dissemble, cared not how matters went; but such as were conscientious, and had any regard to the truth, perceived fires to be already kindled, and which would be the destruction of many a sincere christian; which indeed afterwards came to pass. Mary having thus laid the foundation of her bloody reign, removed to Hampton-court from the Tower, and caused a parliament to be summoned, against the 10th of October next ensuing, of which more hereafter.

Amongst the bishops who were removed, we noticed Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, a learned and pious prelate, who in the time of queen Jane, by order of the council, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, declaring therein his opinion concerning the lady Mary, and dissuading them by alledging the inconveniences that might arise by admitting her to the crown, prophesying, as it were, before that, which afterwards came to pass, namely that she would bring in a foreign power to reign over them, and subvert the christian religion then happily established; shewing moreover, that, the lady Mary being in his diocese, he, according to his duty, as being then her ordinary, had done his endeavours to reform her to this religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she shewed herself gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she appeared perverse and obstinate; that he could perceive no other hopes of her, but that she would disturb and overturn all that had been planted and confirmed with so much industry in the reign of her brother king Edward. Soon after this sermon was preached, the lady Mary was proclaimed queen, whereupon Dr. Ridley forthwith repaired to salute her at Fremingham Castle, where he met with cold entertainment, and being deprived of all his dignity, was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

The Sunday following Mr. Rogers preached, discouraging very learnedly on the gospel for the day: whereupon queen Mary, perceiving things not to go forward according to her mind, forthwith devised and consulted with her council how to bring about by other means, what by open law she could not well accomplish; and accordingly directed forth a prohibition by proclamation that no man should preach or read openly the word of God in churches, with several other things contained in the proclamation.

*The Tumult at Paul's Cross, occasioned by Mr. Bourn's Sermon.*

Near this period, or not long before, Mr. Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, and who was afterwards made bishop of



of Bath, being appointed by Bonner, then bishop of London, to preach at Paul's Crofs, he took occasion, from the gospel of the day, to speak largely in justification of Bonner, who was then present, by saying, that Bonner, four years ago, had preached from the same text, and in the same place, for which he was most cruelly and unjustly cast into that most vile dungeon the Marshalsea, where he was confined, during king Edward's reign. His words had such an ill effect upon the hearers, as to cause them to murmur and stir in such a sort, that the mayor and aldermen then present feared much an uproar; indeed, so great was the popular resentment, that one hurled a dagger at Mr. Bourn, but who the person was could not be then ascertained, though he was afterwards discovered. In short, the tumult became so violent, that the preacher was silenced, broke off his discourse, and durst no more appear in that place; for the matter of his discourse tended much to the dispraise of king Edward, which the people could in no wise endure. Then Mr. Bradford, being in the pulpit, stood forth, at the request of Mr. Bourn's brother, and spoke so mildly and effectually to the people, that with a few words he pacified them. This done, he and Mr. Rogers conducted Mr. Bourn betwixt them to the Grammar-school door, where they left him safe; for which prudent and humane conduct, they were both, shortly after, rewarded with long imprisonment, and at last with fire in Smithfield.

While the parliament was employed in paving the way for the introduction of popish superstition, the clergy also had, after their usual manner, a convocation at St. Paul's church, London, where the queen appointed a disputation to be held, on the 18th of October. In this convocation, Mr. John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, preached a sermon to the clergy; after which, for the sake of order, they proceeded to the choice of a prolocutor or speaker. To this office, Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, was appointed by unanimous consent, and presented to the bishops, Mr. Pie, dean of Winchester, and Mr. Wimbisley, archdeacon of London, delivering at the same time an oration. Dr. Weston then made his gratulatory speech to the house, and was answered with another by bishop Bonner. They next entered upon the disputation, concerning the matter of the sacrament instituted by Christ, at his last supper with his disciples, which disputation continued six days successively, wherein Dr. Weston was chief on the side of popery, who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking; in so much, that they who disputed on the other side, in defence of the doctrines of the reformation, were compelled, some to fly, some to deny, some to die; but in the judgment of most men who heard the debate, they had the better in point of argument, as may appear by the report of the said disputation, a true copy, and faithful account whereof, will be the subject of our next chapter.

## C H A P. II.

*Account of a PUBLIC THEOLOGICAL DISPUTATION, maintained in the CONVOCATION-HOUSE, at St. PAUL'S, LONDON, and appointed by the Queen's Special Command, October 18th, 1553.*

**T**HE Report. Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation house; to the intent that all men may know the things therein done and said, he that was present hath, at request, thoroughly described what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question.

### The First, Second, and Third Days Act.

The subject for debate first stated by the Prolocutor, in his address to the Convocation.

On Wednesday, October 18, the prolocutor, Dr. Weston, certified the house, it was the queen's pleasure, that the learned men there assembled should debate matters of religion, and for that end constitute laws, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. And because (said he) there was a book lately published, called the Catechism (which he produced) bearing the name of this synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned; being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies, and likewise an abominable book of Common Prayer; I thought it best, therefore, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, for confirming the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation: wherefore, it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their consciences in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully justified therein.

On the 20th of October, when it was expected they should have entered into disputation of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibiting two bills to the house, the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, and the other concerning the catechism, that it was not published by the consent of that house. Whereunto the whole house accordingly assented, except six, viz. the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, archdeacon of Hereford, archdeacon of Stow, and one more. Mr. Philpot spoke concerning the articles of the Catechism, but when he saw his allegations were to no purpose, he made it his request to the prolocutor, that there might be an equality of persons concerned in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would intercede with the lords, that some of those men that were learned, and occasioned the publishing of the catechism aforesaid, might

be admitted into the house to shew their learning that moved them to set forth the same, and that Dr. Ridley and Mr. Rogers, with two or three more, might have the liberty of being present at this disputation, and associating with them.

This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed to the bishops, who returned this answer; That it was out of their power to call such persons to the house, since some of them were prisoners; but they said, they would petition the council in this behalf, and in case any of them were absent that ought to be of the house, they were for their being admitted. After this, it was signified unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same till Monday, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

At the time appointed the prolocutor made a protestation, that the members of that house had appointed this public disputation, not to call the truth in question, to which they had subscribed; except five or six, but gain-sayers and heretics might be resolved respecting their doubts.

The prolocutor demanded of Mr. Haddon whether he would reason against the questions that had been proposed; and Mr. Haddon replied, he would not. To which Mr. Elmar added, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, by their subscribing before the subjects were discussed. Mr. Weston turning to Mr. Cheyney, desired to know, whether he would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation. Mr. Cheyney answered, "I should be glad my doubts were resolved."

"The first of these arose from what St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the body and blood of Christ, calls it bread after consecration.

"The second from a passage out of Origen, who speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements.

"The third is out of Theodoret, who, speaking of the sacramental elements, after consecration, affirmeth, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These, among several others, are the doubts I require to be resolved."

Then the prolocutor having appointed Dr. Moreman to answer, he began with observing, that the sacrament



ment is called by St. Paul bread indeed, by which he meant the form of bread; but Mr. Cheyney alledged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh.

Yes, replied Moreman, Hesychius called it bread, because it was bread, not because it is so. Then, passing over Origen, he said, that men mistook the authority of Theodoret, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr had done, taking the Greek word, that signifies substance in its special signification, whereas, in the general, it may be applied to accidents, as well as substance; and therefore (said he) I answer Theodoret thus, that sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape, (that is) not out of their accidental substance and shape.

After this, Mr. Cheyney sat down, and Mr. Elmar, who could not endure to hear so weak and childish an answer to so grave an authority, arose, declaring, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was only an illusion, or mere subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning; for if the Greek word, that signifies substance, should, in the passage quoted, be taken for accident, then it was a superfluous word, especially, where there are two other Greek words, which sufficiently expound the accidents of the bread: and he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that the Greek word that signified substance in Theodoret, could not be so generally taken in that place; but Moreman still affirmed, that the Greek word that signified substance, must needs signify accidental substance properly. To whose obstinacy, since he could obtain no better proof, Elmar gave place.

Upon which, Mr. John Philpot stood up, and said, he could make it appear, from the whole subject matter, in the place alledged, and from the similitude Theodoret uses, for proving his purpose, that Moreman's explanation of the Greek word for substance, could by no means be taken in the sense he would interpret it: for, he observed, Theodoret was in that place arguing against the heretic Eutiches, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ as one person, and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined to the divinity, was absorbed thereby; so that, according to his opinion, Christ was no more but of one divine substance only; against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against that heretic; for like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of the bread remaining as before, not being absorbed by the humanity of Christ, but by divine operation joined thereunto, even so, in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there being two several substances, his humanity and divinity, united in one hypostacy or person, which is Christ; the humanity not being absorbed by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in it's former substance: and Theodoret's similitude, continued Mr. Philpot, would prove nothing, if the substance of the sacramental bread remained not as it did before. The heretic therefore, according to Dr. Moreman's interpretation, would have a strong argument to support his error, and to prove himself an orthodox christian, might say to Theodoret thus; Like as thou Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say that, after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is changed into the human body of Christ, coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament there is but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before; even so, likewise, may I affirm and conclude from thine own similitude, that the humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined to deity, was absorbed, and turned into one substance with the deity; so that there remaineth but one divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction. In attempting to answer this, Dr. More-

man was so closely pressed, that he began to stagger; which Philpot perceiving spake in this manner, "Well master Moreman, if you have no answer ready at present, consider of one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting."

At these words the prolocutor was exceedingly offended and troubled, telling him, that he should not brag there, but be fully answered. To which Philpot returned, "It is the only thing I desire, to be answered directly on this point of dispute; and I request of you, and of all the house here present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you cannot do, taking Theodoret's authority, and similitude, as they ought to be taken." Whereupon, without any further reply, or answer to his reasoning, Philpot was commanded to be silent.

After he had sat down, the dean of Rochester arose, offering to dispute against the natural presence, wishing that the scriptures, and the ancient doctors, might be weighed, believed, and followed, in this point. And he thought a sufficient argument against it, was that saying of Christ, in St. Matthew, where he says, that the poor we should have always with us, but him we should not have always, which the dean said, was spoken concerning the natural presence of Christ's body, and therefore Christ cannot be naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the altar. To this the prolocutor answered, that we should not have Christ present always to exercise alms deeds, but upon the poor.

The dean then prosecuted his argument, and quoted St. Austin to prove, that the same interpretation of the scripture alledged by Mr. Weston was no sufficient answer; for St. Austin, in the 50th treatise on St. John, speaketh thus on the same sentence; "When Christ said, Me ye shall not have always with you, he spake of the presence of his body. For by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, Behold I am with you until the consummation of the world. But in the flesh which the word took upon him, in that which was born of the virgin, in that which was apprehended by the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in cloths, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, you shall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always by the presence of his majesty; but after the presence of his flesh it is rightly said, you shall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes."

To this authority Dr. Watson answered, and said, he would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine, and having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alledged out of the 70th treatise of St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his passion.

Mr. Philpot replied, saying, that Mr. Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, for that in the place mentioned by the dean of Rochester, he doth not only treat of the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in which mortal body St. Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, that Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in a few lines after the place above alledged, St. Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, "Now these two manners of Christ's presence declared, which is by his majesty, providence, and grace, now present in the world, which before his ascension was present in the flesh; and which being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent from the world, I think there remains no further dispute about the matter."



Therefore if St. Augustine allowed no other presence of Christ here on earth, but only his divine presence, and that his humanity was in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is, corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar, invisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention in all his works, you seem to judge that which St. Augustine did never comprehend.

Why, said Watson, does not St. Augustine, in the place I alledged, make mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?

It is true, said Philpot, but he saw Christ, as the scripture saith, in the heavens, being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father: at which Watson was silent.

The dean proceeded to support his argument, and, to this end, read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities, to which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but desired him to frame an argument, saying, the dean had recited many doctors' words, but had not made one argument. Thus challenged, the dean made the following argument from the institution of the sacrament; "Do this in remembrance of me; and thus ye shall shew forth the Lord's death till he come."

The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: therefore, the sacrament is not very Christ; for as yet he is not come, for these words, "until he come," do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to shew, that these words, "until he come," did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of scripture, where the word, "until," was made use of: but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In fine, the dean questioned Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? He answered, Yes. He further demanded, whether upon instituting the sacrament, he did likewise eat the sacrament with them? Moreman answered, Yes. Then he asked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagined it to be, or not? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then, said the dean, it is a great absurdity by you granted; and so he sat down.

Afterwards the prolocutor demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or not? He answered, Yes, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many, which occasioned confusion, and especially to him who had but a bad memory. By this time the night approached: on which account the prolocutor put an end to the disputation, and appointed Mr. Philpot to begin the same the next day, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

#### *The FOURTH DAY'S DEBATE.*

On Wednesday, October 25th, Mr. John Philpot was prepared to enter upon the disputation, intending first, to have made an oration in Latin; which being known by the prolocutor, he commanded him to make no declaration or oration in Latin, but to deliver his arguments in English. This is contrary, said Philpot, to your order at the beginning of this disputation: for then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all mine arguments in Latin; and because you Mr. Prolocutor, have said heretofore, openly in this house, that I had no learning, I intended to shew such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and short declaration of the questions now in controversy, thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned being present, might take the less offence thereat. But this prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who still insisted upon his forming an argument in English, or else to hold his peace.

Then, said Philpot, you have much disappointed me, thus suddenly, to go from your former order: but I will

accomplish your commandments, leaving mine oration apart, and I will come to my arguments, which, as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution, but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifest meaning of the scriptures: that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence imagined by men, I do deny, and against this I will reason. But before he could make an end of what he was about, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument; at whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and hoping to find remedy, fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number, wherof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments without interruption, which was readily granted by the lords. But the prolocutor making use of a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend to it, but still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument." "I intend it," said Philpot, "if you will let me alone: but first I must ask a question of my respondent, Dr. Chedsey, concerning a word or two of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the altar, what he meaneth thereby." Dr. Chedsey answered, that, in their supposition, they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one. Then, said Mr. Philpot, by Mr. Prolocutor's leave, I will speak plain English, and to be short, I say, that the sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, but now put in full force again, is no sacrament, neither is Christ in any manner present in it, and this he offered to prove before the queen, the council, or before six of the most learned men of that house, of a contrary opinion, and refused none: If, (said he) I shall not be able, by God's words, to maintain what I have asserted, and confound those six who shall withstand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many faggots as can be found in London, before the court-gate. This he spake with the utmost zeal and courage.

At this the prolocutor, with many others, were very much offended, demanding of him, whether he knew what he said. Yes, replied Mr. Philot, I know very well what I say, and I desire that no man may be offended at it, for I speak no more than by the word of God I am able to prove; and praised be God, that the queen's grace hath granted us of this house (as our prolocutor hath informed us) the free liberty of declaring our opinions, agreeable to our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion; and therefore I will here freely speak the dictates of my conscience, grounded upon God's holy word for the truth, although some of you here present do not like it.

Then Mr. Weston, with others, taunted and reproved him, for speaking so indecently against the sacrament of the mass. The prolocutor also told him he was mad, and threatened to send him to prison.

Mr. Philpot hearing himself abused, and not permitted the free liberty to speak his mind, thus exclaimed, casting his eyes towards heaven, O Lord! what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word cannot be spoken and endured! And while he said these words, being full of sorrow, the tears were seen to trickle from his eyes.

The prolocutor, being moved by some that were about him, consented that he should make an argument provided that he would be brief. I will be as short (said Philpot) as I can conveniently, in uttering all I have to say. And, first, I will lay the foundation of my arguments upon the authority of scripture, whereon all the build-



ings of our faith ought to be grounded; after which, I intend to confirm the same by the ancient fathers of the church. My first argument is drawn from the 28th chapter of St. Matthew, in which the angel says to Mary, who sought for Christ at the sepulchre, "He is risen, he is not here;" and again, St. Luke, chapter 23d, the angel asketh them, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" In which places the scripture testifieth, that Christ was risen, ascended into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father: all which is spoken of his natural body; therefore it cannot be on earth included in the sacrament. I will confirm this yet more effectually, from the 16th of St. John, where Christ saith, "I came from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go to my Father." Which coming and going he meant of his natural body; therefore we may consequently affirm, that it is not found in the world, nor can be in the sacrament.

But I expect here to be answered with a blind distinction; that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but remaineth invisibly in the sacrament; but that no such idle distinction can take away the force of my argument, will appear from the answer which Christ's disciples returned, saying, "Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest no proverb;" which words St. Cyril interpreting saith, that our Saviour spake without any ambiguity, or figure of speech, and therefore I do from thence conclude, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body remaining in the sacrament invisibly upon earth, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed; for nothing can be more uncertain, parabolical, and absurd, than so to say. I will now give attention to your answer, and then descend to confirm what I have said by ancient writers.

Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument as it was made, took upon him to answer every part thereof severally. First, to the saying of the angel, That Christ is not here: and, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament, but that they were spoke of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, Why do you seek him that liveth, among the dead? And to the authority of St. John, where Christ saith, Now I leave the world and go to my Father; he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven; but that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament. For St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elias and Christ together, and Elias's cloak, and Christ's flesh. "When Elias (saith he) was taken up in the fiery chariot, he left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisæus. But Christ ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." From whence we may justly conclude, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and abideth still invisibly in the sacrament of the altar.

To this Philpot replied, and said, You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel. Christ is risen, and is not here, because you have omitted that which was the chief point of all. For, said he, I proceed further, as thus, He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, therefore, he is not remaining on earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alledged, sufficient. But I will presently return to your interpretation of Cyril and plainly declare it after I have refuted the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of the chief principles that you alledged to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

At this the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore he recited the said authority, first in Latin, and afterwards he turned it into English, and desired all that were present to remark that saying of Chrysostom,

which he thought invincible on their own side. But I will make it appear (saith Philpot) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose. And as he was declaring his mind in this particular, the prolocutor interrupted him, as he frequently did. With which Philpot being displeased, said, Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry-school, where he well knoweth the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth, that he is like to be enforced with an argument which he is not able to answer, he doth what he can, by cavilling, and interruption, to drive him from the same. This saying of Philpot was ill taken by the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. Hear, said Philpot, and afterwards judge; for I will do in this, as in all other authorities, wherewith you shall take upon you to refute any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering the same either by sufficient authorities of scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority with your's, and not of my own imagination; which if I do, I desire it to be of no credit.

As to your authority from St. Chrysostom, I have two objections against that to propose; one drawn from scripture, the other from the very place of Chrysostom himself here by you alledged.

First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left his flesh also behind him; it is true; for the flesh Christ took with him was that which he received from the virgin Mary, and the flesh he left behind was not his natural body, but the members of his visible church; as St. Paul doth aptly testify, when he says, Eph. v. "We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones." And if any one will reply, that he there treateth of the sacrament, and that this interpretation cannot so properly be applied to him in that place, then I will explain St. Chrysostom another way by himself; for a few lines before those now quoted, are these words; "That Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left to us, indued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, sacramentally; and that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine." "As many (saith St. Paul) as are baptized in Christ, have put on Christ." Hence you may perceive, that St. Chrysostom makes nothing for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament, as you wrongly interpret him.

Now in the mean time, while Mr. Philpot was speaking, Mr. Pie, whispering the prolocutor in the ear, urged him to silence Philpot, fearing, if he held on longer, he would wholly overthrow their opinion of the carnal presence, seeing he had already given one of it's main supporters such a blow. The prolocutor, therefore, said to Mr. Philpot, that he had reasoned long enough, and that some other should supply his room, at which Mr. Philpot, being much displeased, said, Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments to propose concerning this matter, and I have as yet scarce gone over the first; for being hitherto hindered, through your frequent interruptions, I have not, for confirmation, quoted any ancient writers, though I could a great many. Well, returned the prolocutor, you shall speak no more now, and I command you to be silent. You perceive, said Mr. Philpot, that I am able to controvert your false supposition, and therefore you command me to be silent. If you will not give place, said Mr. Weston, I will send you to prison. This is not, replied Philpot, according to your promise made in this house, nor yet to your brags made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatever they can say, since of a dozen arguments you will not suffer me to prosecute one. Here Mr. Pie took upon him to promise, that he should be answered another day. But Mr. Philpot, seeing he could not proceed as he designed, was justly offended thereat, and concluded with the following words:—"A sort of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which by the Catholic doctrine of the scripture ye are not able to maintain."

Then



Then stood up Mr. Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Mr. Moreman took upon him to answer; but Mr. Elmar's allegations so incumbered his respondent, that he desired a day to overlook them, for at that instant he was without a proper answer.

The prolocutor now called upon Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Mr. Elmar's argument. Dr. Watson, who attempted to answer him, was so confounded, that he was not able to explain sufficiently the word *Mysterium* (Mystery). But as he seemed to doubt therein, Mr. Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author, to confirm what he had advanced, and, shewing the same to Dr. Watson, asked him, whether he thought that translation to be a just one, or that the printer were in fault; to which Watson replied, there may be a fault in the printer, for I am not remembered of this word. Then Mr. Haddon took out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he pointed to the same word, which Mr. Watson could not deny. The further arguments that were made use of, we shall omit declaring, because they were mostly in Greek, as were those also of Mr. Elmar's.

Then Mr. Perne stood up, and argued against transubstantiation, confirmed the authorities alledged by the two former speakers. When the prolocutor, interrupting, said, "I wonder, Mr. Perne, at your speaking thus, for no longer than last Friday you subscribed to the contrary." For which censure Mr. Elmar blamed the prolocutor, telling him, that he ought not to reprehend any man, because, said he, this house is a house of free liberty for every man to speak according to his conscience, and because but yesterday he promised this liberty to any man, notwithstanding he had subscribed.

Night now approaching, and the time being expired, the prolocutor, though he praised them for their learning, concluded with observing, that, all reasoning set apart, the order of Holy Church must be received, and all things ordered thereby.

#### The FIFTH DAY'S DEBATE.

On Friday, October 27th, the prolocutor opened the debate with observing, that the convocation had spent two days in disputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word (*ἔσθια*) and now they were assembled to answer all things that could be objected, therefore he desired they would shortly profound their arguments. Upon this, Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, requested leave to oppose Mr. Watson, who, with Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to answer him. Mr. Haddon then demanded, if any substance of bread and wine remained after consecration? To which Watson replied, by asking another question, namely, whether he thought there was a real presence of Christ's body, or not? Mr. Haddon said, it was not agreeable to order, that one, who was appointed to be respondent should be opponent; nor should he, whose business was to object, answer. Mr. Haddon then proceeded to shew, from the words of Theodoret, that the substance of bread and wine remained: for his words are, "The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after." Mr. Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence. Whereupon they were driven again to a discussion of the Greek word above mentioned; and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by it's etymology, and by the words of Theodoret; for, said he, *ἔσθια* cometh from the participle *ἔσθιον*, which descendeth to the verb *ἐσθίω*, and so cometh the noun *ἔσθια*, which signifieth substance. Mr. Watson said, it had not that signification only: but, in that place, Mr. Haddon proved, it could not signify otherwise. He then asked Watson, when the bread and wine became symbols? Watson answered, After consecration, and not before. Then Mr. Haddon raised out of his author the following syllogism (being an argument of three propositions).

(1) Theodoret saith, that the same thing the bread and wine were, before they were symbols, the same they remain still, in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

(2) Bread and wine they were before.

(3) Therefore, bread and wine they are after.

Mr. Watson, when he could not answer, had recourse to the shameful subterfuge of discrediting the authority of Theodoret, by saying, he was a Nestorian; at the same time, turning to Mr. Cheyney, who stood by, he desired to answer him, intimating, that he was more fit, than Mr. Haddon, to dispute upon this point, because he had granted and subscribed to the real presence. Being thus addressed with an insinuation that required an immediate reply, Mr. Cheyney applied to the house, and requested the patience of those honourable men to hear him, hoping so to open the matter, that the truth should appear; protesting, that he was no obstinate nor stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother, the church, which is the spouse of Christ. Dr. Weston liking this very well commended him highly, telling him, that he was a very learned and sober man, and well experienced in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man, for his knowledge, fit to dispute in that place; I pray you hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. Cheyney desired those that were present to pray to God with him in two words, and to say, *Vincat veritas*, "Let truth take place, and have the victory;" and all that were present cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas*.

Dr. Weston told them it was hypocritical, and that they had better say, *Vicit Veritas*, "Truth hath gotten the victory." Mr. Cheyney said again, If you will give me leave, I will come to the point, that you may truly say so. Then addressing himself particularly to Mr. Watson, he began after this manner.

You said that Mr. Haddon was not fit to dispute, because he had not granted the natural and real presence; but I say you are much less fit to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament. Watson said, that he had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that: so said the prolocutor and the other priests; so that for a long time he could not have leave to proceed, till the lords desired that he should be heard. He now explained what he meant by subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. He then prosecuted Haddon's argument, proving that the Greek word before discussed was a substance, using the same reason that Haddon did; and when he had received the same answer that was made to Haddon, he told them it was but a poor refuge, when they could not answer to deny the author, and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was said of the nature and substance. The similitude of Theodoret is this, said he, as the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ after his ascension, changed his name, and was called immortal, yet it had his former fashion, figure, and circumscription, and, to speak in one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore, if in the former part of the similitude you deny the same substance to continue, then in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great heresy; therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of bread and wine after consecration. In answer to this, Watson was obliged to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which are seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret says, Those things which are seen. For according to philosophy, the accidents of things are seen, and not the substances.

Cheyney then appealed to the nobility, and desired that they would give no credit to them in so saying: for if they think as they teach, after your lordships have ridden forty miles on horseback (as your business sometimes may require) you shall not be able to say at night, that



that saw your horses all the day, but only the colour of them: and by this reason Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle how to speak. For when he saw Nathaniel under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, No, Christ, thou didst not see him, but the colour of him. Then said Watson, suppose it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side, where there were one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

The prolocutor here perceiving that Mr. Watson was closely attacked, called upon Mr. Morgan to help him out, who said, that Theodoret did no more than what he might lawfully do; for, first, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake mystically: he granted the truth, by calling the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ; after which he seems to give somewhat to the senses and to reason: but that Theodoret was of the same opinion with them, will appear from his words that follow, which are the cause of what went before; therefore he says, The immortality, &c. whereby it seemeth, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human. Morgan was then detected in misapplying the text; for the book had not this word [for], and the Greek word did rather signify [truly], from whence it plainly appeared, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

Watson now repeated what he had before said: "Suppose Theodoret be on your side, of whom we never heard in print, before two or three years ago; yet he is but one; and what is one against the consent of the whole church?" Cheyney affirmed, that not only Theodoret was of his opinion, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but many others also, particularly Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, says thus: "When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist." From whence I infer, that if the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body. To this both Watson and Morgan replied, observing, that [by which], in that sentence of Irenæus, was to be referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread which is broken. Mr. Cheyney said, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies; and granting that the flesh of Christ nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not make for their argument, although it might be true; no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which we break, &c. with many others; whereunto you answered, that bread was not to be taken there in its proper signification, that is, not for that it was bread, but for that it had been so; any more than the rod of Aaron was taken for a serpent, because it had been a serpent. After this, Mr. Cheyney quoted Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did concerning the burning of symbols; and asked them, what was burnt? Mr. Watson said, we must not enquire nor ask, but if there was any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said Mr. Cheyney, whence came those ashes, if not from substance? or can any substance arise from accidents?

Here Mr. Harpsfield was called in to the assistance of Watson, and to hear what he could say to this matter; who began with a fair preamble about the omnipotency of God, and the weakness of human reason as to the comprehension and attainment of religious matters; and said, that whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, it was not convenient to trust our senses.—(The very pith and marrow of popery this.) He also related a curious legend out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; and that which burned thus, said Harpsfield, burneth here, and becometh ashes; but what that was which burnt, he could not tell. Mr. Cheyney continued still to force them with this question—What was it that was burnt?—it was either, said he, the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of

Christ, which was too great an absurdity to grant. At length they answered, it was a miracle; at which Mr. Cheyney smiling, said, that he would then say no more.

Then Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, asked the company, whether those men had been sufficiently answered, or not? To which certain priests said, Yes; but as to the great multitude of people, these exclaimed—No, no; they were not heard; and the clamour was so great, that it was heard almost to the end of St. Paul's: whereat Dr. Weston, being much incensed, answered sharply, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude, and unlearned people, but such as were members of that house. Having said this with much acrimony, he asked Mr. Haddon and his fellow-disputants, whether they would answer them other three days? Mr. Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar answered, No. Upon which the archdeacon of Winchester, Mr. Philpot, stood up, and said, they should be answered; and though all others refused to answer, yet he would not; but offered to answer them all in turns: with whose offer the prolocutor being dissatisfied, railed at him, saying that he should go to Bedlam; to whom the archdeacon returned gravely this answer, that he deserved much more to be sent thither, who behaved himself so furiously in the disputation, without any indifferent equality.

To this Dr. Weston made no reply, but rising up addressed the house, saying, All the company here have subscribed, these men whom you see only excepted. What their reasons are you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise, (which was a false assertion, for no such promise was made) that they should answer us again, as long as the order of disputation continued, and, if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them do so.

Then stood up Mr. Elmar, and shewed how vain a man Mr. Weston was; for he affirmed they never promised to dispute, but only to declare and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, alledging, that they would shew good reasons which moved them, that they could not, agreeable to their consciences, subscribe; as they had partly done already, and were able to do more effectually. Therefore, continued he, it hath been ill called a disputation, and they are much to blame who called it so. We meant not to dispute, nor now intend to answer; before our arguments, which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed: for, by answering, we should but incumber ourselves and profit nothing, since the matter is already decreed on, and determined, whatsoever we may prove by dispute to the contrary.

#### The SIXTH DAY'S DEBATE.

On Monday following, October the 30th, the prolocutor demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether, in the questions, before propounded, he would answer their objections or not? To whom he made this answer; that he would willingly do so; if, according to their former determination and promise, they would first answer fully some of his arguments, of which he had a dozen, not half of the first being decided; and if they would answer but one of his arguments sufficiently, he would reply to all the objections they could bring. The prolocutor bid him state his argument, and it should be resolutely controverted by some of them; whereunto Morgan was appointed. Mr. Philpot then proceeded. On Wednesday last, said he, I was forced to silence before I had prosecuted half my argument, the sum of which was, that the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father; wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could not be situated upon earth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar. The argument was denied by Morgan; but for proof hereof, Philpot said, that this was what he had to confirm his first argument with, if they would have suffered him the other day, as he hoped they would now. He thus proceeded with his argument.

(1) One self-same nature receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

E

(2) But



(2) But the body of Christ is an human nature, distinct from the deity, and is a proper nature of itself.

(3) Therefore it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

But bodily to be present, and to be absent bodily, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time, are things contrary to the nature of an human body. Therefore, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven, and also on the earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly. Morgan denied the first part of the argument, which Philpot supported out of Vigilius, an ancient writer; yet still Morgan cavilled thereat, and said it was no scripture, and desired him to prove the same from scripture. Philpot deduced the same from St. Paul, who says, that "Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin;" therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in St. Paul's church and at Westminster in one instant, or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln invisibly at one time; so, in like manner, the body of Christ cannot be in more places than one, which is in heaven, and consequently is not included or contained in the sacrament of the altar. But, said the prolocutor, it is not true, that Christ was like unto us in all points, since he was not conceived by the seed of man as we are. Philpot replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before by the angel to be supernatural, but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

Then Morgan affirmed, that these words of St. Paul did not plainly prove his purpose. Well, said Philpot, I perceive you answer only by cavilling, yet I am not destitute of other scriptures, though you refuse the testimony of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. St. Peter, making mention of Christ in the 3d chapter of the Acts, says, "Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things," &c. which words are spoken of his humanity; and if heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended. Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct answer, Harpsfield, one of the bishop of London's chaplains, stood up, and demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he would of necessity force Christ to any place, or not? Philpot returned, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than what the words of the Holy Ghost teach, namely, that Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment. To which Harpsfield replied, Do you not know that God is a God omnipotent? Yes, said Philpot, I know that right well; but as to Christ's omnipotency, what he can do, is not our question, but rather, what he actually doth: he may make more worlds; but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent to conclude, because he may or can do this or that, therefore he doth it.

#### SYLLOGISTIC ARGUMENT.

Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

That Christ's body is both in heaven, and here also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word.

Therefore it is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here in the sacrament.

Why, returned the prolocutor, then you will put Christ in prison in heaven. To which Philpot answered, Do you reckon heaven to be in prison? God grant us all to come to that prison!

After this, Harpsfield affirmed, that the Latin word, *oportet*, in St. Peter, (in English, *must*) did not import, as Philpot would infer, a necessity, which might be made appear from other places of scripture, as in the first of Timothy, where St. Paul saith, A bishop must be the husband of one wife. Here the word *oportet* doth not mean necessity, but a possibility, that he, who never was married, may be a bishop. To which Philpot replied, that the two passages he compared were not alike; and that in comparing the scriptures we must not consider the bare words, but rather their import: and in

one place, quoted by him, St. Paul declares of what quality a bishop ought to be; but in the other St. Peter refers to the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world; which we ought to believe to be true. And this comparison of the Latin word, *oportet*, is no more an answer to my argument, than if I was to say of you, now being here, you must needs be here, which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise but be here; yet you would endeavour, in words, to avoid this necessity with another *oportet* in another sense, as for instance, you must be a good man, where *must* doth not indeed imply any such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus your reasoning is not conclusive, and by no means an answer to my argument.

The prolocutor, to help the matter out, if possible, brought up another *oportet*, saying, *Oportet hereses esse*; must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word *oportet*? Certainly, returned Philpot, it cannot otherwise be, if you will add what immediately followeth, *ut qui electi sunt manifestentur*, meaning, "that such as be the elect of God may be manifest and known." But, said the prolocutor, the time hath been that no such heresies were. I know not of any such time, said Philpot; for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been and then began. Then said the prolocutor, Will you not now answer Morgan an argument or two? I will, said Philpot, if I may have my arguments first answered fairly, according to truth and learning. What! said the prolocutor, will you never be answered? How I am answered, returned Philpot, let all here present judge, especially men of learning, and with what cavilling you have trifled with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilius, you have answered nothing, except denying what he saith to be scripture. Secondly, to the words of St. Peter, in the Acts, you have answered, by demanding, whether I would keep Christ in prison, or not? Let men now judge if this be a sufficient answer, or not. Upon this, Morgan stood up again, and asked Philpot, whether he would be ruled by the universal church or not? Yes, said Philpot, if it be the true catholic church; and since you speak so much of the church, I would have you declare what the church is. The church, said Morgan, is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world. That is a diffuse definition, said Philpot, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church; but is it not what was grounded and founded on the word of God, as St. Paul saith upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets? What? quoth Moreman, was the scripture before the church? Yes, answered Philpot. But I will prove the contrary, returned Moreman; and I will begin at the time of Christ. The church of Christ was before any scripture written: for Matthew was the first who wrote a gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: therefore, the church was before the scripture. Philpot denied his argument; and shewed it to be a fallacy; for he took the scripture to be only that which was written by men in letters; whereas in truth, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be scripture, before it was written in paper and ink, for it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths of good men, and of the apostles, by the Spirit of Christ. The salutation of the angel was the scripture of Christ, or the word of God, before it was written. Moreman cried, Fie! fie! wondering that the scripture of God should be counted scripture before it was written, and affirmed, he had no knowledge who said so. To whom Philpot replied, that as to knowledge in this matter, for the trial of the truth, about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

At this the prolocutor was highly offended, saying to Philpot, it was speaking arrogantly, to compare himself with such a worshipful learned man as Mr. Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman, fitter to be sent to Bedlam, than to be among such learned and grave men as were there, and a man who never would be answered, and one who troubled the whole house; and therefore he commanded him to come no



more into that house, of whom he demanding, whether they would agree thereunto, or not, a great company answered, Yes. Philpot returned, he might think himself happy, who was out of their company.

Then Morgan rose up, and whispered the prolocutor in the ear; and the prolocutor spoke to Philpot again, and said, lest thou shouldst slander the house, and say, that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before, so as you be apparelled with a long gown and a tipper, as we be, and that you shall not speak but when I command you. Then, said Philpot, I had rather be absent altogether.

Thus they reasoned *pro* and *con*, till at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary took up the matter, and sending to Bonner, bishop of London, commanded him to dissolve and break up the convocation.

*The following is a Translation of the QUEEN'S PRECEPT, to BONNER, Bishop of LONDON, for dissolving the CONVOCATION.*

"**M**ARY, &c. To the Rev. Father in God, Edmund, Lord Bishop of London, sendeth greeting. Whereas there is now held at Paul's, London, the convocation of the clergy belonging to the province of Canterbury: we, by and with the advice and consent of our council, and for divers other causes and considerations particularly moving us thereunto, have hereby thought fit the said convocation should be dissolved. And therefore we strictly charge and command you, forthwith to dissolve or cause to be dissolved the said convocation, as shall seem to you most fit and convenient: signifying withal on our part to all and several the bishops, archdeacons, deans and all other spiritual persons, that they and every of them do obey and comply with this our command, as becometh them so to do.

"Witness ourself at Westminster, the 13th day of December, in the first year of our reign."

#### TRANSACTIONS of the PRIVY COUNCIL, and PARLIAMENT, during the Time of the above DISPUTATION.

November, 1553. On the 20th of this month, the mayor of Coventry sent up unto the lords of the council, Baldwin Clarke, J. Careless, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallow's-day before; whereupon Careless and Wilcocks were committed to the Gate-house, and the other two to the Marshalsea.

The same day, sir Christopher Heydon, and sir William Farmer, were ordered, by a letter from the council, to apprehend the Rev. John Huntington, for mak-

ing a rhyme against Dr. Stokes, and the sacrament, who appearing before the council, on the 3d of December following, was, upon his humble submission, and promise of amendment in doctrine and living, again suffered to depart.

In the days of Henry VIII. and Edward his successor, several noblemen and others were committed to the Tower; some charged with treason, as lord Courtney, and the Duke of Norfolk; some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, as Tonsal, bishop of Durham, and others, who were all continued prisoners there, till queen Mary granted them a pardon, and restored them to their former dignities. Among these was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only set at liberty, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Lord Courtney she created Earl of Devonshire, and shewed him so much favour, that it was suspected by some she would marry him. At the same time she also released that bloody prosecutor, Bonner, from the Marshalsea, and restored him to the bishopric of London, displacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops as Cranmer from Canterbury, also the archbishop of York, with a great number of archdeacons, deans, &c. in short, all those of the clergy who were either married, or would constantly adhere to the reformed religion, were removed from their livings; and others, advocates for popery, put in the same, as cardinal Pool, (who was invited to England) Gardiner, White, Day, Troublefield, &c.

And whereas a rumour was spread abroad, that Cranmer had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, in order therefore to clear himself, he published a declaration of his truth and constancy in those particulars, protesting that he neither had done so, nor intended it, adding, that, if the queen pleased, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would chuse, would, in public disputation, vindicate the doctrines of the reformation, against all persons whomsoever. But while he expected to obtain leave for such a disputation, he, with other bishops, were laid fast in the Tower. But Peter Martyr was permitted to depart the realm, and he went to Argentine. At length, in this month of November, Dr. Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting his sister Mary, was arraigned in the Guild-hall of London, and attainted of treason, with the lady Jane Grey, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who were remanded back to the Tower, at the intreaty of certain persons, and there kept for a time.

December 1553. About the beginning of this month, the parliament broke up, having first repealed all such statutes as were either made of premunire, or concerned any alteration of religion, and administration of the sacraments, in the reign of Edward VI.

## C H A P. III.

### WYAT'S REBELLION—QUEEN MARY'S ORATION—LADY JANE'S Behaviour, and her Execution—BONNER'S Instructions to the Clergy of his Diocese—A CONVOCATION summoned.

**O**N the 13th of January, 1554, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, for preaching without licence, on Christmas-day; and on the 21st, Thomas Wooton, Esq. was committed close prisoner to the Fleet, for matters of religion.

Early in this month the marriage of the queen was made public; but the news of this event was ill received both by the common people, and several of the nobility: and on this account, as also for religion, conspiring among themselves, raised a rebellion, whereof sir Thomas Wyatt was one of the chief promoters, who said in Kent, (what others plainly perceived) that the queen and council would, by her marriage with a foreigner, bring upon this realm most miserable servitude, and establish the popish religion.

January 25th. Intelligence was received at London, of the insurrection in Kent; and of the duke of Suffolk having fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, with a view of raising forces in those counties. The queen, therefore, caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors; and at the same time sent Thomas, duke of Norfolk, into Kent, who being near Rochester bridge, forsaken of those who went with him, returned to London, no blood having been shed on either side.

The duke of Suffolk having fled into Warwickshire, the earl of Huntington was sent against him, who entering the city of Coventry, before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. In his distress, the duke confided in a servant of his, in Asfley park; but the traitor



having betrayed him, he was apprehended, sent up to London, and committed to the Tower. In the mean time, sir Peter hearing of this, fled into France, but the other conspirators were taken; and Wyat advanced towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, having heard of his coming, repaired to Guild-hall, in the city, where she made a vehement oration against Wyat; the substance and effect whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

*An ORATION delivered by QUEEN MARY in GUILD-HALL, LONDON.*

**I** AM come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you see and know, that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion, and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion, for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counsellors.

Now, loving subjects, what I am, ye right well know; I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm, and laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye shewed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects, and therefore I doubt not, but ye will shew yourselves likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is: who certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you in the word of a queen, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a princess and governess may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think that you as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, for the wealth of the realm, and of your own subjects. And as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would chuse where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust, you would not only rejoice thereat, but also, I know, it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not

probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of Parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and your's, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence.

It is to be observed, that it having been reported the queen was coming into the city with armed men, this rumour so terrified the Londoners, lest they should be there entrapped, and put to death, that great numbers of them made out at the gate before she entered in. It is also to be noted, that when the queen had ended her oration (which she seemed to have learnt perfectly without book) at the conclusion thereof, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who stood by her, cried to the people, with great admiration, "O how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned queen!"

Two days after this, on the 3d of February, lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and sir Thomas Wyat entered Southwark; when, finding no access that way into the city, he marched with his army by Kingston, and came through the Strand to Ludgate. Returning from thence, he was opposed at Temple-bar, and there surrendered himself to sir Clement Larson, who brought him to court; and, with him, the remains of his army (for sir George Harper, and almost half of his men, had deserted him at Kingston-bridge) were also taken, and about one hundred killed. A great number of the captives were hanged; and Wyat was executed on Tower-hill, and then quartered. His head being set up upon Hay-hill, was taken away from thence, and great search made for the same.

On the 12th of February, the unfortunate Lady Jane Gray was beheaded. Two days before her death, Mr. Feckman, otherwise Howman, was sent to her from the queen, to converse with her, and endeavour to turn her from the doctrine of Christ and the reformation to Mary's popish religion. The substance of their conversation is thus related.

*A CONVERSATION between Mr. FECKNAM and LADY JANE GRAY, a short time before she was beheaded.*

*Feckman.* Madam, I lament your heavy case, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of your's with a constant and patient mind.

*Jane.* You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, (I thank God) I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour towards me, than ever he shewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

*Feck.* I am here come to you at this present time sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

*Jane.* Forsooth I heartily thank the queen's highness, which is not unkindful of her humble subject: and I hope likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

*Feck.* What is then required of a christian man?

*Jane.* That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

*Feck.* What, is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a christian, but to believe in him?

*Jane.* Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

*Feck.*



*Fecknam.* Why, then, faith neither justifieth, nor saveth.

*Jane.* Yes verily, faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifieth.

*Fecknam.* Why, St. Paul saith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

*Jane.* True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not? Or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

*Fecknam.* How many sacraments are there?

*Jane.* Two. The one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

*Fecknam.* No, there are seven.

*Jane.* By what scripture find you that?

*Fecknam.* Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

*Jane.* By the sacrament of baptism, I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am a child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

*Fecknam.* Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

*Jane.* No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when it was broken, and the wine when it was drank, putteth me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine, I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood.

*Fecknam.* Why, doth not Christ speak these words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say it is his body?

*Jane.* I grant he saith so; and so he saith, I am the vine, I am the door; but he is never the more the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies; or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

With these and such like persuasions he endeavoured, but to no purpose, to turn her to the popish religion. They reasoned about many other things, but these were the chief.

## LETTER

From LADY JANE to Mr. HARDING, (late CHAPLAIN to her Father the DUKE of SUFFOLK,) then fallen from the truth of GOD'S HOLY WORD.

SO oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, "That he which layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;" and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamed paramour of Antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout christian soldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Where-

fore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself doest so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? When thou thyself preacheest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul, and chusest rather to live miserably with shame in the world, than to die, and gloriously, with honor, reign with Christ, in whom even death is life? Why dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from the custom-gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace, all he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas, thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself (as St. Paul saith) upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received,) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other God than him? Dost thou so regard him that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honor due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

What saith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone, borne upon men's shoulders, to cast a fear before the heathen? "But be ye not afraid of them, (saith Jeremy) nor do as others do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for as of these gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak." He sheweth, moreover, the abuse of their dealings, how the priest took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal; how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves; much less any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, nor any other evil thing. These and such like words speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus, "Confounded be all they that worship them." They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship, given to him only. And Christ saith in the fourth of Matthew, to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil which hath prevailed against thee: "It is written (saith he) thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."



These and such like do prohibit thee and all christians to worship any other God, than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth: and wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who, for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent dishonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy soul, for which Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yields to thee his victory, if thou couldst have kept it? Dost thou not consider, that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his 40th Psalm, where he saith thus: "When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust: but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth." Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: "Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it."

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea, did clean fall away upon him that forsook not them: and contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all the powers of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and last of all to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not scruple to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting, Amen.

"Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain:  
"Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain."

### LETTER

*Which LADY JANE sent to her SISTER, the LADY KATHERINE, the Night before she suffered, written at the End of the New Testament in Greek.*

Good Sister Katherine.

I Have here sent you a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly is more worth than precious stones. It is the Book (dear sister) of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die: it shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands. For as

if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil; despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your master Christ, and take up your cross; lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, (good sister) that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from the which, (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth, to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and shorten your days. And if you cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

### The BEHAVIOUR and DYING WORDS of LADY JANE upon the SCAFFOLD.

When she mounted the scaffold, she spake to the spectators in this manner. "Good people. I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me; but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christian people, this day;" and therewith she wrung her hands wherein she had her book. "Then (said she) I pray you all good christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other means, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins: and yet I thank God that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent: and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then kneeling down, she turned to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" and he said, Yea. Then she said the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus*, in English, in a most devout manner throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maid, Mrs. Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges: and then she untied her gown, and the executioner pressed upon her to help her off with it, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to put about her eyes.

Then the executioner kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he desired her to stand upon the straw, which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, I pray you dispatch me quickly.



quickly. Then she kneeled down, saying, Will you take it off before I lay me down? and the executioner said, No, madam. Then she tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the standers by guiding her thereunto, she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretching forth her body, said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord 1554, the 12th day of February, about the 17th year of her age.

Thus died the lady Jane, and on the same day the lord Guildford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons, was likewise beheaded, two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they were both very young, and ignorantly accepted that which others had contrived, and by open proclamation consented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this pious lady, it is to be noted, that judge Morgan, who gave sentence against her, soon after he had condemned her, fell mad and in his raving cried out continually to have the lady Jane taken away from him; and so he ended his life.

On the 21st day of the same month, Henry duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time many gentlemen and yeomen were condemned, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom was the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very narrowly escaped.

On the 24th day of February, in the same year, Bonner, bishop of London, sent a commission, directed to all the pastors and curates of his diocese, for the taking of the names of all such as should refuse to come to auricular confession of the Lent following, and to the receiving at Easter. The copy of which here followeth.

*The INSTRUCTIONS of BONNER, BISHOP of LONDON, sent to all the CURATES of his Diocese.*

**E**DMUND, by the permission of God, bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church, within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy in our Lord everlasting. Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: and forasmuch also as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures, and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same: We minding the reformation thereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye and every each of you within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion, to receive the said sacrament of the altar, and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us, or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the sixth day of April next ensuing the date hereof; that so we knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving

the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further also certifying us, our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majesty. And if ye so have not, ye then with the churchwardens cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there irreverently in the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanors, not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

Given at London the 23d of February, in the year of our Lord 1554.

On the fourth of March following the queen sent a letter to Bonner, bishop of London, with certain articles annexed thereunto, to be put in speedy execution, containing as follows:

**QUEEN MARY'S LETTER to BONNER, BISHOP of LONDON.**

**R**IGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our most dear brother king Edward the sixth, whose soul God pardon, divers notable crimes, excesses and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other enormities have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all, and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil acceptation, and to no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm; and remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living shall be embraced, flourish and increase; and therewith also that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be banished and put away, or at the leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand; understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermost all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these causes and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters, as among other things be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted in your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we straitly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the third day of March, the first year of our reign.



ARTICLES sent from the QUEEN unto the ORDINARY, commanding both him and his Officers to see them put in Execution throughout the whole Diocese.

**F**IRST, That every bishop and his officers, with all others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the eighth used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter in any ecclesiastical writing, in process or other extrajudicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, [supported by royal authority.]

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late in few years passed have been accustomed and used.

Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay, or take hindrance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

Item, That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions; unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the bishop and his said officers punished and removed.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with other whose women do yet remain alive. And likewise such priests, as with the consent of their wives or women openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just consideration receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife, but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice, where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve in the room of another, in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate for his labour some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used and frequented, and continued after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of king Henry the eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

Item, That by the bishop of the diocese an uniform doctrine be set forth by Homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people: And that the said bishop and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children, and finding them suspected in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, as hath been accustomed.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good content and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the same.

A like charge also, with articles, was sent from queen Mary to the lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the same year, who, upon receiving the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, as followeth:

By the LORD MAYOR.

**O**N the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye the said aldermen fail not personally to call before your own person in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time or times from henceforth, and namely, at the holy time of Easter now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholicly, use and behave themselves like good and faithful christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning



cerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the right, wholesome, charitable and godly admonition, charge and exhortation, late set forth and given, by the right reverend father in God, the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but also, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they, or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive or understand to transgress or offend, in any point or article concerning the premises, at their utmost perils. That ye, immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary at your like peril. Given at the Guild-hall of the city of London, the 5th day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady and queen.

BLACKWELL.

And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past.

About the same year and time that Bonner published his prescript or charge, there came from the queen another proclamation, commanding all foreigners and strangers to depart this realm. The copy of which proclamation, which related chiefly to religion and doctrine, is as followeth.

*A Copy of the QUEEN's PROCLAMATION for driving all Foreigners and Strangers out of the realm.*

**T**HE queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her highness's dominions in other sundry nations, flying from the obedience of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, (some for heresy, some for murder, treason, robbery, and some for other horrible crimes,) be resorted into this her majesty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, inasmuch as besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same being heretics have preached and taught within her highness's said realm, it is assuredly known unto her majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid divers her highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her grace, but also some other of them desist not still to practice with her people forthwith to rebel: her majesty therefore, having (as afore-said) knowledge and intelligence hercof, hath for remedy herein determined and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person and persons born out of her highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known using the trade of merchandize, or servant to such ambassadors as be leigers here from the princes and states joined in league with her grace, shall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture of all their goods and moveables, and also to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, subjects, &c. straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's highness's dominions (except before excepted) that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment accordingly."

Upon this proclamation, not only the strangers who were received into the realm, for the sake of religion, in king Edward's time, (among whom were Peter Martyr, and John Alasco, the king of Poland's uncle) but many Englishmen also fled, some to Friezland, some to Cleveland, some into high Germany; where they were diversly scattered into different companies and congregations, at Wesel, Frankfort, Basil, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; wherein, by the providence of God, near eight hundred persons were all sustained, and entertained, with much greater kindness, by strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home.

In the month of March, likewise, the lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, and the queen's sister, by a political trick of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, were committed to the Tower, under a pretended suspicion of their having been consenting to Wyat's conspiracy. This Gardiner had always been a capital enemy to lady Elizabeth, and by means of Wyat's rebellion, the jesuitical bishop hoped to gather something, whereby he might accuse both that princess and lord Courtney; but the same day sir Thomas Wyat was executed, he desired the lieutenant of the Tower to conduct him to the presence of lord Courtney; where, before the lieutenant and the sheriffs, kneeling down, he besought lord Courtney's forgiveness, for that he had falsely accused both him and the lady Elizabeth; and when carried from thence to the scaffold, he there, publicly in the face of all the spectators, declared, that lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were intirely innocent, and had not the least knowledge of, nor concern in the Kentish insurrection. At which confession, Dr. Weston standing by, had the assurance to address the people, saying, "Believe him not, good people, for he confessed otherwise to the council."

Not long after this, a certain apprentice, living in St. Lawrence-lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with Denham, a plasterer, happened to say, that sir Thomas Wyat had cleared lady Elizabeth, and lord Courtney, of consenting to his rising; which words being brought to Gardiner, (by what means was not known) sir Andrew Judd was immediately sent by the bishop to the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the said apprentice to the star-chamber, he being accused for saying that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney. When this man was brought to the star-chamber, Gardiner, setting aside all other matters in hand, began with declaring, how miraculously almighty God had brought the queen to the crown, the whole realm being in a manner against her; which event he had brought to pass, for the singular intent and purpose, that this realm being overspread with heresies, she might reduce the same again to the true catholic faith; and as to the lady Elizabeth, having taken her into favour, she had loved her tenderly, and also the lord Courtney; who had been long detained in prison, whom she had set at liberty, bestowing great benefits upon him; yet, notwithstanding all this, they had both most unnaturally and traitorously conspired against her majesty, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as (said he) by the confession of Wyat, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear: but there were some in the city of London who reported, that Wyat was constrained by the council, to accuse lady Elizabeth, and lord Courtney; and you, (said he to the Mayor) my lord, have not seen the same punished. "The party is here, returned the lord mayor." Take him with you, (said Gardiner) and punish him according to his desert; and further, my lord, take heed to your charge; the city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of the realm. When he had said this, lord Shandois, lieutenant of the Tower, who stood by at the same time, in order to flatter the bishop in his tale, thus spoke; "My lords, this is a truth that I shall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower, when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and



and desired him to confess the truth of himself, which he had done before, and submit himself unto the queen's majesty's mercy."

Thus much (says Mr. Fox) I thought fit to declare of this matter, to the intent, that the reader, perceiving the bishop's proceedings in the premises, and comparing the same with the testimony of the sheriffs, who were present the same time when sir Thomas Wyat asked the lord Courtney forgiveness, may better judge of the whole case and matter, for which the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney were so long in trouble.

Queen Mary after this, partly fearing the Londoners, by reason of Wyat's conspiracy, and partly perceiving most of the city, for the sake of religion, not to favour greatly her proceedings, in order to shew her displeasure, and to their hindrance, summoned a parliament to be held at Oxford, with a view also of gratifying this city, where both the university, town, and country, had shewed themselves very obedient and forward, especially in restoring the catholic religion. For this purpose, great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townsmen of Oxford, and the country round about. But her majesty's mind soon changed, and in April following, the same parliament was held at Westminster; where the queen, among other matters, proposed her marriage with king Philip, which was agreed upon; and likewise the restoring of the pope's supremacy, which could not be obtained. At the same time when this parliament was summoned, the queen likewise summoned a convocation of the bishops and clergy, writing unto Bonner, (whom she had made vicegerent in the room of Cranmer, then in the Tower) in the following style, different from that of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

"Mary, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith; to the Rev. father in God, Edmund, lord bishop of London, sendeth greeting, &c."

Here the queen's title is altered, the latter part being omitted, namely, "Of the churches of England and Ireland, supreme," because in this session of parliament the supremacy was taken from the crown of England, and restored to the pope: and bishop Bonner giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out *Autoritate*, &c. "By the authority of our most illustrious queen empowered; which part of the bishop's title, in the same parliament, was likewise repealed and taken away. It is also to be observed that on opening the convocation, Bonner, bishop of London, made a certain exhortation, or oration, to the clergy then assembled, wherein he set forth the most incomparable and superangelical order of priesthood, as will appear from the following fragment, collected by some present, which is well worthy the reader's notice, both because the author of it should not be forgot, and because the estimation of the blessed order should lose nothing of its preeminence; an order, which, according to bishop Bonner, standeth above angels and kings.

#### BONNER'S ORATION, in Praise of PRIESTHOOD.

**W**HEREFORE it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi. "Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, &c. and whatsoever ye shall bind," &c. For a priest by some means is like Mary the Virgin, and is shewed by three points; as the blessed Virgin by five words did conceive Christ, as it is said, Luke i. *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*: that is to say, "Be it unto me according to thy word:" so the priest by five words doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb: so immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, As the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even so the priest after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the priest being ordained and appointed before he doth consecrate, because without

orders he could consecrate nothing; therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be ever so holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests by some means passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do on earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, "Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar." Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c.

We have before observed, that Dr. Ridley was removed from Fremingham to the Tower; while there, being one day invited to the lord lieutenant's table, he had a conference, or conversation, with secretary Bourne, Mr. Fecknam, (the queen's commissioners,) and others, concerning the controversies in religion; the sum whereof, as penned by Dr. Ridley himself, is as follows.

#### A CONVERSATION that passed in the TOWER, at the LORD LIEUTENANT's TABLE between Dr. RIDLEY, SECRETARY BOURNE, and Mr. FECKNAM.

Mr. Thomas Bridges said, at his brother's the lord lieutenant's table, I pray you, doctors, for my information, tell me what an heretic is. Secretary Bourne said, I will tell you who is an heretic; who so stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretic. You mean sir, said I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yes, that is true, said he; and in this we are soon agreed. Then said Mr. Fecknam, whom they called master dean of Paul's, sitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Augustine who is an heretic; "He that either for the sake of princes, or for the sake of filthy lucre, sets on foot or propagates wrong notions, he is an heretic." Sir, said I, I think St. Augustine addeth the third number, which is, "Or for the sake of vain glory." You say even true, master doctor, said he, and thus far we did agree all three.

Mr. Fecknam began again, saying, Who so doth not believe what the scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is an heretic; as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary, is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretic, as master doctor there knoweth full well; I do take to witness his own conscience, said he.

In truth, said the secretary, Mr. Fecknam hath spoken well. These are great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do not you think so, Dr. Ridley?

Here, while I seemed unwilling to talk, one of the commissioners said, Peradventure Dr. Ridley doth agree with Mr. Fecknam, and in that case there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, said I, in some things I do, and shall agree with him; and in some things which he has spoken to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters, said I, ye are (as I understand) the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace.

There is none here, said the secretary, that doth not favour you: and then every man shewed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

Taking this shew of courtsey for a licence to speak my sentiments freely, I thus proceeded.

To Mr. Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmations where no denial was, I answered; Where is a multitude of affirmations in scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter, for that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of



of them all. It is as true what John saith of Christ "I am the door of the sheep," as if all had said it. For it is not in scripture as in witnesses of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain with what spirit he doth speak. And where Mr. Feckman spake of so many, affirming, without any negation, &c. Sir, said I, all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. If in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye by the same do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye perceived I did mean.

Mr. Feckman perceiving whereunto my discourse tended, said, What circumstances can you shew that shall move me to think of any other sense than as the words plainly say, "This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?"

Sir, said I, even the next sentence that followeth, viz. "Do this in my remembrance." And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, by the same I may say, that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, "This is my body which shall be betrayed for you," so Paul, who spake by Christ's Spirit, saith, "We being many, are all but one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread."

Here he called one bread, one loaf, said the secretary. Yes, said I, one loaf, one bread, all is one with me. But what say you of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that Mr. Fecknam spoke of?

I assure you, said I, I think them weighty matters, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our head Christ, and such an one as St. Paul speaketh of, saying, "One faith, one God, one baptism." And for antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Irenæus saith; That which is first is true. In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by many good men, that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, which wrote before the controversy, and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree if they be well understood in this truth.

Now as for universality, it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age.

No, no, said Mr. Secretary, these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest; and here he and I changed many words. To be short in this matter, we did not agree.

## C H A P. IV.

*An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of a PUBLIC DISPUTATION appointed by the QUEEN's special Command in a CONVOCATION held at St. MARY's CHURCH, in OXFORD.*

**A**BOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors, and graduates, appointed to dispute against them were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, &c. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament after the words spoken by the priest or not?
2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?
3. Whether in the mass there be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

On Saturday the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being assembled together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford. Whereupon in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form, proposed by the senior proctor; "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles is sound and catholick, and consonant with verity of the right meaning faith, and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and Mr. Sedgewick, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford-men, sealed with their common seal. Item, Another grace was granted to Mr. Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon imme-

diately admitted. The aforesaid letters being then drawn out, the third day after, (which was the 11th day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation house, and there sealed.

The day after, being the 12th of the same month, the doctors of that university set forward to Oxford, where they arrived on the 13th of April, and lodged, all at the Cross-inn, with one Wakecline, some time a servant to bishop Bonner.

Soon after their coming, Dr. Crooke presented them with wine for their welcome; and shortly after, two of their beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine: after whom Mr. Pie and Fecknam came next to welcome them. Then after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and instrument of grace (which was in Dr. Seaton and Dr. Watson's keeping) they all went to Lincoln college to Dr. Weston the prolocutor, and to Dr. Tresham, the vice-chancellor, to whom they delivered their letters, declaring what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again; but first concluded on a procession, sermon, and convocation, on the day following, and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporated with the university of Oxford, and that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporated with the university of Cambridge. The same day, the three prisoners were separated, Dr. Ridley to the house of Mr. Irish, Mr. Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo, a prison in Oxford.

On Saturday, April 14, at eight o'clock, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repairing to Lincoln college again, found the prolocutor above in the chapel, with a company of the house singing mass for the dead, and tarried there until the end. Then having consulted together in the master's room, about nine they all came to the university church, called St. Mary's, where, after a short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes brought from Cambridge,



Cambridge, save that Dr. Seaton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. By this time the regents, in the congregation house, had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up and were immediately admitted, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

That done, they all came into the quire, and there held the convocation of the university: they had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung before them by the quire-men of Christ's church; but first the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent, and caused Mr. Say the register openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Mr. Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one Mr. White for Oxford, should testify of their doing, and then ordered the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, except those that had subscribed before in the convocation house at London and Cambridge; and so the vice-chancellor began first, and the rest of the Oxford men after him, as many as could in the mass time.

Mass being done, they went in procession to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beades, Mr. Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they all went again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the quire, and sat on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons: and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, who within a while was brought to them with a number of trusty bill-men.

The reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, paid his respects to them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who, notwithstanding having a stool offered him, refused to sit.

The prolocutor caused the articles to be read to him, and a copy to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next, and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Boreado, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and he should have them brought to him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty: insomuch that some masters of arts were seen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read to him, immediately replied, they were all false, and said further, that they sprang out of bitter and sour root.

Then he was asked whether he would dispute or no? He answered, "That as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books." They said he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was unreasonable that he might not have his own books and time also. Then they gave him the articles, and desired him to write his mind of them that night; after which, they commanded the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in Mr. Latimer, with a handkerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so was he suffered by the prolocutor. After his denial of the articles, when he had appointed Wednesday for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse and lack of books, saying, "That he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back;" complaining moreover "That he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in

his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended: and Dr. Weston said, "That he would make him grant, that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament." To whom Mr. Latimer said again, "That you will never do, Mr. Doctor;" and so forth, with they put him to silence; so that when he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was so great a press and throng of people, that one of the beades swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry. After this, bringing home the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, viz. Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seaton, Glin, Atkinson, Scot, Watson, and Sedgewick, went to the Cross-inn, to supper. And this was on the 14th day of April.

At nine o'clock, on Sunday morning, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, where divers of the doctors, in their robes, were placed in due order of precedency. After sermon, they all dined at Magdalen college, and supped at Lincoln college, with the prolocutor Dr. Weston; whither Dr. Cranmer sent his answer upon the articles, in writing.

#### *The ARGUMENTS, REASONS, and ALLEGATIONS, used in this DISPUTATION.*

ON Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each one installed themselves in their places. Dr. Cranmer with a rout of rusty bills was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and alderman sitting by him: where Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown, after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration:

"You are assembled hither, brethren, this day to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. At which words thus pronounced unawares, by the prolocutor, several of the learned men there present, considering, and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputation, he had betrayed himself and his religion, by terming the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, "That it was not lawful, by God's word, to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God." Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring leave, thus answered;

"We are assembled (said he) to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world: whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason that we should dispute of that which is determined upon before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely my answer then is looked for in vain." This was the sum of his answer; and this done, he prepared himself for disputation.

Then Chedsey the first opponent began in this manner: Rev. Mr. Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present to dispute upon:

1. In the sacrament of the altar, is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the virgin Mary, and also his blood, present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

These are the arguments whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion,



in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore thus I argue.

*Obed.* Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be given for you."

But this true body was given for us:

*Ergo*, His true body is in the sacrament.

*Cran.* His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him; but spiritually. And so it is taken in a spiritual sense. For when he said, "This is my body," it is all one as if he had said, "This is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my blood." As often as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.

*Obed.* Your opinion differeth from the church which saith that the true body is in the sacrament.

*Ergo*, Your opinion therein is false.

*Cran.* I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual.

*Obed.* Christ, when he spake these words, "This is my body," spake of the substance, but not of the effect.

*Cran.* I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his original body. And because it would be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large, with answers to every one of their three propositions; which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; this he promised to do; but it is not the first promise that such papists have broken. But though the copy of this writing was not read by the prolocutor, we have drawn out the contents thereof, which are as follows:

**Dr. CRANMER'S EXPLICATION of the foregoing CONCLUSIONS, exhibited by him.**

*Cran.* **I**N the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the scripture.

In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word [really] *re ipsa*, that is, in very deed and effectually; so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all true and holy members.

But if ye understand by this word [really] *corporaliter*, that is, corporally; so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural and organical substance, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual phrase of scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and christian profession: since both the scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning, that Christ has left the world, and sits at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

And likewise I answer to the second question: that is, That it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of scripture.

The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense, is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

*Obed.* By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the

body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: inasmuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ; so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of scripture and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

And first to begin with the scripture, let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, as they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking bread, &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke: And when Jesus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said, that to be his body which was given for many, and that to be his blood which should be shed for many; whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. *Ergo*, It is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

*Cran.* Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance.

*West.* We will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments.

*Obed.* The scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body, Matth. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii.

*Ergo*, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament.

*Cran.* To your argument I answer: If you understand by the body natural [*organicum*], that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively.

Furthermore, concerning the evangelists, this I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it his body.

*Obed.* The text of the scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, The same body which shall be given.

That thing is here contained, that is given for us.

But the substance of bread is not given for us.

*Ergo*, The substance of bread is not here contained.

*Cran.* I understand not yet what you mean by this word [contained]: If you mean really, then I deny your major.

*Obed.* The major is the text of scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the scripture. For the scripture saith, This is my body which is given for you.

*Cran.* I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained; but the body (saith he) that shall be given for you. As though he should say, This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the shedding of my blood. What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it.

*Obed.* If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many. *Ergo*, Here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the scripture, which teacheth that it was no phantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith, but the substance of the body.



*Cran.* You must prove that it is contained, but Christ said not which is contained. He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in the words of the scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined by yourself.

*Ched.* When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?

*Cran.* He gave bread; the bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually; and the bread there he called his body.

*Ched.* This answer is against the scripture, which saith, that he gave his body.

*Cran.* It did signify that which he did eat.

*Ched.* They did not eat the body as the Capernaïtes did understand it, but the self-same body which was given for the sins of the world. Ergo, It was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed.

In some other copies (says Mr. Fox) I find this argument to be made by Chedsey.

The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross.

But bread was not given for us on the cross.

Ergo (therefore) bread is not given in the sacrament.

*Cran.* I deny the major, which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually. And after he denied also the argument as utterly void, as he might well do, the major in the second figure being not universal.

When Mr. Chedsey had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Dr. Cranmer answered as before is shewed, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of those doctors which the prolocutor called Censores (who sat as arbiters to order the disputation) said on this wise.

*D. Ogle.* You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus.*

*Cran.* You should say, *Quale corpus.* I answer to the question: it is the same body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, *Panis est corpus*, is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally, for it is a sacrament of his body.

*Ogle.* This word [body] being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

But *substantia* is not predicated denominatively.

Ergo, It is an essential predication, and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

*Cran.* *Substantia* may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution.

*Ogle.* It is not a likely thing that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wife householder hath for his family in making his will or testament.

*Cran.* Your reason is drawn out of affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy scriptures.

*Ogle.* But no householder maketh his testament after that sort.

*Cran.* Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments, and especially in this of his supper.

*Ogle.* No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here.

*Cran.* Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

*Ogle.* The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without wrangling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do use tropes.

Therefore (I say) he useth no tropes.

*Cran.* I deny your minor.

*West.* Augustine, in his book intituled, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, chap. x. hath these words following:

"What a thing is this, I pray you, when the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard which is ready to go to his grave, no man saith that he hath made a lye, and he is not accounted his heir which regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour, both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who despiseth, who observeth them not, and so shall come from thence to judge all men."

*West.* This saith Chrysostom, Homil. 61. ad pop. Antioch. "Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, that is brought to pass by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to shew his great good will that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head, for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure, insomuch that they, shewing their great desire towards him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh. Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a great love towards him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them, but also to be handled and eaten. Parents many times give their children to others to be fed; but I do not so, saith Christ, but feed you with my own flesh, and set myself before you. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you." I prove it out of Chrysostom, writing upon the 50th psalm.

"She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ our nurse doth not so play with us. Therefore instead of meat he feedeth us with his own flesh, and instead of drink he feedeth us with his own blood." Likewise upon the xxvi. chap. of Matthew, the 83d Homily, he saith, "For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean time to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it), and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but in very deed."

*Cran.* I grant we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth I deny.

*West.* Chrysostom, 2 Cor. chap. xiii. Hom. 29. hath these words, "No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord."

*Cran.* And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it?

*Cole.* How gather you that of Chrysostom?

*Cran.* Chrysostom declareth himself, "O miracle. O the good will of God towards us, which sitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the time of sacrifice, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by."

Thus you hear Christ is seen here on earth every day, is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure.

*West.* What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body?

But



But hearken what Chrysostom saith, "I shew forth that thing on earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is in like manner the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I shew thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest, and not only touchest, but eatest that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other, and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home; wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness."

Upon this I conclude, that the body of Christ is shewed us upon the earth.

Cranmer. What? upon the earth? He is seen here with the eyes of our mind only, with faith and spirit.

Weston. What is it that seemeth worthy of the highest honour on earth? The sacrament or the body of Christ?

Cranmer. Chrysostom speaketh of the sacrament, and the body of Christ is shewed forth in the sacrament.

Weston. Therefore, the sacrament is worthy greatest honour.

Cranmer. I deny your argument.

Weston. That thing is shewed forth, and is now on the earth, which is worthy highest honour.

But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour.

Therefore, the body of Christ is now on the earth.

Cranmer. I answer, the body of Christ is on the earth, in the sacrament, only so as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism.

Weston. Chrysostom saith, *Ostendo*, "I shew forth," which noteth a substance to be present.

Cranmer. That is to be understood sacramentally.

Weston. He saith, *Ostendo in terra*, "I shew forth on earth," declaring the place where.

Cranmer. That is to be understood figuratively.

Weston. He is shewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cranmer. Your major and conclusion are one and the same.

Weston. But the major is true: Therefore the conclusion is also true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of highest honour.

But no figure is worthy of highest honour.

Therefore, that which is on earth is no figure.

Here Weston called upon Dr. Cranmer, to answer one part, bidding him to repeat his words; which when he went about to do, such was the noise and uproar in the divinity school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostom, using for *ostenditur in terra*, "he is shewed forth on the earth," *est in terra*, "he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostom hath not *est*, nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of shewing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost, *in baptismo ostenditur*, "is shewed forth in baptism;" and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *ostenditur*. Then the prolocutor stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise, calling him unlearned, unskilful, and impudent. Which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with rude and unseemly demeanour, did call upon him to answer the argument, then he desired the notary to repeat his words again.

Notary. That which is worthy most high honour, here I shew forth to thee on earth.

The body of Christ is worthy highest honour.

Therefore, he shewed forth the body of Christ here on earth.

Cranmer. That is shewed forth here on earth which may be seen; which may be touched, and which may be eaten; but these things be not true of the body.

Cole. Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?

Cranmer. The major out of Chrysostom is true, meaning in the sacraments: for, in the sacrament, the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth.

Weston. Shew me somewhat on earth worthy greatest honour.

Cranmer. I cannot, but in the sacrament only.

Weston. Therefore, the sacrament is worthy greatest honour.

Cranmer. So it is.

Weston. Judges, let it be written.

Cranmer. I pray you, let my answer be written likewise: I affirm that the body of Christ is shewed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ.

Weston. *Ostendo tibi*, "I shew to thee," saith Chrysostom, not to thy faith.

Cranmer. He speaketh sacramentally.

Weston. Therefore Chrysostom lyeth; for he saith, "I Chrysostom do shew;" but he can shew nothing sacramentally.

Chedsey. By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy of highest honour. The reason is indissoluble.

Cranmer. I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath my answer unto it.

Chedsey. Will you affirm, that it is absurd which Chrysostom saith, that the body of Christ is touched?

I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.

Thomas touched Christ, saying, "My Lord and my God."

Therefore, that which he touched was the Lord the God.

Cranmer. I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him who was God. Neither is it sound doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Chedsey. This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, who is both God and Man, is touched.

Tertullian, speaking of the resurrection of the body, saith, "Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul substance of our's hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation, unless it believe while it is in the flesh; so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul is so linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God." Whereupon I gather this argument.

The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

Therefore, the body of Christ is eaten with the mouth.

Phoceus also, 1 Cor. chapter xi. upon these words, "Is guilty of the body and blood," declareth, "That like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but the Lord himself.

Therefore, the body of Christ is touched with the hands.

Cranmer. You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First, I must answer Tertullian, and then the other.



*Chedsey.* They tend both to one meaning.

*Cranmer.* Unto Tertullian I answer, (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain) that he calleth that the flesh which is the sacrament. For although God works all things in us invisibly beyond men's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and last of all the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ.

*Weston.* Stick to those words of Tertullian, "The body eateth, that the soul may be fed."

*Chedsey.* The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith.

*Weston.* Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body.

*Chedsey.* He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh also is fed.

*Cranmer.* The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament.

*Chedsey.* Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?

*Cranmer.* Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptism, the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another.

*Young.* This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, against those who deny principles, we must not dispute; therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?

*Cranmer.* There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body.

*Young.* Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?

*Cranmer.* They ought.

*Young.* Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?

*Cranmer.* Yes, he is truth itself.

*Young.* Fourthly, whether Christ at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?

*Cranmer.* In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples.

*Young.* Answer according to the truth, whether did Christ that as God and Man which he spake, when he said, "This is my body?"

*Cranmer.* This is sophistical cavilling. There is some deceit in these questions.

*Young.* I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing, or no?

*Cranmer.* He did institute the sacrament.

*Young.* But answer, whether he did work any thing?

*Cranmer.* He did work in instituting the sacrament.

*Young.* Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech.

But a figure worketh nothing.

Therefore, it is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory.

*Cranmer.* I understood your sophistry before. You by working understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting.

*Young.* Woe be to them, who make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the self-same thing?

*Cranmer.* He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect.

*Young.* A figurative speech is no working thing.

But the speech of Christ is working.

Therefore, it is not figurative.

*Cranmer.* It worketh by instituting, not by converting.

*Young.* The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not the sacrament?

*Cranmer.* It is. For the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. The sacrament (saith he) is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.

*Weston.* Stick to this argument.

It is a figurative speech.

Therefore, it worketh nothing.

*Young.* But the speech of Christ is a working thing.

Therefore, it is not figurative.

*Cranmer.* Oh how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself, and he worketh by a figurative speech.

*Weston.* If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ.

*Cranmer.* A figurative speech worketh not.

*Weston.* A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing.

But the speech of Christ in the supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.

Therefore, the speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative.

*Cranmer.* I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work, but Christ by the speech doth work the sacrament.

I look for scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations.

This disorderly disputation, concluding with an universal cry of *Vincit veritas*, continued almost till two o'clock. Which being finished, and the arguments written, and delivered into the hands of Mr. Say; the prisoner, Dr. Cranmer, was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined sumptuously together, at the university college.

A SECOND DISPUTATION at OXFORD, between Dr. RIDLEY, Dr. SMITH, &c.

THE next day being April 12th, Dr. Ridley was brought forth to dispute; against whom Dr. Smith was appointed principal opponent. It may be proper to observe of Dr. Smith, that he had often changed his sentiments; but not from a principle of conscience, or real conviction, as will appear from his articles by him recanted.

Besides Dr. Smith, there were other opponents; Dr. Weston, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Oglethorp, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Cole, Dr. Watson, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Pye, Mr. Harding, Mr. Curton, and Mr. Fecknam; all of whom Dr. Ridley answered very learnedly.

The SPEECH of Dr. WESTON, PROLOCUTOR, at the Commencement of the DISPUTATION.

Good Christian People and Brethren!

WE have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. Christ is true, which said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church to permit the truth received to be called this day in question without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question.

Dr. Smith. This day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among christians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

3. Whether



3. Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory; &c.

Touching which questions, although you have publicly declared your judgment on Saturday last: yet I will again demand your answer on the first question; upon which I stand here now to hear what may be answered.

Dr. RIDLEY'S INTRODUCTORY DECLARATION, or PROTESTATION.

I Received of you the other day, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and you my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

Now whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God, (and how soon he only knoweth) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready always to give a reason of the hope that is in me, with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worships, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record upon my soul, I lye not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howsoever it shall be, I will in a few words do that which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit, of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books; therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of my answers.

The FIRST PROPOSITION.

In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ born of the virgin Mary, and his natural blood, is really present under the forms of bread and wine.

BISHOP RIDLEY'S ANSWER.

In matters appertaining to God, we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase, or kind of speech, than the scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And

being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plainly contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness:

The EXPLICATION.

How far the diversity and newness of the phrase in all this first proposition is from the phrase of the holy scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any one who is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

First, there is a double sense in these words, "By virtue of God's word," for it is doubtful what word of God this is, whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

Again, there is a doubt of these words, "of the priest," whether no man may be called a priest; but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

It is likewise doubted after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedek. For as far as I know, the holy scriptures doth allow no more.

Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word [really,] whether it be taken as the logicians term it "*transcender*," that is, most generally, and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, seeing the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here on the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, [under the forms of bread and wine,] whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by the exterior senses.

Now the error and falseness of the proposition, after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed to the flesh assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in St. Paul, and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is built upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries.

The CONFIRMATION of the aforesaid ANSWER.

There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

Therefore, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

The major, or first part of my argument is plain; and the minor, or second part, is proved thus:

The doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the word, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.



But such a presence disagreeeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

Therefore, the second part is true.

The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet farther be confirmed thus.

#### *The SECOND PROPOSITION.*

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man.

#### *The ANSWER.*

The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added before to the answer of the first proposition.

#### *The CONFIRMATION of this ANSWER.*

It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

But the substance of bread is no other manner of substance, than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man.

Therefore the conclusion is false.

That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he break, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.

Therefore, the first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerom, Augustin, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede. Whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

Bread is the body of Christ.

Therefore, it is bread.

As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is his mystical body.

But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation.

Therefore, it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiated into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

But the wine is not transubstantiated into his blood.

Therefore, neither is that bread therefore transubstantiated into his body.

The words of Christ spoken upon the cup, and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

But the words spoken upon the cup, have not virtue to transubstantiate.

Therefore, it followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue.

The circumstances of the scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy scripture touching the sacrament.

But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper.

Therefore, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, "This is my body."

The circumstances of the scripture are, "Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread and one body," &c.

#### *The THIRD PROPOSITION.*

In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiatory and available for the sins as well of the quick as of the dead.

#### *The ANSWER to this PROPOSITION.*

I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

#### *The EXPLICATION.*

Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy scripture has not so much as one syllable.

There is ambiguity also in the name of [mass,] what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed as the ancient fathers used: seeing that now there be neither Catechists nor Penitentes to be sent away.

Again, touching these words, [the lively sacrifice of the church] there is doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice, (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper) or properly and without any figure; of the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the altar of the cross.

Moreover, in these words, [as well as,] it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt, as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is also a doubt in the word [propitiatory,] whether it signify here that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin, that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active, or in the passive signification.

#### *ARGUMENTS confirming his ANSWER.*

(1) No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

(2) All other priests are unmeet to offer propitiatory sacrifices, save only Christ.

(3) Therefore, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone. See Heb. chap. v.

The second part of my argument is thus proved.

(1) No honour in God's church ought to be taken, where a man is not called, as Aaron was.

(2) It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin.

(3) Therefore no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin, who only was called to that honour.

#### *FIRST ARGUMENT.*

(1) That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where there is no necessity it should be done.

(2) To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, there is no necessity: for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

(3) Therefore, to do the same in the mass, is in vain.

#### *SECOND ARGUMENT.*

(1) After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

(2) But Christ coming an high bishop, &c. found and obtained for us eternal redemption.

(3) Therefore, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

#### *THIRD ARGUMENT.*

(1) All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

(2) In the mass there is no shedding of blood.

(3) Therefore, in the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

#### *FOURTH ARGUMENT.*

In the mass, the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same: yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

But



But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the apostle saith, "Not that he might offer up himself often times (for then must we have suffered often times since the beginning of the world:)" now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: "For Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment; even so Christ was once offered, to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him shall he appear again without sin unto salvation." See Heb. chap. ix.

#### FIFTH ARGUMENT.

Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

Ergo, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any propitiatory sacrifices.

#### ARGUMENTS and ANSWERS between Dr. SMITH, and BISHOP RIDLEY.

*Dr. Smith.* You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Methinks, in your supposition, you did abuse the testimonies of scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament, as though this were a strong argument in your favour.

Christ did ascend into heaven.

Ergo, He is not in the sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of your's.

Christ's ascension is no bar to his real presence in the sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places.

*Rid.* You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his abiding there also.

*Smith.* Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

*Rid.* Of Christ's real presence there may be a double understanding: if you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporeal substance which he took of the virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But if you mean a real presence, according to some thing that appertaineth to Christ's body, certainly the ascension and abiding in heaven hinder not at all that presence. Wherefore Christ's body after that manner is here present to us in the lord's supper; by grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it.

*Smith.* Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom.

Ergo, His ascension and abiding in heaven, are no bar to his real presence in the sacrament.

*Rid.* Mr. Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not straightly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure. For when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit, I do affirm, That it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time.

*Smith.* Mark, I pray you, my masters that be here, diligently, what he answereth. First he saith, That the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a

bar to the real presence of his body in the sacrament, and then afterwards he flieth from it again.

*Rid.* I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school.

*Smith.* Ergo, It is lawful for Christ then to be here present on the earth, when he will himself

*Rid.* Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

*Smith.* Ergo, He ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament.

*Rid.* I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will.

*Smith.* Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive; therefore, I will join again with you in that short argument.

Christ, notwithstanding he doth always abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth.

*Rid.* If the notaries should so record your argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be ashamed of it hereafter.

*Smith.* Christ after his ascension was seen really and corporally upon the earth.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament.

*Rid.* I grant the antecedent, but I deny the consequence.

*Smith.* Do you grant the antecedent?

*Rid.* Yes, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much. Because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was seen on earth after his ascension.—

*Smith.* Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

Christ after his ascension was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

*Rid.* Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father.

*Smith.* Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?

*Rid.* Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straightly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also on earth. But if you understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporal here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy scriptures, as Austine saith; "The body of Christ is in heaven, but his truth is dispersed in every place."

*Smith.* Acts iii. we read that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, until the consummation of the world.

*West.* I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both on earth and in heaven. I will tell you, that Christ in very deed is both on earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: Ergo, &c.

*Rid.* I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen on earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly.

*Smith.* He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven, 1 Cor. xv. But his vision was a corporal vision.

Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven.

*Rid.* He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt.

*Smith.* I would know of you, whether this vision may inforce the resurrection of Christ?

M

*Rid.*



*Rid.* I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or on earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength. For whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again.

*Smith.* Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm.

*Rid.* You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you should have proved.

*Smith.* You make delays for the purpose.

*Rid.* Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us are learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you.

*Tresh.* He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard.

*Ergo.* He was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard?

*Rid.* He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven.

*Smith.* As others saw him, so Paul saw him.

But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth.

*Ergo.* He was seen of Paul on earth.

*Rid.* Your controversy is about [*existens in terra,*] that is, "being on earth:" if [*existere,*] "to be," be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover, I say, that Christ was seen of men on earth after his ascension, is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he being in heaven did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was wrapt into the third heaven, I know that some contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain.

*Smith.* We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension. "Peter overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city, because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence: And when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, Master, whither walk you? Christ answered, I am come again to be crucified." Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the self same story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven.

*Rid.* I said before that the doctors in that matter did vary.

*Smith.* Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?

*Rid.* I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me.

*Smith.* Such things as are certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

*Rid.* The story of Linus is not of so great authority: although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also in the story of the church. And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical scriptures. But if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters, (as some do untruly report of us) but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his divine pleasure, whensoever it pleaseth him. But we affirm, That it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he

should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance.

*Smith.* Chrysostom calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men: not that he is handled with the hands of men: only in a mystery, and is with them through grace.

*Harpf.* The former part of Chrysostom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his scholar?

*Rid.* Yes surely, it is a great matter.

*Harpf.* Did not Elias then leave great grace?

*Rid.* He did so.

*Harpf.* But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh.

*Rid.* I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, although he be said to have left his double spirit with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ ascending up here left us, is the only salvation and life of all men which shall be saved: which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh.

*Harpf.* But Christ performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him; Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also.

*Rid.* True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before.

*Harpf.* If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question. If Chrysostom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have used than these?

*Rid.* These things be not of so great force as they bear a great shew outwardly.

*Harpf.* The comparison lieth in this; That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ.

I grant that was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh and took it with him.

*West.* You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh: and why do you not understand it in the second place also for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is.

*Rid.* These be taunts and reproaches, not besecming, as I think, the modesty of this school.

*West.* Elias left his cloak to his disciples: but the Son of God going up to heaven, left his flesh.

He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind. Affurdly the answer is too unlearned.

*Rid.* Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers. He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us.

*West.* Ye judges, what think you of this answer?

*Judges.* It is a ridiculous and very weak answer.

*Rid.* Well, I take your words patiently for Christ's cause.

*West.* Weston here citeth, "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

*Rid.* Mr. Doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And whosoever they be that are not sprinkled with his blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation.

*West.* Here (speaking again to the people) I bring Bernard unto you. "Even from the west unto the east, from



from the north unto the south, there is one and the self same Christ in many and divers places."

*Ridley.* The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places. For God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is every-where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge, and giant-like a body would you then make Christ's body to be, which would reach even from north to south, from west to east?

*Weston.* Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned.

*Ward.* Before I come in with these reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctor's argument, by which you being brought into the briars, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else, than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you.

*Ridley.* Sir, I give you to understand, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism.

*Weston.* Yes, you made one subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff.

*Ridley.* I compelled no man to subscribe.

*Ward.* Yes, truly, you are the very author of that heresy.

*Ridley.* I put forth no catechism.

*Cole.* Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?

*Ridley.* I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I consented to the book: I was not the author of it.

*Judges.* The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole convocation house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it.

*Ridley.* I think surely, that he would not say so.

*Ward.* The catechism hath this clause; "If visibly on the earth."

*Ridley.* I answer, That those articles were set out, I both knowing and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Mr. Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterwards. Now, as for the place which you alledged out of it, that may be easily expounded, and without any inconvenience.

*Ward.* Christ is the power and virtue of his Father.

Therefore, he was not of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself.

*Ridley.* Granted.

*Ward.* Christ was the wisdom of the Father.

Therefore, what he spoke he spoke wisely, and so as every man might understand: neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another.

*Ridley.* All this I grant.

*Ward.* Christ was likewise the very truth: Therefore, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others.

*Weston.* Hilarius hath these words, "All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper."

*Ward.* He is the truth of the Father: Therefore, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially I mean when he spoke at his latter end, and his testament.

*Ridley.* Christ is the very truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far fetch compass of words. If these words of Christ, "This is my body," which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true.

*Ward.* He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

*Ridley.* Bread, his body.

*Ward.* What brake he?

*Ridley.* Bread.

*Ward.* What gave he?

*Ridley.* Bread.

*Ward.* Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?

*Ridley.* I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread.

*Ward.* I will prove the contrary by scripture:

(1) He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

(2) But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body.

(3) Therefore, he gave not material bread, but his own body.

*Ridley.* I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and it was also his body, because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost; which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered.

*Harpfield.* What is he that so saith, By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?

*Ridley.* I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore, the said Theophylact writing upon these words, "This is my body," sheweth that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar.

*Oglethorp.* That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you. For he saith in that place, that Christ said not, This is the figure of my body, but my body. For, saith he, by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.

*Ridley.* It is not a figure that is to say, "*Non tantum est figura*;" that is, "It is not only a figure of his body."

*Weston.* Where have you that word [*tantum*] "only."

*Ridley.* It is not in that place, but he hath it in another, and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors also.

*Weston.* [Here Weston, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said,] He saith it is no figure, and you say it is a figure.

And the same Theophylact saith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

That which Christ gave, we do give.

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body.

Therefore, we give no figure, but his body.

[Concerning the authority of Theophylact, what he thought, and might have spoken of that author, Doctor Ridley did not then speak, nor could conveniently (as he himself afterwards declared, reporting and writing with his own word the disputations in the prison) because of the uproars and clamours, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophylact, but answered simply to that which is brought out of that author in this manner.]

*Ridley.* I grant, the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ, not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. It is transformed, saith Theophylact, in the same place, by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ. He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And where he saith, It is not a figure of the body, we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add, [*only*], that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Christ is present in his mysteries, neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the divine mysteries.

*Weston.* You put in [*only*], and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, It is no figure, but his flesh.

N

*Ridley.*



*Ridley.* To take his words and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author.

*Ward.* No other doctor maketh more against you: for his words are, "Turned from one element into another." And shewing the cause why it is in the form of bread, he saith, "Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, specially the flesh of man; therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh."

*Ridley.* That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, "We are transelemented, or transformed into the body of Christ." And so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ.

*Ward.* Learned doctor, thus you expound the place, "This is my body;" that is, a figure of my body.

*Ridley.* Although I know there be some that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole.

*Ward.* My sheep here my voice, and follow me.

But all the sheep of Christ hear this voice, "This is my body," without a figure.

Therefore, the voice of Christ here hath no figure.

*Ridley.* The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance.

*Ward.* But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech.

*Ridley.* Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches.

*Ward.* Justine Martyr, in his second apology, hath this passage (which place Cranmer hath corrupted), "For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we are taught, the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate."

Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it; "Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they are ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore are called *Eucharistia*, and likewise the body and blood of Christ; and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies."

*Ridley.* O good Mr. Doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used.

[Here Ward repeated the place again out of Justine, "We are taught," &c. as above.]

*Ridley.* O what upright dealing is this! I have the self same place of Justine here copied out. You know yourself who are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place, and without any just cause.

*Ward.* I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?

*Ridley.* If you will that I should answer to Justine, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all.

*Weston.* Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.

But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar.

Therefore, there is the very flesh of Christ.

*Ridley.* If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, "My flesh is meat indeed," &c.

*Ward.* "I have desired with my hearty desire to eat

this paschal with you." What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb? or that which he gave afterwards in his own supper?

*Ridley.* I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterwards of the eucharist.

*Ward.* Tertullian is against you, who saith,

"He desired to eat this passover.

But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ.

Therefore, he meant not the Judaical passover."

*Ridley.* The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own; for he is Lord of all; as well of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper.

Tertullian may here play with an analogical sense. I know Cyprian hath these words, "He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's."

*Ward.* Augustine, in Psalm xcvi. writing upon these words, "Worship his foot-stool," &c. "I ask (saith he) what is the foot-stool of his feet? and the scripture telleth me, The earth is the foot-stool of my feet. And I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here on the earth, and find how, without impiety, the foot-stool of his feet may be worshipped; for he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh and earth; and of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, because in the same flesh he here walked; and he also gave the same flesh to us to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh, except he hath worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a foot-stool of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin in not worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same."

He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, &c.

But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, "This is my body."

Therefore, in the eucharist he gave his flesh.

*Ridley.* You do alledge the place of Austin, where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked, inferring herefrom, that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist. I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross.

*Smith.* What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?

*Ridley.* I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body. For indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh.

[Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterwards said thus:]

*Weston.* You say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body.

*Ridley.* I say not so; I say he gave his own body verily. But he gave it by real, effectual, and spiritual communication.

[After this, Dr. Glin began to reason, who, (notwithstanding Dr. Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface Dr. Ridley therefore did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. But he thought that Dr. Glin's mind was to serve the time. For, afterwards, he came to the house wherein Dr. Ridley was kept, and as far as Dr. Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorp, he desired him to pardon his words. With this Dr. Ridley complied, even from his very heart, and wished earnestly, that God would give not only unto him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of their heavenly Father.]

*Glin.* I see that you evade all scriptures and fathers; I will go to work with you after another manner.

Christ hath here his church known on earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments.

*Ridley.*



*Ridley.* This is a grievous reproach, that you call me a shifter away of the scripture, and of the doctors: as touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church on earth: but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really; but the body of Christ by grace.

*Glin.* Then I ask this question; Whether the catholic church hath ever, or at any time, been idolatrous?

*Ridley.* The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet had been idolatrous in respect of the whole: but peradventure in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance.

*Glin.* That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

But the church hath never been idolatrous.

Therefore, it hath always judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist.

*Ridley.* And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament; like as I worship Christ also in the scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding, I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life.

Furthermore, I acknowledge, gladly, the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly, by grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh.

*Glin.* Austin saith, "Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus."

From whence I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low-Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Austin and Cyprian.

*Ridley.* We do handle the signs reverently: but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament.

*Glin.* What is the symbol or sacrament?

*Ridley.* Bread.

*Glin.* Therefore, we worship bread.

*Ridley.* There is a deceit in the word [*adoramus.*] We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits. But we understand his benefit to be greatest in the sacrament.

*Glin.* So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ: and if any may ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ.

*Ridley.* We adore and worship Christ in the eucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament.

*Glin.* So was the faith of the primitive church.

*Ridley.* Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church.

*Glin.* Think you that Christ hath now his church?

*Ridley.* I do so.

*Glin.* But all the church adoreth Christ, verily and really in the sacrament.

*Ridley.* You know yourself that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation, as appeareth in the council of Florence.

*Cole.* That is false. For in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do.

*Ridley.* Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter, when the article was propounded unto them.

*Cole.* It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do.

*Curtop.* Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is really and truly in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom.

That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ.

Therefore, his true and pure blood is in the cup.

*Ridley.* It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant; and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, in which it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.

Again, I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us; so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ. But as the sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body; even so likewise the cup is called the blood which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted by the Lord himself for our singular advantage; namely, for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration.

*Curtop.* The sacrament of the blood is not the blood.

*Ridley.* The sacrament of the blood is the blood, and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament.

[Here Weston repeateth Curtop's argument in English.]

*Weston.* That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

But there came out very blood.

Therefore, there is blood in the chalice.

*Ridley.* The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament.

*Weston.* That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice.

*Ridley.* It is true, but by grace, and in a sacrament.

[Here the people hissed at him.]

*Ridley.* O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God's judgment.

*Watson.* Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from those things which may hinder the progress of our disputation; and therefore first I ask this question; when Christ said in the sixth of John, "He that eateth my flesh," &c. doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?

*Ridley.* I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually; and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual eating. For without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably. For whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation.

*Watson.* I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?

*Ridley.* The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament.

*Watson.* Is it instituted of God?

*Ridley.* It is instituted of God.

*Watson.* Where?

*Ridley.* In the supper.

*Watson.* With what words is it made a sacrament?

*Ridley.* By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same.

*Watson.* It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.

*Ridley.* True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give grace through the sacrament.

*Watson.*



*Watson.* What is a sacrament?

*Ridley.* I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.

*Watson.* Therefore, grace is given to the receivers.

*Ridley.* The union or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace, and by the sacrament we are made members of the mystical body of Christ, for by the sacrament part of the body is grafted in the head.

*Watson.* But there is a difference between the mystical body, and natural body.

*Ridley.* There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

*Watson.* The eucharist is a sacrament of the New Testament.

Therefore, it hath a promise of grace.

But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine.

Therefore, bread and wine are not the sacraments of the New Testament.

*Ridley.* I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, "The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?" And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily of the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also, that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them who worthily receive the sacrament.

*Watson.* If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the union betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine.

But that union is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood. John vi. "He that eateth my flesh," &c.

Therefore, the substance of bread and wine remaineth not.

*Ridley.* The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith.

*Watson.* Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it.

Therefore, the bread and wine are not sacraments.

*Ridley.* True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there are divers understandings of this word [*habet*], "hath." For the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.

*Watson.* This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ, and not to the bread and wine.

Therefore, the sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ.

*Ridley.* There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine, but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made; neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood.

*Watson.* Every sacrament of the New Testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it.

*Ridley.* This sacrament hath a promise of grace made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument, not that Christ hath transfused grace into bread and wine.

*Watson.* But this promise which is made, is only to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine.

*Ridley.* That proposition of your's hath a double understanding. There is no promise made to them that

receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, as Origin doth testify.

*Watson.* Where is that promise made?

*Ridley.* "The bread which he brake, is it not a communication of the body of Christ?" And, "We being many are one bread, one body of Christ."

*Watson.* What doth he mean by bread in that place?

*Ridley.* The bread of the Lord's table; the communion of the body of Christ.

*Watson.* Hear what Chrysostom saith upon that passage: "The bread which we break, is not the communication of Christ's body? Wherefore did he not say, participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only, and receiving, but also by co-uniting. For, like as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we by the same bread are united to him."

*Ridley.* Let Chrysostom have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me to name it true bread.

*Watson.* "All (saith Chrysostom) which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call (saith he) this communicating? We are all the self-same body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What are they that receive it? The body of Christ. For many are but one body." Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you. "All we be one bread, and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ."

*Ridley.* All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickening.

*Watson.* Of what manner of bread speaketh he?

*Ridley.* Of the bread of the Lord's table.

*Watson.* Is that bread one?

*Ridley.* It is one, of the church being one, because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord.

*Watson.* See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?

*Ridley.* All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. But the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate.

*Watson.* A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all christian men?

*Ridley.* I do distribute this word [All:] for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts. All, I say, which were one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table.

*Watson.* What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ, all them that did not communicate being present?

*Pecknam.* But Cyprian saith, "Bread which no multitude doth consume." Which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ.

*Ridley.* Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread.

*Pecknam.* Nay, rather he did there treat of the sacrament in that treatise *De Cæna Domini*, writing upon "the supper of the Lord."

*Ridley.* Truth it is, that I grant he treateth there of the sacrament: but also he doth mix something therewithal of the spiritual eating.

*Smith.* When the Lord saith, "This is my body," he useth no tropical speech.

Therefore, you are deceived.

*Ridley.* I deny your antecedent.

*Smith.* I bring here-Augustine in ps. xxxiii. expounding these words, *Ferebatur in manibus suis*, "He was carried in his own hands." "How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of another. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was born in his own hands, when he saith, "This is my body," for he carried that same body in his own hands," &c.

Augustine



Augustine here did not see how this place after the letter could be understood of David, because no man can carry himself in his own hands. Therefore, saith he, this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter. For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, "This is my body."

Ridley. I deny your argument, and will explain the same. Austin could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin differs here from others in this exposition, but I differ not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you; although I know this place of scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say, yet notwithstanding it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples.

Smith. Therefore, it is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands.

Ridley. He was borne literally, and after the letter, which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, "This is my body."

Smith. Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body.

But Austin denieth that David could carry himself in his hands.

Therefore, he speaketh of no figure of his body.

Ridley. If Austin could have found in all the scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ.

Smith. But he did bear himself in his own hands: Therefore, he did not bear a figure only.

Ridley. He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Austin afterwards added *Quodam modo*, that is, sacramentally.

This place Dr. Weston repeated again in English, which done, Dr. Tresham began thus to speak:

I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed, That bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore, whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic.

Ridley. Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred.

Tresham. What do you not receive the council of Lateran?—Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, Write, write.

Ridley. No, sir, I receive not that council; write, and write again.

Tresham. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ. Therefore, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar.

Ridley. Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further, as St. Augustine saith: but good men do eat the very true body both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace.

Tresham. I prove the contrary by Augustine, "Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend; not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner," &c. And a little after, "Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body."

Ridley. It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place; "The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord."

Another then came in, whom Mr. Ridley knew not, and said, "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence, uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament, that there is the true and real body in the sacrament of the altar."

Ridley. I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church, in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; however I confess, it was left for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread.

Dr. Cole now cried out, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Dr. Ridley said that was not possible.

Pye. What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?

Ridley. I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood.

Pye. But he offered an unbloody sacrifice.

Ridley. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice, and he doth not lye, which saith Christ to be offered.

Weston. I with one argument will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostom, Hom. xxiv, in 1 Cor. And I will teach, not only a figure and a sign, or grace only, but the very same body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist.

(1) We worship the self same body in the eucharist, which the wise men did worship in the manger.

(2) But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual.

(3) Therefore, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist.

Again, the same Chrysostom saith, "We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest."

Ridley. We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery, and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Augustine, l. 3. *De Doctrina Christiana*: not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship fervently the signs for the things; for that should be as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith.

Weston. That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same holdeth the priest.

Ridley. I grant, the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body.

Now Weston again repeated this argument out of Chrysostom in English.

Ridley. I say that the author meant it spiritually.

Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, now put an end to the disputation with these words: You see the stubborn, the boasting, the crafty, the inconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore, I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note of triumph: having said this, he began, and they followed, exclaiming, "Truth bath the victory, Truth bath the victory."

In the course of the debate, Dr. Ridley displayed great acuteness of understanding, strength of reasoning, and extent of learning, though he had fourteen opponents to encounter; but he was determined to support his opinions, and declared, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth.



A THIRD DISPUTATION at OXFORD, between the Rev. Dr. HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP of WORCESTER, and others, April 18th, 1554.

ON Wednesday the 18th of April, bishop Latimer was brought out to dispute. This disputation began at eight o'clock, and was conducted in much the same manner as those preceding, except that most part of it was in English: for the bishop alledged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

Mr. Smith, of Oriel college, Dr. Cartwright, Mr. Harpsfield, and others, replied to him, with many cruel insinuations and bitter taunts. The old bishop escaped no hissings, and scornful laughings, which those who went before had patiently endured. Being very faint, he desired that he might not long tarry; nor durst he drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Dr. Latimer was not suffered to read what he had, as he observed, painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor, after having read part thereof, proceeded unto the disputation.

A COPY of BISHOP LATIMER'S PROTESTATION, as delivered in writing to Dr. WESTON.

The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

1. The first is, That in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; in like manner his blood.

2. The second is, That after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

3. The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiabile, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

Concerning the first conclusions, I think it is set forth with certain new-found terms that are obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the scripture. But however I understand it, this I do answer plainly, (though not without peril) that to the right celebration of the Lord's Supper, there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant, or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal presence, I for my part take it but for a papistical invention: therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man, and therefore to be taken as false; and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third conclusion (as I understand it) seemeth subtilly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to those words of St. Paul, Heb. i. where he saith, "That Christ his ownself hath made purgation of our sins." And afterwards, "That he might (saith he) be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to

dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, especially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore well may a man say to my lords and masters, the offerers, by what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? When? A man cannot (saith the baptist) take any thing, except it be given him from above: much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called.

Again, If any man sin (saith St. John), we have not a master, or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass, but we have (saith he) an advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

What meaneth Paul, when he saith, "They that serve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?" and so addeth; "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel." Whereas he should have said, the Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was, before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all christian men are sacrificing priests.

The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving, for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do.

"Feed (saith Peter) as much as ye may the flock of Christ:" nay, rather let us sacrifice as much as we may for the flock of Christ. If the matter be as men now make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretic.

And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon he may learn to sacrifice and mass it.

Thus I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have.

I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm: but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience.

God be merciful unto us. Amen.

The prolocutor, on receiving this paper, thus addressed bishop Latimer, artfully leading him by a train of familiar questions into an argument:

*Weston.* Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?

*Latimer.* No, good master, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility.

*Weston.* You said upon Saturday last, that you could not find the mass, nor the marrow bones thereof, in your book: but we will find a mass in that book.

*Latimer.* No, good Mr. Doctor, you cannot.

*Weston.* What find you then there?

*Latimer.* A communion.

*Weston.* Which communion, the first or the last?

*Latimer.* I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well.

*Weston.* The first you do not approve of?

*Latimer.* I do not well remember wherein they differ.

*Weston.* Then cake bread, and loaf bread, are all one? You



You call it the supper of the Lord; but you are deceived in that; for they had done the supper before, and therefore the scripture saith, "After they had supped:" St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, that some of them were drunken at this supper; and you know, no man can be drunken at your communion.

*Latimer.* The first was called [*Cæna Judaica*] "The Jewish supper," when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called [*Cæna Dominica*] "The Lord's Supper."

*Weston.* That is false; for Chrysostom denieth that. St. Ambrose on the x. chap. of the 1 Cor. saith, "The mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord." Also Gregory Nazianzene saith the same. And that first supper was called *Agapæ*: can you tell what that is?

*Latimer.* I understand not Greek: yet I think it meaneth charity.

*Weston.* Mr. Opponent, begin.

*Smith.* Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you; to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?

*Latimer.* I trust I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

*Smith.* Whatsoever you have given up, it shall be registered among the acts.

*Latimer.* Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I think, for the prison.

*Weston.* How long have you been of this opinion?

*Latimer.* It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion.

*Weston.* The time hath been when you said mass full devoutly.

*Latimer.* Yes, I crave God's mercy heartily for it.

*Weston.* Where learned you this new fangleness?

*Latimer.* I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind more than seven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

*Tresham.* There are in that book six hundred errors.

*Weston.* You were once a Lutheran.

*Latimer.* No, I was a Papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tygurines once did write a book against Luther, and I often desired God, that he might live so long to answer them.

*Weston.* Luther in his book, "Of private mass," says, "That the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him, that the mass was not good," fol. 14. So that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it.

*Latimer.* I do not take in hand to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough. I told you before that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you, read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith.

*Weston.* Do you believe this, as you have written?

*Latimer.* Yes.

*Weston.* Then have you no faith.

*Latimer.* Then would I be sorry, sir.

*Tresham.* It is written, "Except you shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you." Which when the Capernaïtes, and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, "This is a hard saying," &c. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, Whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?

*Latimer.* I answer (as Augustine understandeth) that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh.

*Tresham.* Of what flesh meant Christ, his true flesh, or no?

*Latimer.* Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally.

*Tresham.* Of that flesh meant the Capernaïtes?

*Latimer.* Of his true flesh also; but to be eaten with the mouth.

*Tresham.* They, as you confess, did mean his true flesh to be eaten with the mouth. And Christ also (as I shall prove) did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth.

Therefore, They both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

*Latimer.* I say, Christ meant not of the bodily mouth; but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart.

*Tresham.* I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a good interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake; Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently intimate that Christ did understand his words, here cited by me, out of the vi. of John, of the eating with the mouth.

*Latimer.* He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth; he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind.

*Weston.* Augustine in his *Enchiridon*, saith, "We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them." Where he proveth the verity of Christ's body and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother.

*Latimer.* But that mass was not like your's, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word.

*Weston.* Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark, there is no health: Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where like a sort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches; a hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one faith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more more joy of thee, faith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runaway Scot did take away the adoration or worshiping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines, or Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we see all, by your own confessions, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffers hold. The queen's grace is merciful, if you will turn.

*Latimer.* You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion.

*Weston.* Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.



Thus we have given a full account of those disputations, that were maintained against three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein may be seen the disorderly usage of the university men; their unmannerly deportment in the divinity school, the tumult of a rude multitude, the passion, fierceness, and interruption of the grave doctors, the full ground of the reasonings, the censure of the partial judges, the foul language, and indecent railing of the prolocutor, with his vain blast of triumph at the conclusion of each debate, by which he shewed himself both actor, moderator, and judge. We need not wonder then that this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, should say of himself, *Vecit veritas*, though he said not one true word, nor ever made a true conclusion, almost throughout the several disputations.

The day after these were closed being the 19th of April, it happened that Mr. Harpsfield was called upon, to dispute for his form, to be made a doctor of divinity; on which occasion Dr. Cranmer was again brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to deliver an argument or two in defence of his cause, as the sequel will shew.

**A DISPUTATION with Mr. HARPSFIELD, BACHELOR of DIVINITY when answering for his FORM to be made DOCTOR.**

**Harpsfield.** I Am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intreat of the whole order and trade of the scriptures: and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to shew the ready way whereby the scriptures may best be understood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, who hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to her posterity: but if the often reading of scriptures, and ever so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of their knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as "Search the scriptures, for they do bear witness of me," &c. "The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls." And that saying of St Paul, "All scripture inspired from above doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works." Howbeit, doth the law of the Jews convert their souls? Are they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

The heretics also have ever had the same scriptures, which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus that the poets speak of, who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, saith, "He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, shall not have God to his father." Therefore it is true divinity to be wise with the church, where Christ saith, "Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you."

If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernaïtes, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profiteth nothing to them that do take it. For the Capernaïtes did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit, under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages; so there is no less variety in eating of bodies.

These things which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpsfield did set out with many more words; and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

**Weston.** Christ's real body is not in the sacrament. Therefore, You are deceived.

**Harpsfield.** I deny the antecedent.

**Weston.** John xvi. "I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, the comforter cannot come," &c.

I will make this argument.

(1) Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

(2) But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world.

(3) Therefore, Christ is verily gone.

**Harpsfield.** He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

**Weston.** St. Augustine saith that these words, "I will be with you even to the end of the world," are accomplished, [*secundum majestatem*] "according to his majesty:" but [*secundum presentiam carnis non est hic*] "By the presence of his flesh he is not here." The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief.

**Harpsfield.** We must diligently weigh that there are two natures in Christ; the divine nature, and human nature. The divine nature is of such sort that it cannot chuse but be in all places. The human nature is not such that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So where the doctors do intreat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament.

**Weston.** He saith further, "Ye shall not have me always with you," is to be understood in the flesh.

**Harpsfield.** The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as man may give him any thing: after that sort he is not present.

**Weston.** But what say you to this of Augustine, "He is not here?"

**Harpsfield.** I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tractat. 25, upon these words, "I go to the Father, ye shall not see me!" that is, "such as I am now." Therefore I do deny the manner of his presence.

**Weston.** I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine, who saith this also, "How may a man hold Christ? send thy faith, and thou holdest him."

So he sheweth, that by sending our faith, we do hold Christ.

**Harpsfield.** Indeed no man holdeth Christ, unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament.

There St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us.

**Weston.** Nay, he speaketh there how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time, saying, "Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: do you hold him in your heart?" What words can be more plain? Further he saith, "He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us. He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh."

**Harpsfield.** I do understand Augustine thus, that Christ is here in his flesh to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge, St. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have him not. We have him in receiving him worthily, otherwise not.

**Weston.** I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, "By the majesty of his divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away."

**Harpsfield.** The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood. The most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril; thus said Augustine: and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore, when they prove this, (the body to be in heaven) they do not make against the presence in the sacrament.

So unless ye can plainly shew, that the fathers do directly say he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have shewed why the fathers so spake. They



They did teach the great difference between the divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said.

*Weston.* I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament. Vigilius against the heretic Eutiches, upon these words, "Ye shall not have me always with you," saith, "The son of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us; by his divinity he remaineth with us." And the same Vigilius, in his fourth book, saith, "He that is in heaven, is not on earth;" speaking of Christ.

*Harpsfield.* I will shew you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutiches did beleive that the divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilius said, That the human nature was taken up and ascended, which could not so have done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament.

For what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament.

*Weston.* Cyril saith, "Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit."

*Harpsfield.* By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking from thence our help. For as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us: for after that sort he is there.

*Weston.* You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument

(1) Christ is now so absent from the earth, by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here.

(2) But when he did live bodily on earth, the same natural body was out of heaven.

(3) Therefore now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not on the earth.

*Harpsfield.* I deny the major.

*Weston.* These are Fulgentius's words, touching his human substance: "He was absent from heaven; when he descended from heaven; and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven, he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine nature, he never forsook either heaven or earth.

Here upon, not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered Mr. Cranmer to dispute; who began in the following manner.

*Cranmer.* I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently treat of the dignity of the scripture, which I do both commend, and wonder thereat. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the scriptures to the catholic church, you are herein much deceived; especially, since, under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have judged corruptly, and contrary to the true sense of scripture. I wonder, likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the scriptures, and comparing of passages, seeing the scriptures do so much commend the same, in divers places, as also in those which you yourself have already alledged. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. My first question is: "How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

*A doctor answered,* He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance.

*Harpsfield.* He is there in such sort of manner, as he may be eaten.

*Cranmer.* My next question is, "Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties?"

*Harpsfield.* Are these your questions? I may likewise ask you, "When Christ passed through the virgin's womb, *An ruperit necne?*"

Various opinions took place upon these questions. A buzzing was heard among the doctors, who knew

not what to answer. Some thought one way; some another; nor could these learned doctors agree on this matter.

*Weston.* Tertullian doth call the sacrament the sign and figure of the Lord. St. Augustine to Dardanus, saith, "The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body."

Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the scriptures, saying, If the scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example, "To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech."

*Harpsfield.* Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion an heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to shew that we had Christ both in heaven and on earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say, that Christ was truly in the sacrament; for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he shewed him, that it was the figure of Christ; and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names. For it may be called a figure in this declaration, That body which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven.

To the third, That which is wrote by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of scriptures, is thus to be understood, as tending to a general manner of eating; so, To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, may be a figurative speech to exclude *Anthropophagiam*, that is, "The eating of man's flesh." The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament.

*Weston.* I understand your short and learned answer; which doth sufficiently satisfy me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation.

The scripture calleth it bread.

Therefore, it is bread.

*Harpsfield.* In the name of bread, all is signified which we do eat.

*Weston.* Theodoret, an ancient writer, in his first dialogue says, "That Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body."

*Harpsfield.* He doth there speak of a symbol, which is the outward form of the sacrament. He meaneth, that doth tarry its own nature.

*Weston.* Theodoret also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine, saith, "They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance."

*Harpsfield.* They are understood to be of the same substance into which they are turned.

*Weston.* But what say you to this? "They remain in their former substance."

*Harpsfield.* *Symbola manent*; that is, "The outward signs do tarry."

*Weston.* But what is meant here by this word, (a symbol?)

*Harpsfield.* The outward form or shape only of the nature.

*Weston.* Then you cannot call them a substance.

*Harpsfield.* Yes, sir, every thing has a certain substance in its kind.

*Weston.* That is true, but accidents are not substances in their kind.

*Harpsfield.* They are something in their kind.

*Weston.* Chrysostom to Cæsarius the monk saith, "Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread; so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body, whereas the nature doth remain."

*Harpsfield.* Where read you this place, I pray you.

*Weston.* Here in Peter Martyr I find it.



*Harpfield.* The author shall be of more credit before I make so much of him as to frame an answer unto it.

*Weston.* Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, That the nature of bread and wine do tarry?

*Harpfield.* What is that Gelasius?

*Weston.* A bishop of Rome.

*Harpfield.* Then he allowed the mass.

*Weston.* Yes, and oftentimes said it; and purgatory he also allowed, and prayer for the dead, relicks, and invocation to the saints.

*Harpfield.* Then he meant nothing against transubstantiation.

*Weston.* It doth appear so indeed. But Origin saith, "That the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

*Harpfield.* Tush, tush, this place appertaineth unto holy bread.

*Weston.* What, doth it appertain to holy bread?

*Harpfield.* Yes, unto holy bread.

*Weston.* By what means can you shew how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?

*Harpfield.* By the scriptures I prove it, which say, "this is my body."

*Weston.* It doth rejoice us all not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only stay of our religion.

When the disputation of Mr. Latimer was ended, on the Friday following, April 20th, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particular dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe or no. And first to Dr. Cranmer he said, He was overcome in disputations. To whom the bishop answered, That whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor overturn the truth; all that he said was false; for he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, so thick their reasons came one after another, four or five frequently interrupting him, that he could not speak. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer were asked, what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to what they had said. Then they were all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church; and therefore, they, their favourers, and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, Whether they would turn or no? But they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were all three condemned.

After which sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again, each in his turn, in manner and effect of words as follow; the archbishop speaking first:

*Bishop Cranmer.* "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

*Bishop Ridley.* "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

*Bishop Latimer.* "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

*Dr. Weston's answer unto Latimer.* "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

On the ensuing Saturday they had a mass, with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house. Latimer also being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine, a catchpole, to make a quick fire: but when he came to Carfox, (Oxford market-place, where four ways meet) he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spencer's shop, and would not look towards it.

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On the succeeding Monday, April 23, Dr. Weston took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university to the queen, by whom the archbishop (Dr. Cranmer) directed his letters supplicatory unto the council; which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well near half-way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them. Likewise bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, wrote to him his letters, wherein he desired him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London: the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley, then of the Archbishop, and lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the Archbishop, followeth here in order:

#### BISHOP RIDLEY'S LETTER to Dr. WESTON.

**M**R. Prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and shew all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester; and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know you, that I did take witness of them by whom I send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present. viz. the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of Mr. Irish alderman, then there called to be a witness.

By me NICHOLAS RIDLEY.  
April 13, 1554.

#### Dr. CRANMER'S LETTER to the COUNCIL, which Dr. WESTON refused to deliver.

**I**N right humble wise sheweth unto your honourable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord king Edward the sixth, and what I spake against the same, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: First, of the real presence. Secondly, of transubstantiation. And thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday against me; upon Tuesday against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday against Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered I know not, for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report: Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me; but the disputation was so confused that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what he liked without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully, to any argument before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scanty be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto



unto, whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters

could be thoroughly heard: for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty, and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godliness and felicity. April 23.

## C H A P. V.

PROCEEDINGS of the PAPISTS against the PROTESTANTS.—*The MARRIAGE of QUEEN MARY with the EMPEROR's SON, PHILIP, PRINCE of SPAIN.—Events that followed the Solemnization of the MARRIAGE.*

**H**AVING finished our account of the disputations between the Roman catholics and protestant divines of the reformed religion, at Oxford, we shall now prosecute the historical narration, respecting various transactions in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. However, we shall return again to the month of July, 1553, when the duke of Northumberland was brought to London, by the earl of Arundel, on St. James's day, July 25th; and these are the names of those who were committed with the duke to the Tower:

The Earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntington, lord Ambrose, and lord Henry Dudley, lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, Andrew Dudley, sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

July 26, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Corbet, were committed and sent to the Tower.

July 27, the lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mountacute, chief justice of the common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

July 28, the duke of Suffolk and sir James Cheek were committed to the Tower.

July 30, the lord Russell was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

July 31, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet; and on the same day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

Upon Thursday, August 3, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

August 4, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet; and the day after, the lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and Dr. Bonner delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night Dr. Cocks was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Mr. Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day Dr. Tonstal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

August 7, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been sent to the French king by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the dispatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and was this day brought to the Tower.

August 7, *Dirige* in Latin was sung within the Tower by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister, the queen being present, and most of the council.

August 8, the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of *Requiem* was sung within the Tower by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre; and did all things as in times past was done; the queen being present.

Upon Thursday the duke of Norfolk came out of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered.

August 16, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Beacon, and Mr. Vernon, were committed to the Tower: with whom also Mr. Samson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time, at Mr. Elsing's house in Fleetstreet, where Mr. Bradford was taken: and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester was greatly displeased with the messenger.

August 18, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

August 19, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

August 21, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, heard mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On which day also queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, &c. prohibiting, in the said proclamation, printing and preaching.

August 22, the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at Towerhill. The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass received the sacrament in one kind.

August 27, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul's Cross, and the same day the archbishop of Canterbury, sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of St. Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners, in the bishop's consistory within St. Paul's.

September 7, lord Mountacute, chief justice, and lord chief baron were delivered out of the Tower.

September 13, the reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, was committed to the Tower.

September 14, the archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Cranmer, was committed to the Tower.

September 28, the queen came to the Tower of London, and on the 30th she rode from the Tower through the city, where were made many pageants to receive her, and so she was triumphantly brought to Whitehall.

October 1, the queen's highness went from Whitehall to Westminster-Abbey, accompanied with most part of the nobility of the realm, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord Chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

October 3, the vice chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Mr. Pierfon, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same, and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was discharged from farther ministering in his cure.



Upon the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

*October 5*, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her; and when they were set in the parliament-house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Westchester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.

Also *October 10*, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

Sunday *October 15*, Mr. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallows in Bread-street, in the morning; where he fully declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters. But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and committed to the Marshalsea.

*October 26*, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker, displaced Dr. Madew, and placed Mr. Swyborne in the mastership there, by virtue of the lord chancellor's letters, for that he was married.

*November 6*, Mr. Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory.

*November 28*, the archdeacon's official visited in Hinton, where he gave in charge to imprison all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of mass, or any part thereof.

*December 15*, there were two proclamations at London; the one for repealing of certain acts made by king Edward, and for the setting up of the mass the 20th of December following. The other was, that no man should interrupt any of those who would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 5th of December. In which parliament were dissolved, as well as all the statutes made of *Præmunire* in the reign of king Henry VIII. &c. as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under king Edward VI. In which parliament was appointed, that on December 20, then next ensuing, the same year 1553, the old form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of king Henry, should again be restored.

*December 31*, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

*January 13*, 1554, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet: also the Sunday following, one Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower. The same Sunday likewise, the bishop of Winchester declared openly in the court, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, January 15, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court, and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain.

Saturday, *January 20*, the court of the first-fruits and tenths was dissolved.

*January 17*, justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea; and the same day Mr. Rogers was committed to Newgate.

Thursday night, *January 25*, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and sir Edward Warner with him, who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

About the latter end of *January*, the duke of Suffolk, with his brethren, departed from his house at Shene, and went into Leicestershire; after whom the earl of Huntington was sent, to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor by the way as he rode.

*February 17*, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers; the earl of Arundel was chief judge.

Monday 19th, lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas; the other two came not to the bar; and the other four men were condemned.

Tuesday 20th, lord John Gray was arraigned at West-

minster, and condemned the same day, and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Wednesday 21st, lord Thomas Gray, and sir James Croft, were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

Thursday 22d, sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Friday 23d, 1554, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill. His behaviour on the day of execution was remarkably devout.

The same day several prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks, in number about two hundred and forty.

Saturday, *February 24th*, sir William Bentlow was committed as prisoner to the master of the horse. This sir William was at this time one of lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

Sunday 25th, sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priests, within the diocese of London, as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them; this the bishop did of his own power.

*February 27th*, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into that county to be executed, among whom we find the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. Mr. Rudstone also, with others, were condemned, and would have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As to Mr. Mantel, senior, it is to be noted, that, when under the gallows, upon his being turned off, the rope broke. Upon which, they urged him to recant, and receive the sacrament of the altar, promising him the queen's pardon; but this worthy gentleman rejected their insidious counsel, and chose rather to die, than to live, by dishonouring God.

It was reported of this Mr. Mantel, but falsely, that he had recanted; to clear himself from which aspersion, he wrote the following apology.

*March 20th*, 1554.

PERCEIVING that already certain false reports are raised of me concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how fore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ; I have thought it the duty of a christian man, as near as I can (with the truth), to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's majesty to send unto me Dr. Bourne, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of *Nicene*, *Quicumque vult*, and *Te Deum laudamus*.

Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declared that I could be content to shew unto any learned minister of Christ's church any thing that troubled my conscience, and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

Touching the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it) I said, that I believe Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, "This is my body."

Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a man condemned to die by law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation for death. And inasmuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him for God's sake no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alledging this text, "He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all." Yes, said I, "It is true of these commandments of God." To this I desired him to consider it was not my matter, nor could I in these things hold disputation, nor minded so to do; and therefore to take these few words for a full answer, that I not

only



only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word [Church] we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian popish church.

Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of the idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, on the contrary, upon certain considerations, supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin (for the death of Christ only was the sacrifice), and this but a commemoration of the same. Then, if you think so, (certain blasphemous collects left out) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass. See, said he, how vain-glory toucheth you. Not so, sir, I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vain-glorious.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yes, saith he, one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a communion. This agreeth not, said I, with these words of Paul, "Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse." Yes, and it is a communion too, said he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time, said he, that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced. Then I said, I pray you report the best: for I trust you find me not obstinate. What shall I say? are you content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the mass? I beseech you, said I, signify unto her majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort.

To be short, Dr. Bourné came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to dispute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, do write, and believed; and this answer and none other they had of me in effect; what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

Thus I have left behind me written with my own hand the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written, for it were both too long and too foolish so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath receiveth me to his mercy, and brought to pass, that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine; I beseech him, I say, to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, that antichrist, and from the assaults of all his satellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who are his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same. God save the queen, and grant her knowledge in his truth. Amen.

Written the 2d of March, ann. 1554, by me  
WALTER MANTEL, prisoner.

TRANSACTIONS in the Second Year of QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

SATURDAY, March 3d, sir Gawen Carew and M. Gibbes, were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

March 17th, every householder in London was com-

manded to appear before the aldermen of their ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives, and servants, should prepare themselves for confession, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city until Easter was past.

The Sunday following, March 18th, lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

Upon Easter-eve, March 24th, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

March 25, being Easter-day, in the morning, at St. Pancrase in Cheap, the crucifix with the pyx [the vessel in which the host was kept] were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, "He is risen, he is not here," he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon being half dismayed, they consulted among themselves, whom they thought to be the likeliest to do this thing: in which consultation they remembered one Marsh, who a little before had been put from that parsonage, because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burthened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereunto he answered, That he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife: which words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to separate compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.

April 8, a cat was hanged upon a gallows, at the cross, in Cheapside, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown: her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great ill will against the city of London. For the queen and the bishops were very angry; and the same afternoon there was a proclamation issued, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which was afterwards increased to twenty marks, but none could, or would earn them.

As to the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the bishop of Winchester's sermon above-mentioned, made before the queen, for the speedy execution of Wyatt's soldiers, immediately upon the same, February 13, there were several gibbets set up in divers parts of the city; namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leadenhall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's-park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which remained for the terror of others, from February 13, to June 4; and then at the coming in of king Philip they were taken down.

April 11, sir Thomas Wyatt was beheaded and quartered on Tower-hill, where he spoke these words concerning the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire: "Concerning, said he, what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my rising." And when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true."

Tuesday, April 17, sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were brought to Guildhall, with whom also was brought sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen; where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself, (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alledged against him) that the jury which were charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him not guilty; for which, the



said twelve persons of the quest, being substantial men of the city, were each bound in the sum of 500 pounds, to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed, there to answer such things as should be laid against them. Which jury appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber, upon Wednesday, April 25: from whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison, Emanuel Lucar and Mr. Whetstone to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet. \*

Concerning the condemnation of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the 20th of this month, and also of their disputations, having said enough before, we need not here rehearse the same.

On Friday after their condemnation, April 27, the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the late duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Saturday, April 28, sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were again brought to Guildhall, where sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, Mr. Winter was not arraigned.

Thursday, May 17, William Thomas was arraigned at Guildhall, and the same day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen's death. He made a godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison, before his death.

In the month of May it was given out, that a solemn disputation should be held at Cambridge, between Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both universities on the other side, like as had been before in Oxford. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having notice thereof, notwithstanding they were destitute of their books, and not ignorant of the purpose of their adversaries, and how the cause was prejudged before, also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford; nevertheless, they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly heard; and therefore wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent, directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the 8th of May. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, because all things were pre-determined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, if the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament, or if they might dispute by writing; for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge; and, consequently, declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed, in the end, from them to be their judges in this behalf, and thus ended their protestation, signed by them on the 8th of May.

On the 19th of the said month, lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of sir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams of Tame, by whom her highness was gently and courteously treated: who afterwards was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of sir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxborough, in Norfolk; who, on the other side, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty, shewed himself more hard and straight unto her, than either cause was given on her part, or reason of his own should have led him.

July 25, being St. James's day, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England, were solemnly married in the cathedral church at Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador being present, openly pronounced, that, in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon the first of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the stile of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following used:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Countess of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol."

Of this marriage as the papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so several of them, after divers studies to shew forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants; some drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt. Among others, Mr. White, then bishop of Lincoln, (his poetical vein being drunk with joy of the marriage) made the following verses:

**J**OHN of Gaunt, father of princes, did beget  
John the puissant earl of Somerset:  
From him John, duke of Somerset, did spring,  
Whose daughter Marg'ret brought forth England's king,  
Henry the seventh, who, of life bereft,  
The throne unto his son prince Henry left:  
His daughter Mary, England's scepter bears,  
And may she bear it long, exempt from cares.

*Other VERSES of Mr. WHITE, Bishop of LINCOLN,  
concerning the MARRIAGE of PHILIP and MARY.*

**T**HE devil, that old enemy of mankind,  
Strives to prevent, though to it God's inclin'd,  
That Mary, England's queen, should join her hands  
To Spanish Philip in hymeneal bands.  
Against the match, with the dark of prince of night,  
The helpless Scots and tim'rous French unite.  
With these hell's prelates join, Caiaphas's race,  
Eight married fathers, void of heav'nly grace,  
\*John Dudley, Wyat, and rebellious Kent,  
With †Gray, conspire the marriage to prevent.  
But that the nuptials should performed be,  
‡Cæsar and Flanders would, and Italy,  
Catholic bishops, and with these comply  
Five holy fathers, for their sanctity  
In fetters bound, the senate of the nation,  
And all true catholics in every station,  
Lords, commons, learned, ignorant, and we,  
'Cause God himself doth thereunto agree.  
When Philip to queen Mary shall be join'd,  
Their blood its wonted course shall run refin'd.

\* Duke of Northumberland.

† Duke of Suffolk.

‡ Charles V. Emperor of Germany.

*ANSWER to Mr. WHITE, Bishop of LINCOLN, by the  
Bishop of NORWICH.*

**T**HAT Mary should to Spanish Philip wed,  
And England's glory be extirpated,  
The devil wills; jointly with him agree,  
All Flanders, Italy, and Germany,  
Caiaphas's race, the mitred company  
Of popish bishops, five for impiety  
In prison cast: but God's extended arm  
Kindly supports us, and averts the harm:  
He nills the match, gives England liberty,  
With him the warlike Scots and French agree,  
Eight married in the Lord: and Dudley you,  
Foreboding dreadful things, the marriage view,  
The senate nills; brave Wyat doth espouse  
With pious zeal his country's injur'd cause;  
With him Gray, and the Kentish folk comply,  
Either to gain their liberty, or die.  
Then say, what profits will the Spanish king,  
Having wedded Mary, to the English bring.

After the consummation of the marriage, the king and queen removed from Winchester to several other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor-castle, where



where he was installed with the order of the garter, on Sunday August 12; at which time, an herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and, by water, to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house, through which they passed both into Southwark-park, and so to Southwark-house, called Suffolk-place; where they lay that night, being the 18th of August.

The next day the king and queen rode from Suffolk-place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall; and at London-bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great spectacle set up; two images representing two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which for the vain ostentation of flattery I overpass.

As they passed over the bridge, there was a number of ordnance shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report; the like hath not been heard or seen these 100 years.

From London-bridge they passed the conduit in Gracechurch-street, which was finely painted, and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henry VIII. was one. He was painted in harness, having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a book, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, "the word of God," delivering the same book, as it were, to his son king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But this gave great offence: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him knave for painting a book in king Henry's hand, and especially for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*, but also rank traitor and villain, saying to him that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand, who was also painted there, for that she had reformed the church religion, with other things according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed. The painter answered, and said, That if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not troubled his lordship. The bishop answered, That it was the queen's majesty's will and commandment that he should send for him: and so commanding him to wipe out the book and *Verbum Dei* too, he sent him home. The painter departed, but fearing lest he should leave some part either of the book, or of *Verbum Dei*, in king Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal.

Here I pass over other pageants shewed to him in passing through London, with the flattering verses in Latin, wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world, Philip of Macedon, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain, and king of England.

In another poetry, king Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and savage beasts, following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having weightier things in hand; and also the sight at St. Paul's church side, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements, with his head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the rood newly set up against this time, to welcome king Philip into St. Paul's church. The setting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best.

In the 2d year of Mary, Bonner, bishop of London, in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him, in St. Paul's quire, the rood (or cross) laid along upon the pavements, and also the doors of St. Paul's being shut, the bishop, with others, said and sung divers prayers by the rood: that being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places, and after anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

After that, they took the said rood and weighed it up, and set it in its old accustomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole quire sang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into St. Paul's, and spied the rood, with Mary and John now set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made low courtsey, and said, Sir, your mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your mastership, but that you be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that you be but a summer's bird, in that you are dressed in white and green.

The prince, being in the church of St. Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet-street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after, and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with strait commandment, to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court, but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton-court, where the hall-door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter.

About the 8th of September, bishop Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men, in every parish, to inquire (according to their oaths) and to present before him, the 30th of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth, to the number of 37. Of the which visitation of Bonner, I have somewhat more largely to treat.

September 17, was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and straitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others who sell victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victuals to any serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master, to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his said master, upon pain of the law if they offended herein.

Upon the Sunday following, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at St. Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court; namely, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, lord North, sir Anthony Brown, Mr. Rochester, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefield, lord Fitzwater, and secretary Peter, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, which three sat under the bishop's arms. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is written in the xxii. chapter of Matthew, where the Pharisees came unto Christ, and among them one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment; Christ answered, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. and thy neighbour as thyself, in these two is comprehended the law and the prophets."

After this long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers; saying, that all the preachers almost in king Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies, affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh in his third chapter, saying, that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers afore-named would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery; and marry another, and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure, with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament, and so concluded that matter: and then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren,



brethren, "We have all sinned against our brother;" and so said he, have I too. Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to shew that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it would be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of, affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince as ever was in England, and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him, and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him: and so concluded.

Tuesday, *October 7*, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver, and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick, and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth, for it is to us uncertain.

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus-Christi day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest, with his box, went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner, of Coleman-street, who having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest seeing the man so to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, let his pyx fall down. The poor man, being straightway apprehended, was had to the compters, the priest accusing him before the council, as though he had come to slay him; whereas the poor man, as himself hath since declared unto us, had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the compters, he was had unto Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post, where he was cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now out of his wits altogether, and so upon the same had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himself in Newgate to be mad: which thing we in writing of this history, by due inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the 5th of *October*, divers, as well householders, as servants, and apprentices, were apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for having and selling of certain books, which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books touched a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was Mr. Brown, a goldsmith, Mr. Spark, a draper, Randal Tiler, a stationer, Mr. Beston, a merchant, with many others.

Sunday, *October 14*, the old bishop of Durham preached in the shrouds.

*October 18*, the king came from Westminster to St. Paul's church, accompanied with a great number of noblemen, and there he was received under a canopy, at the west door, and so came into the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chapel sung; and that done, he returned to Westminster to dinner.

Friday, *October 26*, certain men, whereof I spake before, which were of Mr. Throgmorton's jury, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, having submitted themselves), whereof Mr. Emanuel Lucas, and Mr. Whetstone were chief, were called before the council in the Star-chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences, even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. When Mr. Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects, and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to

intercede with the king and queen, that they might be discharged and set at liberty, and said that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty. Some of the lords said, that they deserved to pay a 1000l. a-piece, and others said, that Mr. Lucas and Mr. Whetstone deserved to pay a 1000 marks a-piece, and the rest 500l. a-piece. At last, sentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they should pay a thousand marks a-piece, and that they should go to prison again, and there remain till further orders were taken for their punishment.

Tuesday, *October 30*, the lord J. Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and set at liberty.

Sunday, *November 4*, five priests did penance at Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to minister. Each of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did dispel them.

Wednesday, *November 7*, the lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors, I know not whither, but, as it was judged, to Cardinal Poole, who lay all that summer before at Brussels: and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, where at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

Friday, *November 9*, Mr. Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and Mr. Cardmaker, were brought before the council, in the Star-chamber, where after communication they were commanded to the Fleet.

Saturday, *November 10*, the sheriffs of London had orders to take an inventory of everyone of their goods, which were of Mr. Throgmorton's jury, and to seal up their doors, which was done the same day. Mr. Whetstone, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Kytely, were adjudged to pay 1000l. a-piece, and the rest 1000 marks a-piece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted only four, who submitted themselves, whose names are these, Mr. Loc, Mr. Poynter, Mr. Beswike, and Mr. Carter.

Mention has been made of the visitation of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, which begun (as is said) about the month of September; for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain articles, to the number of 37; which articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that Mr. Bale in a certain treatise hath sufficiently painted out the same in proper colours, partly also, because I will not infect this book with them. I pass them over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop in his visitation in the county of Essex; who passing through the said county of Essex, being attended with divers worshipful of the shire, (for so they were commanded) arrived at Sterford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain days, solacing himself after that painful peregrination, with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants, at the house of one Parsons, his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece: (fair she was indeed) and he took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled, insomuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) she arose and played three several times at his request, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. After some days were passed in this fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation toward Hadham, his own house and parish, not more than two miles from Sterford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler, and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the bells were, the quieter was his mood. Thus rode he on, chafing and fuming with himself: "What meaneth (saith he) that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parson, that he meeteth me not?" with other passionate expressions. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, since, as they pretended, he had come two hours before his time; whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated



porated in his breast. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, no rood-loft decked after the popish precept, (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, cross, or image, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up) curtailed his small devotions, and fell from choler and melancholy to madness in the greatest degree, swearing and raging, with an hunting oath or two, (and by no small oaths) that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said, calling the parson (whose name was Dr. Bricket) knave and heretic; who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying, He was sorry his lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for those things which were lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his lordship to come to his poor house, where his dinner was prepared, he would satisfy him in those things, which his lordship thought amiss. Yet this reasonable answer neither could satisfy, nor assuage his unreasonable passion. For the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight, saying, as his bye-word was, "Before God thou art a knave, avaunt heretic," and therewithal, whether thrusting, or striking at him, so it was; that with his hand he gave sir Thomas Josselin (who then stood next the bishop) a good blow upon the ear; whereat, being somewhat astonished, sir Thomas said, What meaneth your lordship? have you been trained in Will Somer's school, to strike him who standeth next you? The bishop, still in a rage, either heard not, or would not hear. Upon which Mr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, addressing the knight, said, "O Mr. Josselin, you must bear with my lord, for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there hath altered him; that in these passions he is not master of himself, nor will it avail to give him counsel until his heat be passed; and then assure yourself Mr. Josselin, my lord will be sorry for those abuses, and that misconduct which he cannot now see in himself." To whom sir Thomas merrily replied, "So it seems, Mr. Fecknam, that now he is come forth from the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which conceit some laughed, and more smiled, because the nail was hit so truly upon the head. The bishop appeared not in the least abashed at his own folly; and it is no wonder he was not ashamed to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

This combat being finished, the martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he at first intended to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and had made provisions in his own house accordingly; but leaving his dinner, he rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, to the great wonder of all the country, who looked not for his coming till three days after.

But though the bishop posted hastily away, his retinue thought it most prudent to tarry behind; and his doctors and chaplains, a few excepted, dined at Dr. Bricket's, as merrily as the bishop rode to Ware chafing-ly. Now the causes which induced him to leave a good dinner, were supposed to be, that his lordship was offended at not receiving those solemnities he was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places, and because his wooden god was not elevated seemly in the rood-loft to entertain strangers: on which account he took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket; for the bishop had issued out his precept, that in every parish a rood, (a cross, crucifix, and other images) should be erected, both well favoured, and tall in stature: which brings to my mind (says Mr. Fox) what happened in a certain town in Lancashire, near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and church-wardens, having at the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood; who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very fit man for such a purpose, and an old favourer of the gospel, which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their church; which he according to his promise had done; and now demanding his money, they refused to pay him. Is this true? quoth the mayor to the wardens. Yes, sir, said they. And why do you not pay the poor man his due? quoth he. May it please you, master mayor, quoth they, because the rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promised to make us such another; but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him. The mayor thinking that it was good enough for that purpose, if it had been worse, My masters, quoth he, howsoever you like the rood, the poor man's labour hath been never the less, and it is a pity that he should have any hindrance or loss thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you shall do: pay him the money you promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil. This the parishioners took exceeding well; the poor man had his money, and divers laughed well thereat: but so did not the Babylonish priests.

This mayor continued a protestant almost 50 years, and was the only reliever of Mr. March, the martyr, (whose story followeth hereafter) with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster-castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned, &c.

## C H A P. VI.

BISHOP BONNER'S MANDATE.—*The* QUEEN'S *supposed* PREGNANCY.—POOLE'S ORATION.—SUBMISSION *to the* QUEEN.—*A* LETTER *to the* POPE.—PRAYERS *on Account of* MARY'S CONCEPTION.—TRANSACTIONS of the PRIVY COUNCIL, &c. in 1555.

ABOUT this time came forth a precept, or mandate, from Bonner, bishop of London, to all bishops and curates within his diocese, for abolishing of such scripture passages and writings as had been painted upon church-walls in king Edward's days; the copy whereof is inserted here, that the present generation may see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word; as also against the edifying of christian people; and hence will appear, not only how blasphemously they spake against the holy scriptures,

but likewise how studiously they fought by all manner of means to keep the people still in ignorance.

Bishop BONNER'S MANDATE *to abolish the* SCRIPTURE WRITINGS *upon* CHURCH-WALLS.

EDMUND (by God's permission) bishop of London, to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being, sendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

Because



Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprized to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same, placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do, and also have procured as a stay to their heresies (as they thought) certain scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church-walls, all which persons tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of the priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverend sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy days, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue: wherefore we being moved with a christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn; or cause to be warned; first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular church-wardens and parishioners whosoever within our foresaid diocese of London, wheresoever any such scriptures or paintings have been attempted, that they abolish and extinguish such manner of scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen, and therein to proceed moreover as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and severally shall see the foresaid scriptures to be razed, abolished and extinguished forthwith: citing all and singular those church-wardens and parishioners, (whom we also for the same do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and singular the church-wardens and parishioners being slack and negligent, culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar general and principal official, or our commissary special in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or else at the next court-day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit; there to say and alledge for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished for such their negligence, slackness, and fault, to say and to alledge, and further to do and receive, as law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate. In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents. Dated in the bishop's palace at London, the 25th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the 16th.

About this time the Lord Chancellor sent M. Christopher unto the university of Cambridge with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole stile of the king and queen in their sermons.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of introducing these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many wise and learned men departed from the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were 24 places void together, in whose rooms were taken in 24 others, which neither in virtue nor religion were to

be compared to those that were before. And no less miserable was the estate of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strait dealing of the visitors, who for setting forward their papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters.

We must not pass over in silence the famous exhortation of Dr. Tresham, after he had called the students together; to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons, declaring that there were a goodly company of copes, that were appointed to Windsor, but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ's-church. Now, if they like honest men would come to church, they should wear them on holy days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Bampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for holy water to sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad to forego these commodities, &c.

On Monday, November 22d, the parliament met; at the opening whereof, both the king and queen rode to the house of lords in their robes, having two swords borne before them.

Wednesday, 21st, Cardinal Poole landed at Dover, on which day an act passed for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing, as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in the reign of Henry VIII: and on the next day, November 22d, the king and queen came to the parliament-house to give the royal assent to this act, and to establish the same against his coming.

Saturday, 24th, the cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth-house, which was ready prepared against his coming.

Wednesday, 18th, there was a general procession in St. Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as was declared in the letter sent from the council to the bishop of London. At this procession ten bishops, and all the prebendaries of St. Paul's were present, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the city in their best array. The following is a copy of the council's letter.

#### A LETTER,

From the COUNCIL to EDMUND BONNER, concerning QUEEN MARY'S CONCEPTION.

**A**FTER our hearty commendations unto your good lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such sort, as she is conceived and quick of child: whereby her majesty (being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities (which for want of such succession might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity) shall by God's grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour and serve him, as we are most bounden: these are not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God so to extend his holy hand over his majesty, the king's highness, and this whole realm, as this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these letters, to put you in



in remembrance; and so bid your lordship most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 27th of November, 1554.

Your assured loving friends,

S. Winton  
Arundel  
F. Shrewsbury  
Edward Darby  
Henry Suffex

John Bathon  
R. Rich  
Thomas Watthorn  
John Huddilstone;  
R. Southwell.

The same day, in the afternoon, cardinal Poole came to the parliament house, which at that time was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad: where the king and queen's majesty sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor, began in this manner.

**M**Y lords of the upper house, and you my masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Poole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm; and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassage their majesties pleasure is to be signified unto you all by his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an attentive and inclinable ear unto him.

The lord chancellor having ended, the cardinal began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time, the court gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The next day the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster: where the king, queen, and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling) a supplication to their highnesses; which being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their majesties: and after he had in a few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken such happy success, he, by the pope's authority, did give them this absolution following.

**O**UR Lord Jesus Christ, who with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you. And we by apostolic authority given unto us (by the most holy lord pope Julius the third, his vicegerent on earth) do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it shall appear: in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Having finished this business, they went into the chapel, and there singing *Te Deum*, with great solemnity declared the joy that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of which was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise. Whereupon the pope caused three processions to be made at Rome, and thanks to be given to God, with great joy for the conversion of England to his church; and

therefore praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen; on Christmas eve, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

On Sunday, December 2, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's-Cross, at which sermon the king and cardinal Poole were present. He took for his text the ninth chapter of the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; "This also we know the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed," &c.

First, he shewed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance; not knowing God: therefore St. Paul said he, to stir up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with their's, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the Christians, wherein he used these words:

"Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come: but Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments are done away, and our's only remain which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law; for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now also it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed these twenty years past, as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, As men intending to sleep, do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome, and have been alone, unlike any other realm in Christendom.

Secondly, As in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of burning, or drowning, sometimes of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears; so we have in this our sleep, not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another? Hath not half our money been wiped away at one time? And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things which you all know as well as I, whereof I appeal to your own consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell nor hear; even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle, lest peradventure it may hinder his sleep, and awake him: so of late all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned and forbidden to be read: and images (which were laymen's books) were cast down and broken.

The sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head. For when king Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, king Edward (having over him governors and protectors, which ruled as they listed) could not be head of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head, and at length it came to pass, that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they were both convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north, in the time of king Henry VI. (I am sure) the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope; but the



hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

After this, Mr. Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a means between the pope's holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome, but the time was not yet come. For it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of king Edward's reign, the matter was moved, but the time was not yet: for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been done by force and violence. But now, even now, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holiness, pope Julius III. sent unto us this most reverend father, cardinal Poole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? not to revenge the injuries done by us against his holiness, but to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you that we may always acknowledge ourselves offenders against his holiness; I do not exclude myself from the number; I will "weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice." And I shall desire you, that we may defer the matter no longer, for now the hour is come. The king and queen's majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy; and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his holiness, and his successors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father, so may the pope say, that he is our father; for we received our doctrine first from Rome, therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it." Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a noble birth is come, yea, such a holy father (I mean my lord cardinal Poole) which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers, who hath been a long time absent. And let us now awake, who have so long slept, and in our sleep have done so much mischief to the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproveth them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ."

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed first for pope Julius the third, with all his college of cardinals, the bishop of London, with the rest of that order; then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and lastly, for the commons of the same, with the souls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in St Paul's to ring their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make an end of his sermon.

About this time a messenger was sent from the parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey lands and chauntry lands: for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed.

Thursday, *December 6*, the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth

to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down, and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church, made by the cardinal, they departed.

Wednesday, *December 12*, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Mr. Throgmorton's jury, were discharged, and set at liberty upon paying a fine of 220l. a-piece: and the other three put up a supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay; upon which declaration, paying 40l. a piece, they were delivered out of prison on the 21st of December.

Saturday, *December 22*, the parliament had a strict command that none of them should depart into the country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended. Which command was very contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the commons, had sent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

Friday, *December 28*, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

On New-year's-day, 1555, at night, several honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and Mr. Rose, a minister, were taken as they were in a house in Bow-church-yard, at the communion, and the same night were all committed to prison. And on the third of January following, Mr. Rose was before the bishop of Winchester, the lord chancellor, and from thence the same day committed to the Tower, after some communication between the bishop and him.

The same day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament, and at night a great tumult was at Westminster, between some Spaniards and Englishmen, whereof a great mischief had like to have ensued, by means of a Spanish friar, who got into the church, and rung the alarum. The occasion was about two prostitutes then in the cloyster at Westminster, with a sort of Spaniards, whereof whilst some played the knaves with them, others kept the entry of the cloyster with dogs in harness. In the mean time, some of the dean's men came into the cloyster, and the Spaniards discharged their dogs, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost, but never a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much ado, and a great number to be sore afraid.

We have before mentioned the council's letter sent to bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was the twenty-eighth of November. Of this child great talk at this time began to rise in every man's mouth, especially amongst such as seemed to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In which number here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his commendation for his worthy affection towards his prince and her issue, one sir Richard Southwell, who being the same time in the parliament-house, when, as the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "Tush, my masters, said he, why talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," &c. By which words, and also by the aforesaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured opinion was then conceived in men's heads, of queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child. Inasmuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament, there was a bill exhibited, and the following act made upon the same.



*The WORDS of the ACT.*

**A**LBEIT, we the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the queen's majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even so he will of his infinite goodness give her highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconstant government, during the time of the reign of the late king Edward the sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen; for the eschewing hereof, we the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we have and repose in the king's majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm, in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her majesty's body to be born, if it should please God to call the queen's highness out of this present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues, (which God forbid) according to such order and manner, as hereafter in this present act his highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's highness, that his majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, and education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid: upon which our suit, being of his said majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his highness not only to declare, That like as for the most part his majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the queen's majesty, to give this realm so good an hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the same realm) will assist her highness with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern; wherefore neither all this realm, nay all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his majesty should or would) yet if such chance should happen, his majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the care and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would by all ways and means, study, travel, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his majesty reposed, with no less good will and affection, than if his highness had been naturally born amongst us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, &c. [As it is to be seen in the act more at large ratified and confirmed by the same parliament, to the same intent and purpose.]

Thus we see how man doth purpose, but God deposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, provision, and order, taken in the parliament-house for their young master long-looked for, coming so surely into the world, in the end, appeared neither young master, nor young mistress, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay-sort was herein deluded; so no less ridiculous was it to behold, what little effect the prayers of the papists had with Almighty God, who travelled

no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young master to come, as what follows will shew.

*A PRAYER by DR. WESTON, DEAN of WESTMINSTER, to be daily said for the QUEEN's DELIVERANCE.*

**O** Most righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the first woman, hath threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives; we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious queen Mary, being now at the point of being delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow; and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterwards, she forgetting the trouble, may with joy laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name world without end.

*Another solemn PRAYER for KING PHILIP and QUEEN MARY's CHILD; that it may be a MALE-CHILD, &c.*

**O** Most mighty Lord God, who regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy to us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences humbly with eyes intent, and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant; and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously with the help of thy right hand deliver her, and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve:

It is well known unto us how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of 90 years, and in Elizabeth the barren, and also fair stricken in age: for thy council is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take an husband with thy fear; and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took an husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

Tuesday, January, 10th, nineteen members of the lower-house, with their speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm, and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

Wednesday, 26th, the parliament was dissolved. In this parliament the bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII. were repealed, and cardinal Poole, bishop Pates, Lilly, and others, were restored to their blood. Also an act was made, that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit an hundred marks; and at the second time, to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit



feit an hundred pounds; and whosoever should write, cypher, or print any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Likewise in this parliament three statutes were revived for trial of heresy: one made in the fifth year of Richard II. another in the second year of Henry IV. and the third in the second year of Henry V. Also the affair of Mr. Rose, and others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament, and upon that occasion an act was made, that certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen's highness. The prayers of these men were thus: "God turn the heart of queen Mary from idolatry, or else shorten her days."

At the apprehending of Mr. Rose, and his companions, word was brought thereof to bishop Hooper, being then in the Fleet; whereupon the bishop sent a letter of consolation to the said prisoners; enjoining them not to fear their adversaries, though he acknowledged the papist's church was more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the heathens and gentiles.

Upon Friday, January 18th, all the council went to the Tower, and set at liberty most part of the prisoners, among whom were the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Rogers, sir James Crofts, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Nicholas Arnal, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Gawen Carew, Mr. Gibbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

Tuesday, 22d, all the preachers who were in prison, were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house, in St. Mary Overy's. From whence, (after communication, being asked whether they would convert, and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answered, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straighter prison than before, with charge that none should speak with them: of whom, one James George, the same time, died in prison, being there in bonds for religion and righteousness' sake, who therefore being exempted burial in the popish church-yard, was buried in the fields.

Wednesday, 23d, all the bishops, with the rest of the convocation-house, were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he desired them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to treat their flock with all mildness, and to endeavour to win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour, and so let them depart.

Friday, 25th, being the day of conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church: wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten crosses, one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing loudly. There followed also, for the better estimation of the fight, eight bishops; and last of all came Bonner, bishop of London, carrying the popish pyx under a canopy.

There were also present the mayor, and aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to St. Paul's church the same day. From whence after mass they returned to Westminster again. As the king was entering the church, at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the procession, there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night. Whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk why all this was done: some saying it was, that the queen being with child, might have a safe delivery; others thought, that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome.

Monday, 28th, the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws; all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence, after communication, they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker submitted himself.

Tuesday, 29th, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford, were brought before them, where sentence of excommunication, and judgment ecclesiastical, were pronounced upon bishop Hooper, and Mr. Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat, and drove them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

Wednesday, 30th, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were before the said bishops, when Dr. Taylor, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Bradford, were likewise excommunicated; and, sentence being pronounced upon them, they were committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome desired two months respite, which was granted him; and Mr. Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men shewed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where arbitrary will alone beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true christians (out of all the quarters, but especially Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison, and afterwards (most of them) either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in prisons, and were buried on the dung-hills, in the fields, or in some back-side of the prison.

What the cruel sufferings, persecutions, tortures, and agonizing deaths were, which these, and numberless other subjects of the bloody queen Mary, endured from her hands, and those of her no less bloody instruments, the bishops Bonner and Gardner, shall (God willing) be the substance of the next book.

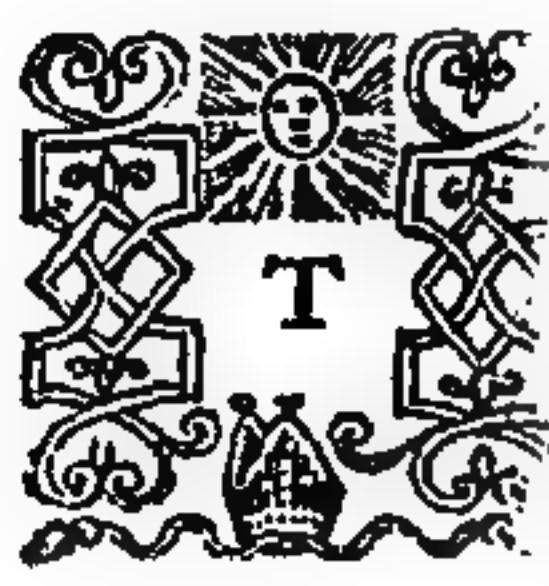
As to the queen (chief cause of all these barbarities) her health had been, for some time in a declining state; and on mistaking her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had used an improper regimen, which daily increased her disorder. Every reflection was now a subject of torment begun in this world, and struck a dagger in her heart. The corroding worm, that never dies began to gnaw it's vital strings. The consciousness of having incurred the hatred of her subjects; the idea of Elizabeth's succeeding to the crown; her fear that the catholic religion would be exposed to danger; her dejection for the loss of Calais with which she was deadly affected; and above all, her grief for the loss of her husband, whom, she knew, intended soon to return to Spain, to settle there during the remainder of his life: these melancholy reflections, preying upon her mind, with the greatest violence, threw her into a complication of disorders, attended with a lingering fever, of which she died, November 17th, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, after a short, cruel, and unhappy reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. She was interred at Westminster, in the chapel of her grandfather Henry VII. Some writers have been of opinion, that this unworthy queen had a serious sense of religion, but can we call that profession serious, however distinguished by the peaceful, sacred name of religion, which prompts us to be guilty of savage cruelty, and destitute of all the social virtues? There are, we acknowledge, a few devout pieces extant, composed by Mary.



# B O O K II.

## C H A P. I.

*The LIFE, EXAMINATIONS, WRITINGS, and CONDEMNATION, of the Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, and also the LIFE and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS; who were burned, the former in SMITHFIELD, February 4th, the latter at COVENTRY, February 8th, 1555.*



HE Rev. Mr. John Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and reader of St. Paul's London, was educated in the university of Cambridge, and at length was chosen chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp, in Brabant; there he became acquainted with Mr. William Tindal, whom he assisted in his translation of the New Testament, and with Miles Coverdale, who, with several other worthy protestants, had been driven out of England on account of the persecutions for five articles, in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. By means of conversing with these worthy and pious servants of God, Mr. Rogers came to the knowledge of the scriptures, and finding, according to those sacred oracles, that matrimony was both honest and honourable, he entered into that state, and went with his wife to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where, through indefatigable study and application in a short time he attained to such a knowledge of the Dutch language as to be capable of taking charge of a christian congregation in that part of Europe.

Having cast off all popish superstitions, idolatry and restrictions, this aged minister served his cure faithfully and diligently for many years, until such time that it pleased God to dispel the mists of popish darkness from his native country, and restore the glorious light of the pure gospel of Christ, by the introduction of his chosen servant Edward VI. to the throne of England.

Mr. Rogers then, being orderly called, left his living in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel without any previous condition, appointment, or establishment whatever: but after having laboured in the vineyard of his master for a time, with great success, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's: of which he was afterwards chosen by the dean and chapter, one of the divinity lecturers, or a reader of divinity in that church. Here he continued till queen Mary soon after her accession, banished the true religion and again introduced the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome with all the horrid cruelties of blood-thirsty Antichrist.

When queen Mary was in the Tower of London imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers preached at Paul's Cross, confirming those doctrines which he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, and exhorted the people, with peculiar energy, to continue steadfast in the same, and to beware of the false tenets of pestilent popery. For this sermon the preacher was summoned before the council, then filled with popish and bloody bishops; before whom he pleaded his own cause in so pious, bold, and yet prudent a manner, as to obviate their displeasure for that time, and he was dismissed. But after Mary's proclamation, to prohibit the preaching of the doctrines of the reformed religion, Mr. Rogers, for a contempt of the same, was again summoned before a council of bishops, who, after having debated upon the nature of his offence, ordered him to keep close prisoner in his own house, where he remained a considerable time, till at the instigation of the cruel Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed to Newgate, and placed among the common felons. What passed between him and the adversaries of Christ, during the time of his imprisonment, is not certainly known; but the following examinations he left in his own hand-writing: and it is the will of God they should be handed down to us, and remain a perpetual testimony in the cause of true religion.

*The FIRST and SECOND EXAMINATIONS of the Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, before the LORD CHANCELLOR, GARDINER, BISHOP of WINCHESTER, and OTHERS of the COUNCIL of BISHOPS, January 22d, 1555.*

FIRST, the lord Chancellor said unto me thus: Sir, you have heard the state of the realm in which it standeth now:

*Rogers.* No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general things said at the table, when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing, whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

Then said the lord chancellor, General things, mockingly: you have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting it, except one man which did speak against it. Such an unity, and such a miracle hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, (said one that was by, whose name I know not) have with one assent received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say you? are you content to unite yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? will you do that?

*Rogers.* The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.

*Lord Chancellor.* Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.

*Rogers.* I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrines of the old and pure catholic church, four hundred years after Christ.

*Lord Chancellor.* Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry the eighth to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

*Rogers.* I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins; giving of the Holy Ghost; authority to be a judge above the word of God.

*Lord Chancellor.* Yea, said he and Tonstall bishop of Durham, and N. bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his days, (and they nodded their head at me with a laughter) thou hadst not been alive now.

*Rogers.* Which thing I denied. The lord chancellor said, What sayest thou? make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?

*Rogers.* My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sins, &c. (as is before said) seeing you and all the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long ago condescended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus:

*Lord Chancellor.* Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome.

*Rogers.* With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?



*Lord Chancellor.* I talk to thee of no cruelty but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this parliament it was uniformly received. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.

*Rogers.* I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. I cannot be so persuaded.

*Lord Chancellor.* If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much professed thee again as thou hast now.

*Rogers.* I will find it first in the scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head.

*Worcester.* Why, do you not know what is in your creed: "I believe in the holy catholic church?"

*Rogers.* I find not the bishop of Rome there. For [catholic] signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church, that doth so? That is not possible.

*Lord Chancellor.* Shew me one of them, one: let me hear one.

*Rogers.* The bishop of Rome and his church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the 1st. to the Corinthians, the xiv. chapter.

*Lord Chancellor.* I deny that; I deny that is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that: how prove you that?

*Rogers.* Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue," &c. To speak with tongues, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

This a point of sophistry, quoth secretary Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in High-Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

*Worcester.* Yes, and at Wittenberg too.

*Rogers.* Yes, (but I could not be heard for the noise). And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another; so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor ordered me to prison again: and away, away, said he, we have more to talk withal; if I would not be reformed (so he termed it) away, away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southell, who stood by in a window, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this cause when it cometh to the purpose; I know well that.

*Rogers.* Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set out with large words, saying, That she took them that would not receive the pope's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

*Rogers.* I said I would not refuse her mercy; and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace, and all her honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once. No? quoth they then a great

many of them, and especially secretary Bourne, a married priest, and have not offended the law?

*Rogers.* I said, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that? said they: thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

*Rogers.* In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again: for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before.

And one said (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever yet granted that a priest might have a wife.

*Rogers.* I said, the catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the serjeant which brought me thither, having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said, that I knew not where that church was or is.

*Rogers.* I said, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith the serjeant went with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

*The SECOND EXAMINATION, 28th of Jan. 1555.*

**B**EING asked again by the lord chancellor, what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, whether I belived in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty; so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand [really and substantially] to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: My lord, said I, you have dealt with me most cruelly: for you have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half, for I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to provide for, and have not received a penny from my livings, which was against the law.

He replied, that Dr. Ridley, who had given them me, was an usurper, and therefore, I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, said I, who gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?

Yes, said he, and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, said he, to call the king usurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart.

I asked him wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered that it was not true; and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached, I confessed, a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower: but therein was nothing said against the queen.

But you did read lectures after, said he, against the commandment of the council?

That I did not, said I; let that be proved, and let me die for it.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and then to have imprisoned them after



after that they had offended laws : for they are good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, until they may catch them in their laws, and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a crafty devised law was cast into the lion's den. I might also have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelve-month, while I was yet in my house.

I wrote likewise two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Mr. Gosnold also, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th of January, in the afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the first, and Mr. Cardmaker the second in examination before me.

Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me, and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would return to the catholic church again, (for so he called his antichristian false church) and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be : but into his church would I, by God's grace, never come.

Well, said he, then is our church false and antichristian?

Yes, said I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?

False; and I cast my hands abroad.

Then one said that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I took no notice of his mock.

Come again, said the lord-chancellor, to-morrow, between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whensoever you call.

And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the compter in Southwark, Mr. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much ado to go in the streets. Thus much was done January 28.

### The THIRD EXAMINATION, and CONDEMNATION, JANUARY 29, 1555.

THE next day, *January 29*, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the compter in Southwark, to St. Mary Overy's: and when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterwards, then sent they for me. My lord chancellor said:

Rogers, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself last night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My lord, said I, I remember well what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done, I shall answer to your demanded question.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing, (meaning not only of the primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) you answered, that it might not, and ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and

useless by me, being but a private person. Yet, my lord, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterwards, hath by the word of God proved so clearly that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with an heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

I could also shew the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitanus, who saith, That unto a simple lay-man that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to speak my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church 400 years after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; especially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For if Henry VIII. were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alledged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one, whom God forgive) then would you (pointing to my lord chancellor) and ye, and all pointing to the rest of the bishops) say Amen: yea, and it please your grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.

Here my lord chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down, mockingly, saying, That I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

My lord, said I, I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?

Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and prate? said he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did; for I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and, as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

*Lord Chancellor.* See what a spirit this fellow hath, saith he, finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.

*Rogers.* I have a true spirit, agreeing to, and obeying the word of God, and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my master Christ's matters: but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him, that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church of which the bishop of Winchester, and the rest of his fellow bishops that are now in England, are the chief members: of laws I mean, said I, and not all men and women which are in the pope's church. Likewise,



when I was said to have denied their sacrament (where he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his popish generation's sake, than for religion or God's sake; I told him after what order I did speak of it, (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had Jan. 28.) wherewith he was not contented, but asked the audience, whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did what he desired, for most of them were of his own servants on this day. At last I said, I will never deny what I said, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles: first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of Antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity, and so he gave me over into the sheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

After his sentence was read, bishop Gardiner sent Mr. Hooper and me to the Clink, there to remain till night; and when it was dark, they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with one sheriff, and coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enough, out of the Clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and St. Mary Overy's church-yard, and so into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate, through the city. When the bishop had read the condemnation, I petitioned to see and speak to my wife, who was a stranger, and had ten children; but he said she was not my wife. I declared she was, for we had been married 18 years. He still denied it, said I maintained open whoredom, and that I should not see her.

*The WRITINGS of the Rev. Mr. ROGERS, while in Prison; containing the Substance of what he intended, might he have been permitted to plead in his own Defence, when examined by the BENCH of POPISH BISHOPS.*

**D**EARLY beloved, ye have heard what was said: now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched upon. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me; the other was to prove, that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison, as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that king Henry VIII. in his time made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard: he pulled down abbeys; and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

King Edward VI. in his time made lawful the marriage of priests, turned the service into English, abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery, set up the holy communion, and all by consent of parliament.

The queen that now is, hath repealed the act that made her a bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority; beginneth to set up abbeys again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up mass again, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament, made in king Henry's time, and in king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded: then these which are established in

the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf.

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and brag openly of yourself) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and our's false; to that I answer thus: God's works are wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent.

But here they will cry out, Lo these men will be still John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets, &c.

I answer, We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

We have preached their very doctrine, and no other thing: that we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient mediator, reconciler, priest, and sacrifice, which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are blotted with many filthy sins, which if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation: and herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all christian men to be like them, and herein are all true christian men and women like them, every one according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them and to the diversity of the gifts of the spirit given unto them. But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart, that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures, to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness thereof, and to make them sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the spirit, daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to rise again also, with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes. Let us also consider, what he hereafter doth with the same enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried: whereas he but chasteneth and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure,



sure, as all fathers do with their children, Heb. xii. Prov. iii. he utterly destroyeth; yea, and everlastingly damneth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he got by killing James, and prosecuting Peter and his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures; but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands, that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very, and that most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did with most great and intolerable labours and burdens oppress and bring under the poor Israelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them to work, that they might get them their livings. If he could thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like example now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and my good brethren, I will not speak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgements. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there are many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues; and his most flourishing land was, in consequence of his counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think you that bloody butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren shall escape? Or that England shall for their offences, and especially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? yes undoubtedly.

After Mr. Rogers had been long and straitly imprisoned, and lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester: on the fourth of February, being Monday in the morning, he was suddenly warned by the keeper of Newgate's wife, to prepare himself for the fire; who being then sound asleep, could scarce be awaked. At length being raised and awaked, and bid to make haste. Then, said he, if it be so, I need not tie my points; and so was had down, first to bishop Bonner to be degraded; which being done, he craved of Bonner but one petition; and Bonner asking what that should be? Mr. Rogers replied, that he might speak a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then, said he, you declare what your charity is; and so he was brought into Smithfield by Mr. Chester and Mr. Woodroffe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; at the place of execution, the sheriff asked him, if he would recant his opinions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached, he would seal with his blood." Then, said the sheriff, thou art an heretic. To which Mr. Rogers replied, "That shall be known at the day of judgement." Well, said Mr. Woodroffe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, said Mr. Rogers; and so he was brought the same day, Monday, February 4th, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the Psalm *Miserere* by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy,

with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there in the presence of Mr. Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a great number of people, he was burnt to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr, of all the blessed company that suffered in queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking at her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him, but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of the gospel of Christ.

*The LIFE and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, who was burned at COVENTRY, February 8th, 1555.*

AFTER queen Mary, by public proclamation, in the first year of her reign, had prohibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, several pious ministers who had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed king Edward) but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of good parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpose, as in the school of Eaton. From whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the king's college in Cambridge, where he continued a scholar three whole years, and profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time: shortly after, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily, and so he coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant named sir William Chester (who afterwards chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burnt at Coventry.)

It happened that the master, being a good man, and hearing his prentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was of his solitariness and lamentations: who then perceiving him not to fancy that kind of life, (for so Saunders declared unto him) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of books, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man, directed his letters unto his friends, and giving him his indentures, set him free. Thus Mr. Laurence Saunders being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long in the traffic of merchandize, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study, where he began to add to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited very much in a little time; therewith also he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scripture, to furnish himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was introduced, after licence obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them who then had authority, that they had appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Forthingham, where, by doctrine and life, he edified the pious, drew many ignorant to the true knowledge of God, and stopped the mouths of adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married state led a life unblameable before all men. The college



of Fotheringham being dissolved, he was placed to be a reader in the minister at Litchfield: where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that his very adversaries did give a full report as well of his learning, as of his piety. After a certain space, he departed from Litchfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-langton, where he keeping residence taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Alhallows in Bread-street. Then he was minded to give over his cure in the country; and therefore after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from thence into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof.

Sunday, October 15th, in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, treating on that place which St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians: "I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had toward Christ." He recited the sum of that true christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service, set forth by king Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God, 1 Cor. xiv. and the order of the primitive church. The other, he said, was evil, and though in that evil, be intermingled some good Latin words, yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him by sending an officer for him.

Mr. Saunders continued in prison one year and three months. In all which space he sent several letters to divers men; as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others, certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and also of his private afflictions, and of his sundry conflicts with his adversaries; and in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Dr. Weston's conferring with him in the prison.

#### LETTER I.

*Which the Rev. Mr. SAUNDERS sent to BISHOP GARDINER, exculpating himself from CERTAIN CHARGES laid against him.*

**T**OUCHING the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the same service then used. The act which I did (meaning his public teaching of God's word in his own parish, called Alhallows in Bread-street, in the city of London) was such as being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at least no wilful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul; this I confess, "That after the way

which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fore-fathers; believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God," &c. Acts xxiv. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men; so that God I call to witness, I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, "My sheep hear my voice," John x. yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith, "The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger." Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And although the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheeps cloathing, yet by their fruits you shall know them. That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, is apparent in three principal points.

First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, It taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying of Christ and his office of salvation.

Thirdly, It spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against which Christ with the prophet Isaiah doth speak sharply; "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men." And in another place, "Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions."

#### LETTER II.

*From the Rev. Mr. SAUNDERS to his WIFE.*

**G**RACE, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord, intirely beloved wife, even as unto my own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him, Amen. I am chearful, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall (I know) be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown, which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in the sixth chapter unto the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

A prisoner in the Lord. L. SAUNDERS.

The



The constancy of this faithful servant of Christ, even unto the death, is sufficiently manifested and declared by his valiant contest with those two powerful enemies, Antichrist and death: to neither of these did he give place, and in the end got the victory over them both.

When Mr. Saunders was in prison, an order was sent to the keeper, that no person should speak with him; but his wife coming to the prison-gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband, the keeper, though he durst not, on account of his charge, suffer her to come into the prison, yet he took the infant out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Mr. Saunders, seeing the child, said, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And to the standers-by, who praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man fearing God, would not lose his life, rather than by prolonging it, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to vouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

After this good and faithful martyr had been kept in prison one year and a quarter, the bishops at length called him, as they did his fellow-prisoners, openly to be examined; and the purport of his examination, as written by himself, here followeth.

*The EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. SAUNDERS before the QUEEN'S COUNCIL; GARDINER, BISHOP of WINCHESTER, the then CHANCELLOR, and other BISHOPS, being present.*

In this examination the Lord Chancellor thus spake:

*Lord Chancellor.*

**I**T is not unknown that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as have been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will shew yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we have fallen in manner all: but now we are risen again, and returned to the catholic church; you must rise with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct answer.

*Saunders.* My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation.

*Chancellor.* Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yes, or no.

*Saunders.* My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; my learning I confess to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is like to fall upon me, the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience.

*Chancellor.* Conscience? you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church.

*Saunders.* The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand) I do assure you that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years of age, being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yes, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority.

*Chancellor.* But have you received by consent and

authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?

*Saunders.* My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he doth lose an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. Now you, all the whole sort of you, had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the church again.

*Bishop of London.* And if it please your lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament: How say you to that?

*Saunders.* What I have written, that I have written, and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force.

*Chancellor.* Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty.

*Saunders.* My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your honours to be means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged; and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience.

*Chancellor.* Ah firrah, you will live as you like. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not fit to live on earth: no more are you, and that you shall understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him.

*Saunders.* Welcome it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honours, Amen. This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and stayed until the rest of his fellow-prisoners were likewise examined; that they might have them altogether to prison. Laurence Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, spoke freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to Antichrist they deserved; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

Having been excommunicated and delivered over to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriffs of London to the Compter, a prisoner in his own parish of Breadstreet, whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Cardmaker, with whom he had much christian and comfortable discourse; and because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might have an opportunity of preaching to his parishioners.

On the fourth day of February, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the prison to degrade him: which when he had done, Mr. Saunders said to him, "I thank God I am none of your church."

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned.

When they were arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker, who used to serve him with shoes, came to him, and said, O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you. Good shoemaker, (Mr. Saunders replied) and I desire thee to pray for me, for I am the most unfit man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough. The same night he was put into the common jail among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing of others.

The next day, being the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park, without the



city, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. Saunders, that he was one of them who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, wherefore thou hast deserved death: but yet if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. Saunders answered, It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always resisted God's holy word; it is you who have and do marr the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that, this tormentor cried, Away with him. And away from him went Mr. Saunders, with a cheerful courage, towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, Welcome the Cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life: and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

Mr. Saunders often told his friends, that many would suffer, if ever Mary ascended throne. He knew the temper of that princess, and probably it was that which made him expect sufferings.

Some modern unbelievers have said, that the martyrs had good hearts, but confused heads; and to this they have added, that they were madmen. Supposing we should turn the argument against the deists, by begging the question, and asked them, whether Socrates, whom they so much glory in, was a madman, for asserting that there was but one divine being? For this crime (if it was one) Socrates suffered death, by being condemned to drink the hemlock. Now let any man read the Phædon of Plato, and then let him answer whether Socrates did not die an enthusiast.

It is also said, they had good hearts, but their heads were not clear. Let us admit the assertion to be true, and let us consider the circumstances from which it took its rise. The whole truth will appear from a careful attention to the following things:

First, many of these men had, from motives of conscience, left that system of superstition in which they had been educated, and embraced the truth perhaps in a more violent manner than was consistent with that calmness of reflection, which must, at all times, conduct those to the knowledge of the truth, who would willingly obey the gospel.

Secondly, It may be observed, that however desirable it may be to have a head well informed, it is much better to have a good heart. A man may have much knowledge, and at the same time be destitute of piety. There have been many learned men who were strangers to religion; there have been sufferers for the truth, who knew but little of what is commonly called human knowledge.

Lastly, Let them consider the circumstances of the times: light breaking out from darkness is apt to bewilder the rational faculties; and men are frequently led into extravagancies, without any intention to deceive. Indeed, the martyrs knew they had nothing to expect but sufferings; and therefore they thought they might avow their sentiments.

This may serve to shew, that all the objections which, from time to time, have been brought against the martyrs, are extremely insignificant, and not worthy of a serious answer.

We shall here relate the conversation which passed between Mr. Saunders, in the beginning of his troubles, and Dr. Pendleton.

#### A CONVERSATION between the Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS and Dr. PENDLETON.

**A**T the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of queen Mary's reign, doctor Pendleton and Mr. Saunders, men known to the world, not

only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word in the time of blessed king Edward, met together in the country, where by occasion they were at that time, and as the case required (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereunto Mr. Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak flesh, that was loth to taste the bitter cup, though his spirit was ready thereunto: or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like; seemed so fearful and feeble-spirited, that he shewed himself in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least, to fly the land, rather than stick to his profession. Whereas Dr. Pendleton took upon him to comfort Mr. Saunders all that he might (who, on the contrary side, appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage, nor so earnest before in the pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his blood), admonishing him, as he could do it very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the wolf; neither having put his hand to God's plough, to start now aside, and give it over; nor yet (what is worst of all) having once forsaken Antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others by his example to return to their vomit again.

After which, and such like persuasions, bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him; What, man! (said he) there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you: forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back than you do; and being so laden with a heavier lump of the vile carcase, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you: and yet, said he, I will see the last drop of this grease of mine melted away, and the last particle of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth. Whereunto the other answered but little, wishing that God would give him more strength than he then felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness; but consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to join with him in the profession of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same; whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, behold, what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor, feeble, and faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God, taking heart of grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichrist, and zealously preaching Christ his master, for which he afterwards suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas, on the other side, Dr. Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater boaster than a good warrior) no sooner came to London, than he changed his mind, and played the apostate, preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors and lies, advancing Antichrist, and overthrowing Christ with all his might: so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful pastor, a false runagate; and of a true preacher, a sworn enemy to God's everlasting testament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own soul. Wherein is especially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgement of God, who as he can and doth make strong whom he pleaseth, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble; so on the other hand, he throweth down others, seem they ever so stout, stand they ever so much in their own conceits. Wherefore let him that standeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of itself is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.

While this good man was confined in prison, he did not pass all his time in unfruitful idleness, but still from time



time to time did visit his friends, (as is said) and especially his wife, with many letters; particularly bishop

Ferrar, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Philpot, Mr. and Mrs. Harrington, and other friends.

## C H A P. II.

*The LIFE and MARTYRDOM of JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP of WORCESTER and GLOUCESTER, who was Burned for maintaining and defending the TRUE RELIGION, February 9th, 1555.*

**J**OHAN HOOPER, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. Growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness and spiritual understanding, and shewing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the six articles, in the time of king Henry VIII. fell quickly into displeasure, and hatred of certain doctors in Oxford, who by and by began to stir coals against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to quit the university; and removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him with a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference or learning to do some good unto him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after long conference with Mr. Hooper, four or five days together, at length perceiving, that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Mr. Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again, right-well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudge against Mr. Hooper.

Not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himself, for danger was working against him: whereupon Mr. Hooper left Mr. Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows), took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Mr. Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in a short time returned into England again, and was retained by Mr. Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and sought for; whereby he was compelled (under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland) to take to the seas, and so escaped (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany. Where, commencing acquaintance with learned men, he was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, by Mr. Bullinger, being his singular friend. Where also he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six articles, and to give us king Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto the church, amongst many other English exiles, who then repaired homeward, Mr. Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself, but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required) to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity towards him many ways declared, with like humanity again proposed to

take his leave of them at his departing, and so he did. Unto whom Mr. Bullinger (who had always a special favour to Mr. Hooper) spake on this wise: "Mr. Hooper, (saith he) although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater cause have we to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return out of long banishment into your native country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it will. Another cause moreover why we rejoice with you and for you, is this; that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty, but you shall leave here a barren, a sour, and an unpleasant country, rude and savage, and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where you shall come peradventure to be a bishop, and where you shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-wishers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Mr. Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Whereunto Mr. Hooper answering again, first gave to Mr. Bullinger and the rest hearty thanks, for that their singular good will and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him; declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of their's, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends, although, said he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny but God had blessed his country of England with many great commodities; yet neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom he was so intirely bound unto; and therefore you shall be sure, said he, from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for there, said he, (taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes; and that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me, &c.

When Mr. Hooper had taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger, and his friends in Zurich, he repaired again into England in the reign of king Edward the sixth, and coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once every day.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church.

His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although



(although some went about to revile him) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto.

Once an honest citizen, having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel, but being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy for his troubled mind at other men's hands, which he afterwards, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither to shew themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt; nor on the other side again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ.

After he had practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him, and after that he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with other such like trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of this bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion that begun in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garment and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders. Whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this purport.

**KING EDWARD VI. his LETTER to the ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY, and other BISHOPS.**

**R**IGHT reverend father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well worthy, Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the scriptures, and prophane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our loving subjects, which are in his said charge, and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours; from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall in premunire of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures, you shall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore.

Given under our signet at our Castle of Windsor, the fifth of August, the 4th year of our reign.

ED. SOMERSET  
W. WILTSHIRE  
W. NORTH

W. PAGET  
AN. WINGFIELD  
N. WOOTON.

*A LETTER from the EARL of WARWICK, to the ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY, to this Effect, that Mr. HOOPER might not be burdened with the Oath, used commonly in the Consecration of Bishops.*

**A**FTER my most hearty commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to shew him your grace's favour, the rather at this my instance: which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highness, none other but that your grace may easily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdensome to his conscience. And so for lack of time I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster, July 23, 1550.

Your grace's most assured loving friend,  
J. WARWICK.

But notwithstanding this grant of the king, and also the earl's letter aforesaid, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies, saying, it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves; adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter, and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end, that, the bishops having the upper hand, Mr. Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermons shew himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore being appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet, that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private injury and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bore and suffered patiently.

It now remaineth to record the godly reconciliation of these good men, in time of prosecution, as appeareth from the following letter, sent from bishop Ridley to the bishop of Gloucester, of which, as it was written in Latin, the following is a faithful translation into English.

**A LETTER of RECONCILIATION from BISHOP RIDLEY, to JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP of GLOUCESTER.**

**T**O my dear brother, and reverend fellow elder in Christ, John Hooper, grace and peace. My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered



suffered to write to you again; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, so much as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past by certain bye-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth and for the truth's sake, which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God; let us join hands together in Christ, and, if we cannot overthrow, yet, to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake these high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner, and venerable father, D. C. by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy, in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I stand much in fear, lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to my great joy of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewel in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow-prisoners and captives in the Lord, and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother, farewel.

N. RIDLEY.

After this discord, and not a little vexation about vestures, at length, Mr. Hooper entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under king Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England: so careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ

in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men are commonly wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men use to purchase lordships; and when they have them, are loth to leave them, and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men, Dr. Hooper was quite contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who, being bishop of two dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandmen in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there. The time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to those who for abundance of riches and wealthy state, thought they might do what they pleased. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of many men in these days; whereof we see so many addicted to the pleasing of the great and rich, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other. But to return to Dr. Hooper, whose life was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, you may conceive and know evidently by this, that even as he was hated by none but of them which were evil, yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one particular. Nor was this good bishop less exemplary in his private, than in his public character. At home, in his domestic concerns, he exhibited an example of a worthy prelate's life; for he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which also he spent his blood: yet nevertheless there was nothing wanting in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; inasmuch that it is difficult to say, whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or his public conduct abroad. For everywhere he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was the beauty of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp, no dishonest word, no swearing, could there be heard. As to the revenues of both his bishoprics, if any thing surmounted thereof, he saved nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was (says Mr. Fox) in his house at Worcester, where, in his common-hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor people: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me, that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have at dinner a certain number of the poor of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meats: and when they were served, (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments) than he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. In this manner Dr. Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edward's time did safely flourish and take place: and would to God, that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their function. After this, in the reign of queen Mary, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first who was sent for by a pursuivant to be at London; and that for two causes:



First, To answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was deprived thereof in king Edward's days, for being a papist.

Secondly, To render an account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for that he in king Edward's time was one of his accusers, in that he shewed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at St. Paul's Cross. And although the said bishop Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get away, and shift for himself) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying, "Once did I flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

When at the day of his appearance, the first of September, he was come to London, before he could see Dr. Heath and Dr. Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded, violently, against his will, to appear before the queen and her council, to answer certain bonds and obligations, wherein he said he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, received him very opprobriously, railing and rating of him, and accused him of his religion. He again freely and boldly answered, and cleared himself. But he was commanded to ward, (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion). This, how false and untrue it was, shall in it's place more plainly appear.

The next year, being March 19, 1554, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and others of the queen's commissioners: where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics.

*The FIRST EXAMINATION of BISHOP HOOPER, before the BISHOPS of WINCHESTER, LONDON, DURHAM, LANDAFF, and CHICHESTER, who were appointed Commissioners.*

**A**T Dr. Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

*Hooper.* Yes, my lord, and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me.

*Durham.* That is matter enough to deprive you.

*Hooper.* It is not, my lord, except you do against the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for some time: but as well the commissioners, such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gestures as were unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, called bishop Hooper hypocrite, with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonstall called him beast; so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and several others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste who would, and brought in this text, "There are those that have become eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xix. 12.

Bishop Hooper said, that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such to whom it was given; and read the context that goeth before. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined. Then bishop Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests, and named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But bishop Hooper said, that book was not it which he named.

The bishop of Winchester replied, You shall not have any other, until you be judged by this. And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing

was done or spoke orderly or charitably. Afterwards, judge Morgan began to rail at bishop Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men, and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said, that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Upon which the lord chancellor cried out, and many with him, that bishop Hooper had never read the councils.

Yes, my lord, said he, and my lord of Chichester, Dr. Day knoweth, that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed, That no minister should be separated from his wife. But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not attended to.

After long brutish talk, Tonstall, bishop of Durham, asked bishop Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence of the sacrament? Who said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then the bishop of Durham would have read out of a book, (what book it was I cannot tell) but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read. Then the bishop of Winchester asked Dr. Hooper, What authority moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's word, and alledged this text, "Whom heaven must hold until the latter day." But the bishop of Winchester would have made that text to serve nothing for his purpose, and said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

Dr. Hooper would have opened the text, but all those that stood next about the bishop prevented his speaking with clamours and cries, so that Dr. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write, That he was married, and said, that he would not go from his wife; and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament; wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can remember) of the confused and troublesome conversation between them, and except hasty and uncharitable words, it is the whole of their discourse at that time.

*An ACCOUNT of the severe TREATMENT of BISHOP HOOPER, during near eighteen Months Confinement in the FLEET, written with his own Hand, January 7, 1554.*

**T**HE first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid five pounds sterling to the warden for fees, for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mas: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie on. On one side of which prison, is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During



During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help; but the warden when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And, amongst many other times, he did thus October 18, 1553, as many can witness.

I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprics, and since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons, (common side of the prison.)

The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, fourscore pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.

SECOND EXAMINATION of Dr. JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP of GLOUCESTER and WORCESTER, before the intolerant GARDINER, BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

THE twenty-second of January, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Mr. Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners at the said Winchester's house, at St. Mary Overy's: where the bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Mr. Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of king Edward the sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament, promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Bishop Hooper answered, That forasmuch as the pope taught doctrines altogether contrary to those of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of his church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head; to be the catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieeth strangers. Howbeit (saith he) if in any point to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Answer was made, that the queen would shew no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to carry him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near to the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days: and in the mean time his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for

writings and books, which Dr. Hooper was thought to have wrote, but none was found.

THIRD EXAMINATION of BISHOP HOOPER, before the BISHOP of WINCHESTER, and other COMMISSIONERS.

JANUARY 28th, the bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where bishop Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon, and there, after much reasoning and disputation, he was commanded aside, till the Rev. Mr. Rogers (who was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So bishop Hooper went before, with one of the sheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church door, Dr. Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Mr. Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, Come brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots? Yes, sir, said Mr. Rogers, by God's grace. Doubt not, said Dr. Hooper, but God will give strength. So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way, the sheriff said to the bishop, I wonder you was so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience: he answered, Mr. Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come. Then they were committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with command that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither any other permitted to come to them that night.

Upon the next day following, January 29, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that bishop Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, the Rev. Mr. Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner; and both were delivered to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, bishop Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, through the bishop of Winchester's house, and over London-bridge, through the city to Newgate, and by the way some of the serjeants were sent before, to put out the costermongers' candles, who used to set with lights in the streets: either fearing, that the people would have made some attempt to have him taken away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth to their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. The bishop required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, Harpsfield, &c. resorted several times unto him, to try if,



if, by any means, they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted. For, besides the disputations and allegation of testimonies of the scriptures, and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner; they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great promises of worldly wealth; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness, they could not prevail; but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose, with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they by false rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well known that they and their servants did first spread it abroad) to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, in discredit with the people. Which being thus spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to bishop Hooper's ears, who was greatly grieved thereat, that the people should give credit to such false rumours, having so simple a ground; as may appear by the following letter, which he wrote upon that occasion.

#### A L E T T E R

*From BISHOP HOOPER, concerning certain false Rumours spread abroad of his RECANTATION.*

**T**HE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them, who unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I with continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth, as we have and do feel, and are daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad, (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death, (being prisoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And that talk ariseth from this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say, that I was unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have heretofore preached, by their coming.

Therefore, you that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that are untrue.

I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood. From Newgate, February 2, 1555.

Your brother in Christ, JOHN HOOPER.

Monday morning, Bonner, bishop of London, came to Newgate, and degraded bishop Hooper; the sentence of his degradation here followeth.

#### The DEGRADATION of BISHOP HOOPER.

**I**N the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. Whereas by a definitive sentence from the reverend father in Christ, Stephen, by divine permission, lord bishop of Winchester, against you John Hooper, presbyter of his jurisdiction, on account of heresy and offence notoriously committed within his diocese of Winchester, and of late justly and legally proved; it plainly appears to us, Edmund, bishop of London, that you the aforesaid John Hooper have been and still continue to be an open, obstinate, and incorrigible heretic; and it also appears by the aforesaid sentence that you have been declared and pronounced an heretic of this sort, and have likewise incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication; and it plainly and fully appears that you are to be deposed and degraded from your order, and for these your demerits are to be delivered to the secular power, according to the tenor of the aforesaid sentence, to which we refer ourselves in this affair. We therefore, the aforesaid Edmund, bishop of London, as it concerns us and the university to do our alternate endeavours, in whose diocese you John Hooper have committed the same heresy then, and oftentimes both before and after; for these, I say, and the aforesaid considerations, and that we may execute the aforesaid sentence in a better and more efficacious manner, have thought fit to proceed to the actual degradation of you the aforesaid John Hooper, (your crime and justice so requiring) and so we do really proceed according to the direction of the law, and the laudable custom of former times, that we may rightly and legally deliver you to the secular power, who are unwilling to continue in the pale of the church; and that this ought to be done, we do, by these presents, declare and pronounce in this our sentence.

The same Monday, at night, February 4, his keeper gave the bishop a hint that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him among the people, over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory: and immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning, before day, the keeper with others, came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and their officers, from Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where six of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him, to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who with the lord Shandois, Mr. Wick, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. Which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberal than he had used to do a good while before. About break of day he leaped cheerfully on horseback, without help, having a hood upon his head, under his hat, that he should not be known, and so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester; and by the way the guard inquired of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, but always carried him to another inn.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all the evil she could of bishop Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears, confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock, and a mile without the town was much people assembled, who cried and lamented his



his state; insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, &c. but there was no man that once gave any signification of a rescue or violence. He lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester, and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by the guard and others. After his first sleep, he continued in prayer until morning; and all the day, except a little time at his meals, and when conversing with such as the guard permitted to speak to him, he spent in prayer.

Sir Anthony Kingston, at one time Dr. Hooper's good friend, was appointed by the queen's letters to attend at his execution. As soon as he saw the bishop, he burst into tears. At first sight, Dr. Hooper did not know him; the knight therefore addressing the bishop, said, "Why, my lord, do not you know me, an old friend of your's, Anthony Kingston?"

Yes, sir Anthony Kingston, I do know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same.

But I am sorry to see you, my lord, in this case; for as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

Indeed it is true, Mr. Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it.

After these, and many other words, they took leave of each other, Mr. Kingston with bitter tears, Dr. Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure, bishop Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same night the bishop was committed by the guard (their commission being then expired) into the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, Jenkins and Bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Dr. Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Dr. Hooper spake in this manner. "Mr. Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me; a prisoner, and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is very apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten; when I was your bishop and pastor. For which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither, (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commands, to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Mess. Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my good friends (meaning the guard) at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness on the road hither, as a prisoner could reasonably require; (for which also I most heartily thank them) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as you yourselves could wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one forced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to

die a faithful subject of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These, and such-like words in effect, bishop Hooper used to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himself in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough; and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at length he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the serjeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betime, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly; and spent the rest of the night in prayer. After he had got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came sir John Bridges, lord Shandois, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine, Dr. Hooper prepared himself to be in readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, and other weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise; Mess. Sheriffs (said he) I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if you had suffered me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and troubled none of you. Afterwards looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of 7000, (for it was market day, and many came to see his behaviour), he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas! why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past: but alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them: When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth; this kind of death is prepared for me." Having said this, he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal; for the grief of the Sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known; during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, he smilingly beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over-against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the tree were filled with spectators; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he well knew, that he might hear his prayer, and report faithfully the same. When this person came to the bishop, he (pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom) continued his prayer for half an hour; which prayer was drawn from the whole creed.

During prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was



feigned to be his pardon) from the queen; if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, If you love my soul, away with it. The box being taken away, the lord Shandois said, Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly. Dr. Hooper replied, Good my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers.

Prayer being done, bishop Hooper prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his apparel, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, (such was their greediness) unto whose pleasures (good man!) he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains) he went up to the stake; when he was at it, three irons, made to bind him thereto, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them, said, "You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. I doubt not, God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content you do as you shall think good."

Then the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short, (for his belly was swollen with imprisonment) he shrank and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: but when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, I am well assured I shall not trouble you.

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was both tall, and stood also upon a high stool) and beheld round about him, that in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed in silence. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he never knew any offence he had committed against him. O sir, said the man, I am appointed to make the fire. Therein, said Mr. Hooper, thou dost nothing to offend me: God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, put one of them under each arm, and shewed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any were wanting.

Command was now given that the fire should be kindled. But because there were not fewer green faggots, than two horses could carry, it kindled not speedily, and was sometime before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place (and being a lowring cold morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner little more than touched by the fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him little good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit! And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands,

until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, while the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his finger ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire; even as a lamb, patiently bearing the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side; but having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all christians are bound to praise God.

A POEM by CONRAD GEISNER, on the Martyrdom of Dr. JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP of GLOUCESTER and WORCESTER.

HOOPER, unvanquish'd by Rome's cruelties,  
(Confessing Christ in his last moments) dies:  
Whilst flames his body rack, his soul doth fly,  
Inflam'd with faith, to immortality:  
His constancy on earth has raised his name,  
And gave him entrance at the gates of fame,  
Which neither storms, nor the cold north-winds blast,  
Nor all-devouring time shall ever waste:  
For he whom God protects shall sure attain  
That happiness, which worldlings seek in vain.  
Example take by him, you who profess  
Christ's holy doctrines; ne'er the world cares  
In hopes of riches; or if fortune frown  
With inauspicious looks, be not cast down;  
For man ne'er saw, nor can his heart conceive,  
What God bestows on them that righteous live.

#### A LETTER

From the BISHOP to his Wife ANNE HOOPER,  
whereby all the true Members of Christ may take Comfort and Courage to suffer Affliction for the Profession of his holy Gospel.

OUR Saviour Jesus Christ (dearly beloved, an my godly wife) in St. Matthew's gospel said to his disciples, that it was necessary scandals should come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people would contemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be shewed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls, nor caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works, and will not try them by the word of God. Those men, by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtlety of the devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost, as you may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts, to do one mischief after another, careless, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God's word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where such corrupt minds be, there are also corrupt notions and choice of God's honour; so that the mind of man taketh falsehood for truth, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution of Christ's members for God's service and honour. And



as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God; even so God so most justly delivereth them up to blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word; even so can they not abide any other man to be a christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether he be man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they regard no law, whether it be of God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended, yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

In their blind fury they have no respect to nature. For the brother persecuteth the brother, and the father the son; and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloaked hypocrisy of God's title) Christ said, it is expedient and necessary, that scandals should come, and many may be advised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father. But Christ saith, Wo be unto him by whom the offence cometh: yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it unto the world's end. For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now. Therefore forasmuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment, Ye shall possess your lives in patience, saith he. In which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles.

That the spirit of man may feel these considerations, the giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be prayed unto for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with God's spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind, or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholding nothing but such things as be troubles, and wholly bent to rob the poor of what he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's blood, and so for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys condemn all things present, doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein sheweth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world "If ye be risen again with Christ: (saith he) seek the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father." Wherefore, the christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joys and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and other tyrants and persecutors of Christ, and of Christ's people, the tears

and weeping of the faithful dried up, their wounds healed, their bodies made immortal in joy, their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he (as St. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present, (as you may see how daily men and women can praise and commend, yea, and wish for heaven, and to be at rest there) yet they set not their affections upon it: they do more affect, and love indeed a trifle of nothing, in this that pleaseth their affection, than the treasure of all treasures in heaven, which their own judgment saith is better than all worldly things. "Wherefore we must set our affections on the things that be above," that is to say, when any thing worse than heaven, upon the earth, offereth itself to be our's, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place, "Set your affections on things that are above." If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affections upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that are on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present; so we should chuse them before the other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done, for they chuse the best and prove it, and yet follow the worst.

But these things, my godly wife, requireth rather thought, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They are easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore seeing they be God's gifts, and none of our's, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled, and destitute of all his blessed gifts we be by reason of sin. He did command therefore his disciples, when he shewed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed, (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment) use the 77th Psalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me." In which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

Use also in such trouble the 88th Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of such a man, that was brought to extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him; yet he by prayer humbly resorted unto God.

We must not also murmur against God, but always say his judgments are right and just, and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world. "Be glad, and rejoice, for your reward is great in heaven." His promises shall (by God's grace) work both consolation and patience in afflicted christians. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God in the end of trouble in Christ



hath ordained eternal consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, "Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."

We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation: as Abraham did, when bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed.

And judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good father's time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew. Of which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and you shall in this time see this great consolation, and also learn much patience. Were there ever such troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? Who was then best at ease? The apostles that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, "Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand;" that is, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so are the people of the world. For when God saith, trouble shall come, they will have ease. And when God saith, be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were cast-aways. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that you may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24th of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then there were left alive many offenders to repent: but at the latter day there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men: and yet towards the end of the world we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we are able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment, (and as I suppose for my part shortly, death) now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you, Amen. Octob. 13, 1553.

#### A L E T T E R

*From the learned HENRY BULLINGER, chief Superintendant in the City of ZURICH, in SWITZERLAND, to BISHOP HOOPER.*

**T**O the most Rev. Father, Dr. John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now a prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow elder, and most dear brother in England. The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those which are in bonds and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May in this pre-

sent year, both written out of prison. But I doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole volumes, rather than letters, whereas I continued still, notwithstanding, in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only mediator, Jesus Christ, to grant unto you and to your fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, (my brother) the which we did oftentimes prophecy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass, especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel, his power shall be mighty, but not in his strength, and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havock of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of before-hand by Matthew, in the 10th chapter, by John in the 15th chapter, and the 16th, and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written in the second of Timothy, and the third chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by God's grace) of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not looked for, or come by chance; but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papists, these worshippers of Antichrist, do persecute?

Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to defy Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son; but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome by his power the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as shall never have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess as soon as ever we depart hence. For so again saith the angel of the Lord; If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day nor night, which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he addeth by and by: I heard a voice saying to me, Write, blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, or speedily, they are blessed, John v. even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.

Concerning the state of the church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of our Lord. The word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.



In the mean while the godly sustaine grievous persecutions, and with great constancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. The Lord Jesus shew pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his

name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewel, and farewel eternally. The 10th of October, anno 1554, from Zurich. You know the hand, H. B.

### C H A P. III.

*The LIFE, MARTYRDOM, &c. of the REV. DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR, VICAR of HADLEY, in SUFFOLK, under the cruel TYRANNY of STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP of WINCHESTER, in the BLOODY REIGN of MARY I. who was burned at ALDHAM-COMMON, February 9, 1555.*

**T**HE town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God, at the preaching of the Rev. Thomas Bilney; by whose industry the gospel of Christ took such root there, that a great number became exceeding well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men.

In this parish, Dr. Rowland Taylor was a vicar, a man of eminent learning, and who had been admitted to the degree of doctor of the civil and common law.

His attachment to the pure and uncorrupted principles of christianity recommended him to the favour and friendship of Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he lived a comfortable time, till through his interest he obtained the living of Hadley. This charge he attended with the utmost diligence and assiduity, recommending and enforcing the doctrines of the gospel not only by his judicious discourses from the pulpit, but also by the whole tenor of his life and conversation.

Thus continued Dr. Taylor promoting the interest of the great Redeemer, and the souls of mankind, both by his preaching and example during the reign of king Edward VI. but on his demise and the succession of queen Mary to the throne, he escaped not the cloud that burst on so many beside; for two of his parishioners, Foster, an attorney, and Clark, a tradesman, out of blind zeal, resolved that mass should be celebrated in all its superstitious forms, in the parish church at Hadley, on Monday before Easter; nay, they had even caused an altar to be built in the chancel for that purpose, which being pulled down by the protestant inhabitants, they erected another, and prevailed with the minister of an adjacent parish to celebrate mass in the passion-week.

The doctor being employed in his study, was alarmed at the ringing of bells at an unusual time, but went to the church to inquire the cause. He found the great doors fast, but lifting up the latch of the chancel-door, he entered, and was not a little surprised to see a priest in his habit prepared to celebrate mass, guarded by a party of men under arms, to prevent interruption.

Dr. Taylor being vicar of the parish, demanded of the priest the cause of such proceeding without his knowledge or consent; and how he dared profane the temple of God with abominable idolatries. Foster, the lawyer, insolently replied, "Thou traitor, how dar'st thou to intercept the execution of the queen's orders;" but the doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and asserted his mission as a minister of Christ, and delegation to that part of his flock, commanding the priest, as a wolf in sheep's clothing, to depart, nor infect the pure church of God with popish idolatry. A very violent altercation then ensued, between Foster the lawyer, and Dr. Taylor, the former asserting the queen's prerogative, and the other the authority of the canon law, which commanded that no mass be said, but at a consecrated altar.

The priest, intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the protestant minister, would have departed without saying mass, but Clark said to him, Fear not, you have a *super altare*, (which is a consecrated stone, commonly about a foot square, which the popish priests carry instead of an altar, when they say mass in gentlemen's houses) proceed and do your duty.

Then they forced the doctor out of the church, celebrated mass, and immediately informed the lord chancellor, bishop of Winchester, of his behaviour, who summoned him to appear before him, and answer the complaints that were alledged against him.

The doctor upon receipt of the summons, cheerfully prepared to obey the same; and on some of his friends advising him to fly beyond sea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his inneterate enemies, he told them that he was determined to go to the bishop, and he repaired to London, and waited on the bishop.

Now when bishop Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches, which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at last said unto him:

My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful christian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me.

Then, said the bishop, art thou come, thou villain? How dar'st thou to look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?

Yes, said Dr. Taylor, I know who you are, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any christian man in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto king Henry the eighth, and afterwards unto king Edward the sixth, his son.

The bishop answered, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldest do.

Dr. Taylor answered, Should I forsake the church of Christ? God forbid. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I tell thee, said the bishop of Winchester, it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it.

Then said Dr. Taylor, But you shall not be so discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can quit you.

I see, said the bishop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, Dr. Taylor replied, "He that faith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of a council; and he that faith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The bishop answered, You are false, and liars all the sort of you.

Nay, said Dr. Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, "The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul;" and again, "Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies." And therefore we abide by the truth



of God's word, which you, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake.

Then said the bishop, Thou hast resisted the queen's proceeding, and would not suffer the minister of Aldam, Mr. John Averth, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadley. Dr. Taylor answered, My lord, I am vicar of Hadley, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with the venom of the popish idolatrous mass.

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, (and put off his cap) and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation for all them that believe in him. Then the bishop called his men, and said, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept.

Dr. Taylor kneeling down, held up both his hands and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good king Edward." So they carried him to prison to the King's-Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of their first discourse, as mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bonds, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

*The FOURTH and LAST EXAMINATION of Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, who with Mr. BRADFORD and Mr. SAUNDERS were brought before the BISHOP of WINCHESTER, and other Prelates.*

**I**N January, 1555, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham, and there were again charged with heresy and schism, and therefore a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or else they would according to their laws proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, heard this, they answered boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days; neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy; that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so bold, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them; which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and said unto the bishops, "We doubt not but God the righteous judge will require our blood at your hands; and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of Antichrist, and your tyranny that you now shew against the flock of Christ."

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the Poultry Compter about a week, on the fourth of February, 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummery. Now being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that to the said Bonner. And at his coming the bishop said, Doctor, I wish you would remember your-

self, and turn to your mother holy church, so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon. Whereunto Dr. Taylor answered, I wish you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to Antichrist. Well, said the bishop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures. No, said Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not, said the bishop? I shall make thee, ere I go. Said Dr. Taylor, you shall not; by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not.

So he ordered another to put them upon his back, and being thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said; How say you; my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheapside, should I not have boys to laugh at these apish toys, and trumpery? Then the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head.

At last, when he would have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crozier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, My lord, strike him not; for he will certainly strike again. Yes, by St. Peter will I, said Dr. Taylor. The cause is Christ's, and I were no good christian, if I would not fight in my master's quarrel. The bishop then laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Dr. Taylor said, Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me.

The night after he was degraded, his wife, his son Thomas, and his servant John Hull came to him, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him: at their coming, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, "My dear son, said he, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage.

Then turning to his wife, "My dear wife, said he, continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from your popish idolatries and superstition. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me, for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry.

On the morning after Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came by two o'clock, and brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolpack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband would that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch without Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age, (who, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had charitably brought up from three years old) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

When the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then his wife said, Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? For it was a very dark morning, that the one could



not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, Dear wife, I am here, and stopped. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife, and so they staid.

Then she came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept much, and so did several others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, Farewel, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children. And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, God bless thee, and make thee his servant: and kissing Elizabeth, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry. Then said his wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadley.

And so he was led forth to the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him: and they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

At coming out of the gates, John Hull stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, come hither, my son Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son, laid his hat upon his head and blessed him, and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, Farewell John Hull, the faithfulest servant ever man had. And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeoman of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading them.

When they were come almost to Burntwood, one Arthur Fayfy, a man of Hadley, who formerly had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with him, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, Master, I am glad to see you again at liberty, and came to him and took him by the hand. Sir, returned the sheriff, he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, said Arthur, I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man. The sheriff was very angry with this, threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding he bid him get quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their pious exhortations to stand stedfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet

or marriage. He spoke many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used him very friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) used him very unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him into Suffolk. Being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly besought him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him. and said, Good Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a man as you might be. God hath given you great learning and wisdom; wherefore you have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years, and without doubt, you would in time to come be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better. For you are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet if you will: doubt you not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends, will be suitors for your pardon, which, no doubt, you will obtain; this counsel I give you, good Doctor, of a good heart, and good will towards you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the yeoman of the guard, Upon that condition, Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drank to him; and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yes, Doctor, said the sheriff, God's blessing on your heart; hold you there still. It is the most comfortable word that we heard you speak yet. What? should you cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant you will find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At last, Good Doctor, said the sheriff, what meant you by this, that you say you have been deceived yourself, and think you shall deceive many in Hadley? Would you know my meaning plainly, said he? Yes, said the sheriff, tell it us plainly.

Then said Dr. Taylor, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, and died in my bed; as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burned to ashes, and so they shall lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it.

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed and looked one on another, marveling at the man's constant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jest at the cruel torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die, and feed worms in his grave; which



not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, Dear wife, I am here, and stopped. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife; and so they staid.

Then she came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept much, and so did several others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, Farewel, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children. And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, God bless thee, and make thee his servant: and kissing Elizabeth, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry. Then said his wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadley.

And so he was led forth to the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him: and they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

At coming out of the gates, John Hull stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, come hither, my son Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son, laid his hat upon his head and blessed him, and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, Farewell John Hull, the faithfullest servant ever man had. And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeoman of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading them.

When they were come almost to Burntwood, one Arthur Fayfy, a man of Hadley, who formerly had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with him, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, Master, I am glad to see you again at liberty, and came to him and took him by the hand. Sir, returned the sheriff, he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, said Arthur, I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man. The sheriff was very angry with this, threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding he bid him get quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their pious exhortations to stand stedfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy. All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet.

No. 10.

or marriage. He spoke many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used him very friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) used him very unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him into Suffolk. Being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly besought him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him. and said, Good Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a man as you might be. God hath given you great learning and wisdom; wherefore you have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength; and by nature like to live many years, and without doubt, you would in time to come be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better. For you are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet if you will: doubt you not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends, will be suitors for your pardon, which, no doubt, you will obtain; this counsel I give you, good Doctor, of a good heart, and good will towards you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the yeoman of the guard, Upon that condition, Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yes, Doctor, said the sheriff, God's blessing on your heart; hold you there still. It is the most comfortable word that we heard you speak yet. What? should you cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant you will find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

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meditation if all our bishops, and spiritual men had used, they had not for worldly glory forsaken the world of God and truth, which they in king Edward's days had preached and set forth, nor yet, to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who at Chelmsford was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lanham, the sheriff stayed there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices, who were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen endeavoured very much to reduce Dr. Taylor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, which, said they, we have here for you. They promised him great promotions, even a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon the sure and immovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and immovable to the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley, and coming within two miles of the town, he desired to light off his horse to make water: which done, he leapt, as men commonly do in dancing. Why, Doctor, said the sheriff, how do you now? He answered, Well, God be praised, good sheriff, never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my father's House. But Mr. Sheriff, said he, shall we not go through Hadley? Yes, said the sheriff. Then said he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou Lord knowest I have most heartily loved, and truly taught: good Lord bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth.

When they were come to Hadley, and riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children: who when he saw Doctor Taylor he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, O dear father and good shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children. Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime. For God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds to his singular comfort; to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished, and rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him: whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, Ah good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us! O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him, and comfort him: with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were rebuked by the sheriff and his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor repeatedly said to the people, I have preached to you God's word and truth, and for this day to seal it with my blood.

Coming against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money, which remained out of what had been given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him.

Therefore the money that now remained he put into a glove, ready for the same purpose, and gave it to the poor alms-men standing at their doors to see him. And coming to the last of the alms-houses, and not seeing the poor that dwelt there, ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked, is the blind-man and blind-woman that dwelt here alive? It was answered, Yes, they

are within. Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and rode on.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and love. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at least, to call upon sir Anthony Doyl, and others of the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the alms-houses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they wanted, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus shewed he himself in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deeds, what a great treasure alms is to all such as cheerfully for Christ's sake do bestow them.

When Dr. Taylor was arrived at Aldham-Common, the place where he should suffer, seeing a great multitude of people, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is Aldham-Common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to look upon you. Then, said he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head notched and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's; which cost the good bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee! the Holy Ghost comfort thee! with such other like good wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then he desired licence of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

Well, said Dr. Taylor, promise must be kept. What this promise was, is unknown: but common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this change of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinance to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers: but they measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (as they most feared) that the people should more have been confirmed, by their pious exhortations, to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, who gave to his witnesses, faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to dispise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that shewed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience; which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to shed their own blood rather than depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour: thou hast long looked for them, now take them. Then he rose up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, Good people



people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood. With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head, and said, is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic? Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with their horses: notwithstanding, she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham a butcher, and commanded him to set up the faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, I am lame, sir, and not able to lift a faggot. The sheriff threatened to send him to prison: notwithstanding, he would not do it.

Then he appointed one Mulleine of Carsey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who, in king Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk, amongst whom was also one Robert King, a deviser of interludes, who was there present, and had doings there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himself said he did it for the best and for quick dispatch) the Lord knoweth, who shall judge all. More of this I have not to say.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did; and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which struck him on his head, and cut his face, that the blood ran down. Then said Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have harm enough, what needeth that?

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the Psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the lips; You knave, said he, speak Latin, I will make thee. At last they kindled the fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands. So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with an halbert struck him on the head that his brains fell out, and the corps fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered this man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear Saviour Jesus Christ; whom he most intirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

They that were present and familiarly conversant with Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never did see in him any fear of death, but especially, and above all the rest who besides him suffered at the same time, always shewed himself merry and chearful in the time of his imprisonment, as well before his condemnation, as after: he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of Mr. John Bradford, who was in the same prison and chamber with him.

The morning when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning, being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and, putting on his shirt, had these words, speaking somewhat thick after his accustomed manner; Ah vile thieves, ah vile thieves, rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour? Afterwards being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a great beam which was in the chamber between Mr. Bradford's bed and his; and there hanging by the hands, said to Mr. Bradford; O Mr. Bradford, what a notable sway I should give if I were hanged! meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man. These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those who shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift

of spirit and courage God had given to this blessed martyr.

About the time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, Sir Robert Bracher, a pretended protestant in king Edward's days, and afterwards a deadly enemy to the same religion, was one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as she herself hath testified: and notwithstanding the same, since became a protestant again.

### A L E T T E R,

From the Rev. Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, to his WIFE.

DEAR WIFE, I pray God to be ever with us, through Christ, our only Mediator, Amen.

I am glad that Hadley has skill in judging of such packing ware as was brought thither, the first of May last. The preacher or rather packer, said, as I hear, that the scripture is full of dark sentences; but it is called of David a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths. Our Saviour calleth his word, the light which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reproved thereby. St. Paul would have us walk as children of light; and not, in any wise, to continue in ignorance or darkness.

Now as to the packs of this preacher, I fear they were, as all other wares be, changed into stocks, even his very finest packing stuff against justification by faith only, and for the corporal presence of Christ's body, for praying for souls departed, and for auricular confession. Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth in the epistle to the Romans, chap. iv. and to the Galatians, chap. iii. and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in, then did Christ die in vain.

And whereas, chap. vi. of St. John, was alledged to prove, that Christ did give his body corporally in his supper, even as he had promised in the same chapter, it is most untrue, for he only gave his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually, in his supper to the faithful apostles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody sacrifice for the life of the world upon the cross once for all. There in his own person, in his own natural body, he bore all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as St. Peter sheweth, 1 Peter ii. and Isai. liii. Indeed receiving Christ's sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christ's body and Christ's blood, even as I said before the apostles did.

But the popish mass is another matter. The mass, as it is now, is but one of Antichrist's youngest daughters, in which the devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the second person in Trinity, God and Man. O Lord God, heavenly Father, for Christ's sake, we beseech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in king Edward's time.

But to return again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chrysostom, where he maketh a comparison between Christ's flesh and Elias's cloak cast down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot; at length he saith, that Christ, ascended up to heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him on earth.

The meaning is, he did ascend with his flesh, and left a memorial cloak of the same body and flesh, which he calleth his flesh, as he in the sacramental phrase calleth bread his body, because it representeth his body: and as in like manner of sacramental speech, a lamb was called the passover, the circumcision, God's covenant. He took up his flesh corporally, and left his flesh in mystery and sacrament spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his flesh upon earth, that is, his mystical body, his faithful people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones, Ephes. v. In the xlix. chapter of Genesis, there is no word of Christ's sacrament, but there is a prophecy of Christ's passion. And where he speaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as what is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, "I alone did tread the wine-press," meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful passion for the redemption of sins, and for the consolation of his faithful soldiers.

It is not true, as the packer said, that Christ's infinite power may make his body to be in a thousand places at once, as a loaf in a thousand bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and so consumed, and then might scripture be false, appointing Christ's body to be but in one place, Acts iii. Phil. iii. Heb. iii. The articles of our faith tell us sufficiently where Christ's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally, neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal mouths, as the Capernaïtes and the papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other body natural than is made of the substance of bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our bodies rise again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are sure that our Saviour Christ's body is made of none other substance than of his mother the blessed virgin Mary's substance.



stance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much less of bread. He only taketh on him the seed of Abraham, Heb. ii. In all things like unto us, sin only excepted. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us christians, believing stedfastly, as the true catholic faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Christ's church is built, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, Matt. xvi.

I speak nothing now of auricular confession, and praying for souls departed, because I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am, that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for such his pack-ware. He may say what he will of Hebricians and Grecians, and the flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, pass and repass, even what he will in such clouds and mists. He reproved the scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his round white cake, for that such his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the same simplicity of Christ's supper. He glanced at priests' marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a doctor as any alledged out of Hebrew, for his mass and wafer cake, that is Dr. Devil. i. Tim. 4.

I wonder that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the sentences written above the altar, of which he made mention in the pulpit. For he and his fellows are so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can easily prove a man an ass, and writers in the bible, ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called loving, faithful, and true christian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkness, with Antichrist, with Jezebel,

Apoc. ii. They will not be called Papists, Pharisees, Jews, Turks, Heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adversaries, and that in all the chief points of it; no not then, when our Saviour Christ whipt such merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves, Matt. xxi. God give them grace to repent. God be thanked that the nobility something of late hath spied and stopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! sooner bewitched than the foolish Galatians. We have now no excuse.

We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetic, apostolical, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, lest we are led out of that way, society, and rule of religion. Now we shall shew what countrymen we are, whether spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, since the beginning of the world, God be praised therefore. If Hadley, being so many years persuaded in such truth, will now forsake the same, and defile itself with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichristianity thereunto belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass begun there, I being present no more, cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked prophanation of my late pulpit by such a wiley wolf. God's love, mercy, goodness, and favour, hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of salvation and justification: let us all have some zeal, some care how to serve him according to his good will written. The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Christ our only advocate. Amen.

## C H A P. IV.

*An AFFECTING NARRATIVE, and HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of several PROTESTANTS, namely, Judge HALES, THOMAS TOMKINS, WILLIAM HUNTER, THOMAS CAUSTON, THOMAS HIGBED, WILLIAM PYGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT, and JOHN LAURENCE; who were persecuted, tormented, and most of them burned, under the bloody Tyranny of BONNER, Bishop of LONDON.*

**S**TEPHEN GARDINER, having condemned and burned several great and learned men, he presumed that these examples would deter any one from speaking against; and opposing the popish religion, and his tyrannical proceedings; but in this imagination he found himself deceived; for within eight or nine days after sentence had passed against bishop Hooper and others, being the 8th of February, six other good christians were likewise brought before the bishops, to be examined for the same cause of religion. Stephen Gardiner seeing this became discouraged; and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations; but referred the whole of this cruel business to Bonner, bishop of London; who supplied that part, as in the further process of this history will evidently appear. Bishop Bonner having taken the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at St. Paul's (the lord mayor, and several aldermen sitting with him) the six persons, upon the 8th day of February, and on the next day, being the 9th, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bp. Bonner's own registers: such quick speed these men could make in dispatching their business at once. But because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow before the next month of March, we will defer the prosecuting of them, till we come to the time and day of their burning.

What was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, we cannot precisely say, unless peradventure the sermon of Alphonsus, the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good; for when those six persons were cast upon Saturday the 9th of February, upon the day following, the 10th of February, the said Alphonsus preached before the king; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in scripture, to burn any for his conscience: but the contrary, that they should live and be converted: with many other things more to the same purport.

February 14, Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forasmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his sufferings.

On the 14th day of February, the lord chancellor, and other bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket to be set up over the mercer's chapel door, in Cheapside, London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and cross. But within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his head also was taken off: whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected: among whom one Mr. John Burnes, mercer, dwelling over-against the said chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof, and the rather for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his servants were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money, as well to build it up again as often as it should be broke down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore the image was again set up the 2d day of March ensuing; but the 14th day of the same month, in the night, the head was again the second time broke off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th, there was a proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head; (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer (he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns or gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

February 18th, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the queen, in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, for his deliverance, who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had



he ~~was~~ not been rescued by the suit and letters of the said king of Denmark.

On February 19th, there was a certain intimation set forth, and printed in the name of bishop Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strict charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent, then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the pope, Julius III. by Poole, his cardinal and legate.

*A remarkable and affecting Account of JUDGE HALES, whom the CRUELTY of GARDINER drove to an ACT of DESPERATION.*

**I**N a former part of this work, mention was made of judge Hales, of whom we shall more particularly speak in this place; beginning with the conference between Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and him, he being in Westminster Hall with other judges to take his oath, October 6, 1553, declaring withal how false the excuse is of the papists, who so precisely by the law defend themselves, and say, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out.

*Lord Chancellor.* **M**R. Hales, you are to understand, that as the queen's highness hath heretofore conceived a good opinion of you, especially for that you stood both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her grace in that behalf; so now, through your own late defects against some of her highness's proceedings, you stand not well in her grace's favour; and therefore before you take any oath, it will be necessary for you to clear yourself.

*Judge Hales.* I pray you, my Lord, for what cause?

*Lord Chancellor.* Information is given, that you have indicted several priests in Kent for saying mass.

*Judge Hales.* My lord, it is not so: I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of the like nature were brought before me at the last assizes there held, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which, in cases of justice, I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same shew forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did.

*Lord Chancellor.* Yes, Mr. Hales, your conscience is known well enough; I know you want not conscience.

*Judge Hales.* My lord, you may do well to search your own conscience, for mine is better known to myself than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass-case by my conscience, as by law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have herein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession.

*Lord Chancellor.* Why, Mr. Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet you might have had regard to the queen's highness's present doings in that case. And further, although you seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think you would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as you have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe you should not well be able to stand honestly thereto.

*Judge Hales.* My lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for want of knowledge. But both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoise the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the queen's highness's pleasure.

*Lord Chancellor.* Ah, sir, you be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal for justice, seeing the queen's highness doth set it

forth as yet, wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet you shall not have your own will neither.

*Judge Hales.* My lord, I desire not an obstinate will, but to shew myself as I am bound in love to God, and obedience to the queen's majesty, in whose cause willingly for justice sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so instead of my own power and will, the Lord's will, the Lord's will be fulfilled.

*Lord Chancellor.* Seeing you be at this point, Mr. Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace shall thereunto determine, you shall have knowledge. Until such time you may depart as you came, without your oath: for as it appeareth, you are scarce worthy the place appointed.

*Judge Hales.* I thank your lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me: whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly with due content obey the same; and so he departed from the bar.

A few days after, Mr. Hales, at the command of the bishop, was committed to the King's-Bench, where he remained constant until Lent; then he was removed to the Compter in Bread-street, and from thence to the Fleet.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions; (namely, of Dr. Day, bishop of Chester, and of judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last) I have not to say. This is certain, that shortly after, he was brought to great repentance and terror of conscience: inasmuch, that for very anguish of heart he was ready to kill himself with his penknife when he was in prison.

It happened when supper time came that he should be called down, but he having little or no stomach to eat or drink, went immediately to bed, where he lay all night sobbing and groaning, and took little rest or sleep. At length when morning came, about six o'clock, he sent his servant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he was thirsty and desirous to drink: whether this cause were true or feigned, is unknown; but his man was scarce got out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wounded himself in divers places of his body, and, no doubt, intended to destroy himself; but his man meeting the butler, just when he had passed the chamber door, the latter was desired to fill the drink, and he, taking the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the very time when he was working his own destruction; whereby Mr. Hales was hindered of his purpose. When the bishop of Winchester had knowledge of it, he straightway took occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the star-chamber called the doctrine of desperation. Mr. Hales being within a while after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, returned home to his house; where he either for the greatness of his sorrow, or want of counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of wearing mass, having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his last will and testament, casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein.

The unhappy end of this worthy judge was the cause of great sorrow and grief to all good men, and it likewise gave occasion to some divines to doubt with themselves, whether he was damned or saved. But notwithstanding God's judgments be secret, and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself; neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or not before the last breath went out of his body; I think (saith Mr. Fox) their opinion is more indifferent therein, who do rather disallow the example of the deed, than despair of his salvation.

H h

O herwise,



Otherwise, if we will judge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how many examples have we, in the first persecutions of the church, of those men and women, who being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? Or what shall we think of those young men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to idols, did cast themselves down headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollutions of themselves? What shall we say of those virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness and idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, casting themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did destroy themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Mr. Hales did? What shall we say of the other two sisters, who for the same reason did violently throw themselves into the sea, as Eusebius doth record? In whom though perchance there was no less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered unto them by the wicked, yet, their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted was commended and praised.

We mention these examples neither to excuse nor to defend the heinous fact of Judge Hales, which we could wish might be drowned in oblivion: and because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour, we will leave therefore his final judgment to the determination of him who is appointed judge both of the quick and dead.

*The MARTYRDOM of the SIX PRISONERS before-mentioned, namely, TOMKINS, PYGOT, KNIGHT, LAURENCE, HUNTER, and HIGBED.*

## I.

*The HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of THOMAS TOMKINS, a Weaver in Shoreditch, who, having first his Hand burned by the bloody Bishop of LONDON, was afterwards burnt in Smithfield, March 16th, 1555.*

**T**HIS plain honest christian was by trade a weaver, and lived in the parish of Shoreditch, till he was summoned before the inhuman Bonner, and confined with many others, who renounced the errors of popery, in a prison in that tyrant's house at Fulham.

Under his confinement, he was treated by the bishop, not only unbecoming a prelate, but even a man: for the savage, because Tomkins would not assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation, had bruised him in the face, and plucked off the greatest part of the hair of his beard.

On another occasion, this scandal to humanity, because our martyr remained inflexible, nor would deviate in the least point from the pure and uncorrupted truths of the gospel, in the presence of several who came to visit him at his seat at Fulham, took this poor honest man by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame of a wax candle, having three or four wicks, supposing that, being terrified by the smart and pain of the fire, he would leave off the defence of the doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins thinking not otherwise, but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, &c. In the time that his hand was burning, the same Tomkins afterwards reported to one James Hulse, that his spirit was so wrapt, that he felt no pain. In which burning he never shrunk, till the veins shrunk, and the sinews burst, and the water did spurt in Mr. Harpsfield's face: insomuch that Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough.

*The first EXAMINATION of THOMAS TOMKINS.*

**A**FTER that Thomas Tomkins had been half a year in prison, about the 8th of February he was brought with several others before bishop Bonner sitting

in his confistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the 5th day of the same month, containing these words following:

"Thomas Tomkins, of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

"By me, THOMAS TOMKINS."

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him with fair words, rather than with reasons, to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would do so, to remit all that was past. But he constantly refused so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer; in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do: and so the next day, being the 9th day of March, at eight o'clock in the morning to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon of the same day to come again and have justice (as he called it) administered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

*ARTICLES objected and administered the 8th Day of February, against THOMAS TOMKINS, with his own Hand subscribing to the same.*

**T**HOU dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering death there for the life of the world.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmothers, and all people did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

I do so believe.

By me THOMAS TOMKINS.

*The second EXAMINATION of THOMAS TOMKINS.*

**T**HE next day being the 9th of February, at eight o'clock before noon, Thomas Tomkins was brought again before the bishop and his other assistants, where the afore said articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.





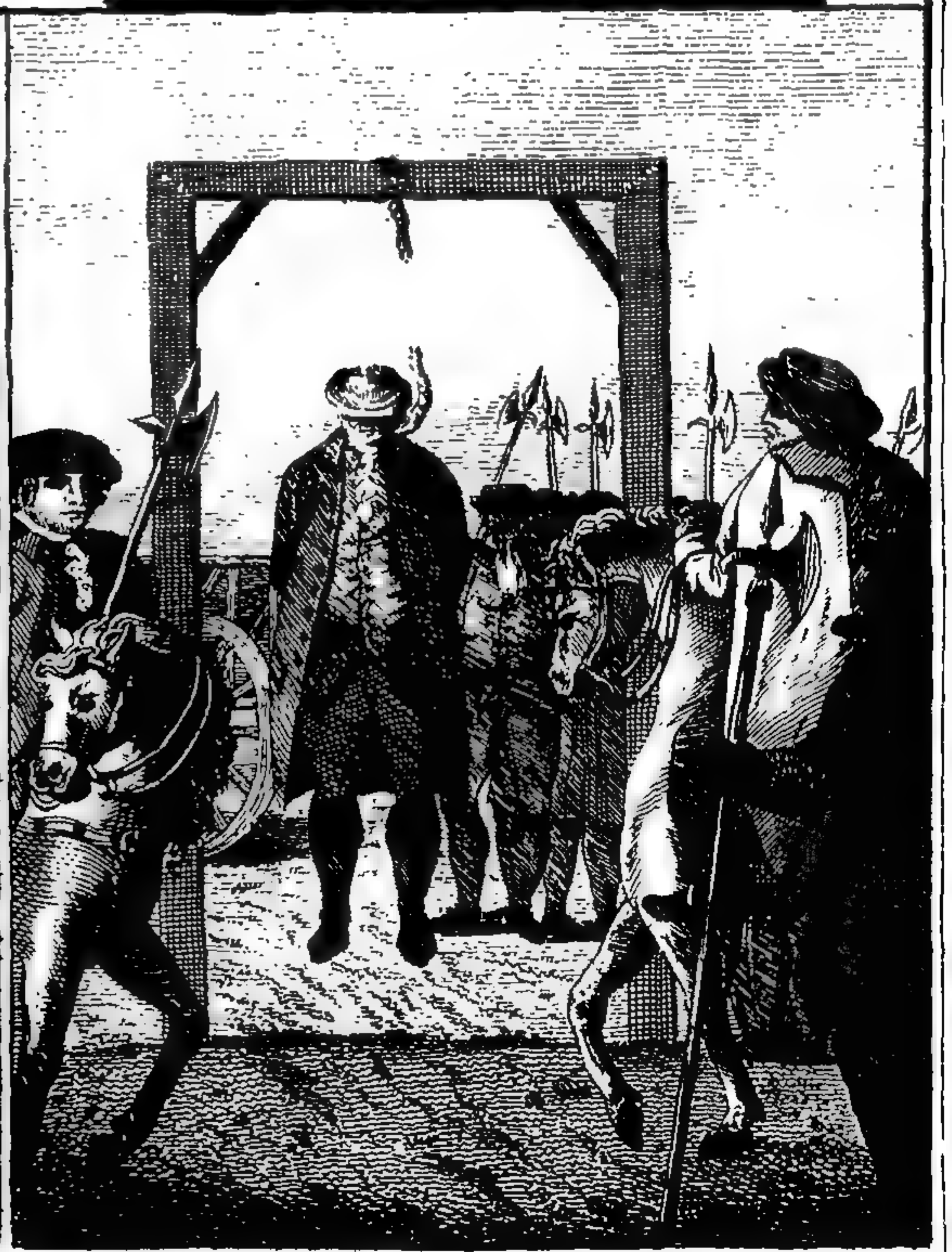
*The Burning of W<sup>m</sup> HUNTER, at  
Brentwood in Essex.*



*The Martyrdom of M<sup>r</sup> THO<sup>s</sup> TOMKINS,  
in Smithfield.*



*The Papish party assembled in the morning of 1649, in London,  
at the house of C<sup>o</sup> Vane, and the Gallows, that had like a Monk with a  
black cross on his chest, of Q. Mary, the Papists were  
brought into the world against the will of the Parliament of London.*



*The Hanging of M<sup>r</sup> Muntie, a Protestant gentleman of 1649,  
on the rope-breaker, he was, who was to prevent his escape  
rather to die than to live, longer, dishonouring God.*



To the second he said, that it was only bread and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the scriptures teach.

To the third he said, he did believe it was a false doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did also believe the same.

After this answer, he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon, the bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions, which he utterly refused to do; and therefore he was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two in the afternoon.

Agreeable to this mandate, being brought before the bloody tribunal of bishops, and pressed to recant his errors and return to the mother-church; he maintained his fidelity, nor would swerve in the least from the articles he had signed with his own hand. Having therefore declared him an obstinate and damnable heretic, they delivered him up to the secular power, and he was burned in Smithfield, March 6th, 1555, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to the noble company of martyrs, who had preceded him, through the path of the fiery trial to the realms of immortal glory.

## II.

*The HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM HUNTER, an Apprentice in LONDON, aged Nineteen Years, who was pursued to Death by JUSTICE BROWN, and burned March 27th, 1555.*

**T**HIS adherent to the cause of Christ had been trained to the doctrines of the reformation from his earliest youth.

On queen Mary's succeeding to the crown, the priests were ordered to summon all their parishioners to receive the communion at mass the following Easter; and Hunter, who was then nineteen years of age, refusing to obey the summons, was threatened to be brought before the bishop.

His master fearful of incurring ecclesiastical censure, desired him to leave him for a time; upon which he quitted his service, went down to Brentwood, and resided with his father about six weeks.

One day finding the chapel open, he entered and began to read in the English bible, which lay upon the desk, but was severely reprimanded by an officer of the bishop's court, who said to him, William, why meddlest thou with the bible? Understandest thou what thou readeest? Canst thou expound scripture? He replied, I presume not to expound scripture; but finding the bible here, I read for my comfort and edification.

The officer then informed a neighbouring priest of the liberty the young man had taken in reading the bible; the priest therefore severely chid him, saying, Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible and expound it?

He answered as he had done to the officer, and on the priest's telling him, that it became him not to meddle with the scriptures, he frankly declared his resolution to read them as long as he lived, as well as reproved the vicar for discouraging persons from that practice, which the scriptures so strongly enjoined.

On being declared an heretic by the vicar of his parish, and threatened with an information to the bishop of London, which was soon known to justice Brown, that unfeeling magistrate ordered the youth's father to search for him and produce him, on pain of being himself imprisoned; and, to prevent his father from incurring any danger, on meeting by accident, the young man accompanied him home, and was next day taken by the constable, and kept in the stocks forty-eight hours, before he was brought to the justice. He was there examined respecting his opinion of the sacrament of the altar, and, on being again charged with heresy, was sent to the bishop of London, where he

persevered in the same sentiments he had before asserted; from which neither promises nor threatenings could move him. On this he was put in the stocks in the bishop's gate-house, for two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water; and, at the end of this time, finding him still firm, he sent him to the convict prison, and ordered him to be heavily ironed, allowing him only a halfpenny a day to live on in bread and drink, where he remained for three quarters of a year, in which time he had been brought five times before the bishop, before the time of his condemnation on the 9th of February, in the consistory court of St. Paul's. At this time also the bishop took great pains to induce him to recant, particularly on the subject of the sacrament of the altar; but, on his still remaining immovable, he pronounced sentence, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from thence to Burntwood, there to be burned. Other persons also were condemned at the same time.

After this he made various tempting offers to this young man to recant, but to no purpose; and, after remaining in Newgate more than a month, he was sent to Burntwood for execution. Here he arrived on the Saturday before the annunciation of the blessed virgin Mary, and continued there until Tuesday, the 26th of March; on which morning Mr. Sheriff Brocket gave orders to prepare for his burning; but his son encouraged him to persevere in his integrity, and not to be afraid of the men which surrounded with bills and weapons. On this he assured him, that he was not afraid, having already reckoned what it would cost him.

As he had been confined at the Swan inn at Burntwood, many people of the country came to visit him and the others who were with him; and in particular his father and mother both encouraged him to continue to the end in that good way which he had begun. And he farther acknowledged to his father that, after a month, he had meat and clothing enough, with money, wood, and coals, and all things necessary. The night before his execution also, he dreamed of his being at the place, and of every thing which occurred there, as it actually happened, and as he had told those who attended him, after their having awaked him, in consequence of his making a noise to himself in his dream, to know if he wanted any thing.

The sheriff's son, after the conversation, could speak no more to him for weeping.

Hunter then plucked up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by another; and going along he met with his father according to his dream, and he said to his son weeping, God be with thee, son William. And William said, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort.

The justice who had apprehended him, and William Tyrill of the Braches, shewed much malignity, to embitter his closing moments; and the sheriff stated that he had a letter from the queen, with a promise of pardon; if he would recant. But all these were equally unavailing. A priest, with a popish book, also presented himself, just as he had seen in his dream, which he spurned at, and despised, saying, Away thou false prophet, beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues. Then the priest said, Look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell. William answered, Thou liest thou false prophet; away thou false prophet, away.

There was a gentleman present which said, I pray God have mercy upon his soul. The people said, Amen, Amen. Immediately the fire was made.

Then William cast his psalter into his brother's hand, who said, William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death.

And William answered, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and said, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit; and calling down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.



## III.

*The HISTORY and MARTYRDOMS of WILLIAM PYGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT, and the Rev. JOHN LAWRENCE: the two former were burned March 28th, the one at BRAINTREE, the other at MALDEN in ESSEX; and the latter at COLCHESTER, March 29th, 1555.*

**T**HESE two pious laymen, and one protestant divine, having been pointed out by the emissaries of Bonner and Gardiner, as maintaining religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the holy mother church. In consequence of this they were all three summoned to appear before bishop Bonner, at his consistory court at London, where they were severally questioned concerning their faith of the corporal presence in the sacrament.

Having respectively answered and subscribed that they were not substantially, but figuratively, the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance, they were severely reprimanded by the court, and admonished to recant their heretical opinions. After various unavailing endeavours to induce them to change their sentiments, bishop Bonner proceeded to pass sentence on them as irreclaimable heretics; and then degraded Mr. Lawrence with the usual ceremonies. After which, they were all three delivered to the sheriff, who conducted them to Newgate, where they remained until they were carried down into Essex, and there the 28th day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden, who at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said an appropriate prayer.

The next day, being the 29th of March, the said John Lawrence was brought to Colchester, and there being not able to go, (for his legs were much worn with heavy irons in prison, and also his body weakened with low keeping) was taken to the fire in a chair, and so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

When he was burning, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise: which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

## IV.

*The HISTORY of the FAITH, CONFESSION, and MARTYRDOM, of Mr. THOMAS CAUSTON, and Mr. THOMAS HIGBED, two worthy Gentlemen of ESSEX, who were burned, under the Tyranny of the bloody BONNER, the first at RAYLY, and the last at HORN-DEN-ON-THE-HILL, both in the County of ESSEX, March 26th, 1555.*

**M**R. HIGBED and Mr. CAUSTON, two gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horn-den on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundurst, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world; but at length were discovered to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, by whose command they were committed to the officers of Colchester, to be safely kept, and also a servant of Thomas Causton, who was nothing inferior to his master in true piety.

From their property and estimation, bishop Bonner came to Colchester, to prevent tumult, on whom all his flattering promises and alarming threatenings were unavailing; when, with other prisoners, they were removed to London, and brought before the consistory in St. Paul's, February 17, 1555, where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their er-

rors and perverse doctrine, and come to the unity of the popish church. But on their refusing so to do, the bishop assigned them to appear again the next day, being the 18th of February.

On which day, he read unto them several certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same, and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles here followeth.

ARTICLES objected and ministered by Bishop BONNER, against THOMAS CAUSTON and THOMAS HIGBED.

**F**IRST, That thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of me Edmund, bishop of London.

Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the church of England, baptized and christened.

Item, That thou hast godfathers and godmother, according to the said estate.

Item, That the said godfathers and godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was used in the realm of England.

Item, That that faith and religion which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the christian people: and so it was in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion, that is to say, to the age of 14 years, didst not mislike nor disallow that faith, that religion, or promise then used and approved, and promised by the said godfathers and godmother, but for a time didst continue in it.

Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every-where in Christendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profession of christian men, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, there was and is by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, which was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine ancestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance and friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother did then so believe.

Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said religion or faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or notion, that hath been against the common order of the church.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that John Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, Laurence Saunders, priest, John Rogers, priest, Rowland Taylor, priest, John Lawrence, priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, and Thomas Tomkins, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and also condemned as heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; especially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and all have suffered death.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself bishop of London, Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, and Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, have been, and are at this present reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons so erring and believing (or at leastwise some of them) secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true, and the same to the best

and





*The MARTYRDOM of the Rev. M<sup>r</sup> JOHN LAWRENCE who was Burnt at Colchester in Essex. March 29. 1555, under the Persecution of those Cruel Popish Bishops, Boner & Gardiner, in the Bloody Reign of Queen Mary.*



*Bishop Boner burning the Hand of M<sup>r</sup> THO<sup>s</sup> TOMKINS, to try his Resolution, over the Flame of a Wax Candle in the Hall of that Tyrant's House, at Fulham in Middlesex—now the Seat of the present Bishop of London.*



*The Rev. L<sup>d</sup> ROWLAND TAYLOR, Vicar of Hadley, in Suffolk, exhorting the Spectators, just before he was Burnt on Aldham Common, in that County on February 9. 1556.*



and uttermost of thy power thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

Item, That thou having heard, known, and understood all the premises thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done, condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid, and hast become, and art an heretic and misbeliever in the premises, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine are there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the virgin Mary, are not there in the said sacrament really and truly.

Item, That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest, and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the said good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London.

These articles being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

On the 1st of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, they there exhibited their answers to the articles, in which they declared the true faith.

Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant; which when they denied, they were again dismissed and commanded to appear the Wednesday after, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On the 8th of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to a second examination before the bishop, Mr. Fecknam and Dr. Stempe being in his palace, and there had read unto him his foresaid articles with his answers. The bishop now exhorted and persuaded him to recant, but he answered, No, I will not

abjure. You said that the bishops that were lately burned are heretics, but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were.

Then leaving Mr. Causton, the bishop called for Mr. Higbed, using with him the like persuasions, but to no purpose: I have been, (said Higbed,) of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years, and do what you can, you shall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands.

They were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at St. Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock in the afternoon.

On the 9th of March, their third examination took place but with similar effect. Mr. Causton delivered in writing to the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Mr. Thomas Higbed's) a confession of their faith, to which they would stand; and required leave to read the same, which, (after great suit,) being obtained, he read it openly in the hearing of the people. This confession proved them to be of the same faith with their late fellow sufferers.

The bishop then pronounced sentence, first against Thomas Causton, and then against Thomas Higbed. They were both delivered to the sheriffs, and by them sent to Newgate, where they remained 14 days. On the 23d of March they were taken from Newgate, at four o'clock in the morning, and led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Rayly, (both in the county of Essex), where they did most constantly, the 26th day of the same month, seal their faith with their blood. Justice Brown and divers gentlemen in the shire were commanded to be present, for fear they should be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

## C H A P. V.

*The EXAMINATIONS, CONDEMNATION, and MARTYRDOM, of Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. DAVID's in WALFS; who gave his Life for the Truth, and was Burned in the Market-Place of the TOWN of CAERMARTHEN, March 30th, 1555.*

**T**HIS worthy and learned prelate having in the former reign, as well as since the accession of Mary, been remarkably zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry; was summonsed, among others, before the popish and persecuting bishop of Winchester, (who was then likewise lord chancellor), and other commissioners set apart for the abominable work of devastation and massacre.

His principal accusers and persecutors were, George Constantine Walter, his servant; Thomas Young, chaunter of the cathedral, afterwards archbishop of York; Dr. Rowland Merrick, afterwards bishop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c. at whose instance, Hugh Rawlins, a priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council, the following articles and informations, which, with the bishop's answer to the same, we here think good to insert.

A TRUE COPY of ARTICLES and INFORMATIONS exhibited by HUGH RAWLINS, and THOMAS LEE, against Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. DAVID's.

1. **I**MPRIMIS, When the said bishop first came to his diocese, he appointed his chancellor by his letters of commission, omitting the king's majesty's stile and authority, and grounded his said commission upon foreign usurped laws and authority, by force of which authority his said chancellor did visit certain deaneries of his said diocese, and admonished the chaunter and chapter of the cathedral church of St. David's aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the king's highness's laws and statutes, and in derogation of his highness's supremacy.

2. Item, that the said chaunter and chapter, perceiving the fault of the said commission, took the same from the register into their custody, refusing to appear by virtue thereof, and by secret and charitable ways and



means, did admonish the said bishop of the unlawfulness and faults of the said commission, and of the danger he had incurred for granting and executing the same; opening also unto him the effect of the statute made in the 28th year of our late sovereign lord Henry VIII. Which admonitions notwithstanding, the said Bishop neglecting the same, and continuing in his malicious doing, or inexcusable ignorance; about the 20th day of August, in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign lord that now is, did confer unto one John Evans, the vicarage of Pembrin, instituting him by authority of the old foreign usurped law, making no mention of the king's highness's authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

3. Item, Whereas the chancellor and vicar general to the said bishop, did upon a lawful title, and by the king's highness's supreme authority, admit and institute one John Gough into the rectory of Haskard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the king's name under his highness's seal ecclesiastical, appointed for that office, with the test of the said bishop, and subscription of the said Chancellor, a mandate to induct accordingly, by virtue whereof the said John Gough was inducted by the official there into the real possession of the same rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging; whereupon the register of the said diocese, at the request of the aforesaid chancellor, did signify the premises, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed bishop: who notwithstanding did institute and cause to be inducted, one Harry Goddard, unto the same parsonage, making no mention of the king's majesty's authority nor supremacy; in contempt and derogation of the same his highness's crown and dignity, and in extolling the foreign usurped authority, contrary to the form of the statute, &c.

4. Item, The said bishop immediately after the unlawful institution and induction of Goddard, molested the said John Gough, lawfully instituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long season, till at length he articulated: so taking upon him the cognition of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the king's highness's regal crown and dignity, and in derogation of the laws and statutes of this realm.

5. Item, He hath commonly made his collations and institutions, as he did his first commission, in his own name and authority, without expressing the king's supremacy.

6. Item, He made under his seal one collation, two institutions, three mandates to induct, in one vocation of one benefice, three several persons without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby except good foresight, as well of justices of the peace, as of the friends, had not been there had ensued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the entitled incumbents in that behalf.

7. Item, The same bishop decreeing caveats to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, instituted and caused to be inducted without trial of any title or due order of law.

8. Item, he directeth his mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the archdeacon nor his officials: contrary to the law and custom used in that behalf. Notwithstanding he hath been counselled to the contrary by learned men.

9. Item, Having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the law, he sitteth every day in harvest, and other times, upon causes, without the assistance of the learned in the law, having with him only an unlearned boy, who is no notary, to his scribe, neither observing the law, nor yet reasonable order: and therefore doth no good, but triflith the time, as may appear by his acts, if he have them to shew.

10. Item, He and his officers, by his knowledge, used to dispense with marriages, to be solemnized without banns, contrary to the laws and ordinances in that behalf.

11. Item, Whereas one Thomas Prichard, a chaplain of his, solemnized matrimony in a private house without banns, and that between a priest and a sister of

her's that was appointed to be married with the said priest that day; he also being a parson, and leaving his cure unserved that day being Sunday: and notwithstanding that one of the king's council in the marches of Wales informed the said bishop of some misdemeanors, requiring due reformation thereof, he hath done nothing therein, but put the same chaplain in office, and made him commissary general since that time, bearing a special favor to the rest of the offenders.

12. Item, Whereas one Meredith ap Thomas his household-servant, was accused by one Sage Hughes, to have been father of her child; the said bishop, without acquittal of his servant, caused him to sue the parents of the said Sage of infamy, first in his principal consistory, and from thence before a commissary of his, being his household chaplain; and at last took the matter before himself, railing against all his officers, because they proceeded not after his partial affection, and against the law, that honest men of Caermarthen, where he sat upon the cause, judged him to be, or at the least to have been distracted of his wit; and by this partial handling, the cause remaineth unfinished, and the child without a father.

13. Item, Whereas one Jenkin Ph. accused William Chambers, a servant of the bishop's that found this Williams in an adulterous manner with his wife, by reason whereof the bishop expelled the wife out of his house, the said infamy not purged, the said parties have been both again in the bishop's house and service since that time, to the evil example of others.

14. Item, By this unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the benefices of Langattock and Lanvihangel, by the indiscreet handling of the same, there were raised the number of four hundred people or more, who made much disturbance, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabout, had it not been pacified by the discreet means of sir John Vaughan, knight.

15. Item, By this unlawful collation of the prebend of Lanbister to one Stephen Green, a chaplain of his, by covenant and promise to maintain the suit, by whose crafty and indiscreet handling of the same, there was raised in the county of Radnor, the 19th day of August last past, about three or four hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was stayed by John Bradshaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice; justices of the same county; who with great danger to themselves and their's, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16. Item, Such as he owes displeasure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter against them; and being divers times required the copy of his proceedings against them to the intent they might answer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all such persons the copies of his proceedings.

17. Item, He and his officers wink at the manifest and open crimes of his favourers and adherents, to the evil example of the whole diocese, and abuse the censure of excommunication and suspension, making it an instrument of revenge against such as they do not favor.

18. Item, Having received payment of the king's majesty's subsidy, due in Oct. the fourth year of his grace's reign, of the aforesaid chaunter of the cathedral church of St. David's, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the residentiaries there, before Christmas last, he unjustly, of a premeditated mind and purpose, afterwards certified them for recusants, to their ruin, if they had not been admonished of his cruel purpose, and provided lawful defence for the same.

19. Item, The said bishop celebrating matrimony in his own person, dispensed, contrary to the book of ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy communion; the parties both being young and lusty persons, having no reasonable cause wherefore they should abstain. At which celebration the bishop communicated not himself. And further, the communion was celebrated by a chaplain of his, with superstitious bowings, kneelings, and knockings both by the chaplain that ministered, and by all the company; only one other priest communicating for the manner.

20. Item,



20. Item, Where the official of the archdeacon of Caermarthen, in his visitation within Caermarthen, found, contrary unto the said ordinance, an altar-set up in the body of the church, for the celebration of the communion, and caused the said altar to be taken away, and a table to be set in the middle of the church; the bishop after the same commanded the vicar of Caermarthen to set the table without the chancel again for the ministration of the communion.

21. Item, He being often in Caermarthen, and other places in the chancel at the time of the holy communion, not only tarried there himself, neither communicating nor ministering bare-headed and uncovered, reverently kneeling; but also permitting the people there to continue, the chancel and choir full, kneeling and knocking their breasts. Which manner is yet used in all the diocese, without any reformation or gainsay of him or any of his officers.

22. Item, Whereas superstitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the king's majesty's injunctions; the said bishop meeting many with beads in their hands never rebuked any of them.

23. Item, The said bishop being in the pulpit, and seeing divers corpses within the church, with a great number of lights upon them, never spoke against any of them.

24. Item, Whereas the ordinance willeth, that no children be baptized but upon the Sunday, or holy-day, (only cases of necessity excepted) he, having two children himself born without danger, caused one of them to be baptized on the week-day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is used, as it hath been accustomed, in all the diocese commonly, contrary to the book of ordinance in that behalf.

25. Item, From his first coming into the diocese, he hath had, and yet hath his only study, labour, and practice, to survey land, and to look for mines, &c. neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his book and preaching.

26. Item, He keepeth no manner of hospitality, but hath his servants' table in one parlour with him, left any strangers should approach his servants being at their meat.

27. Item, He is commonly talking not of godliness, but of worldly matters, as baking, brewing, inclosing, ploughing, mining of mill-stones, discharging of tenants, and such like, not only at his table, but also most commonly at other places.

28. Item, He hath warned divers tenants out of their lands, which they and their ancestors have enjoyed for their rents, these hundred years and more, and occupied with tillage; which he said he would inclose, and being sued to by poor men, because of quietness, he answered, The crows shall eat the corn, rather than ye shall have any profit thereof.

29. Item, When the vicars choral of St. David's, for relief of their hospitality, had an island of his called the Bishop's-isle, for 40s. rent, which he let to a chaplain of his for 5l. by the year; and where, at the suit of the said vicars it was granted by the bishop in the whole chapter, that the vicars should have it for years at 40s. rent, and pay 20l. entry; he now covetously, and against his promise openly made, denieth the same, except the vicars would give 50l.

30. Item, He caused the curate of St. David's to warn their tenants out of their said lands in the pulpit, to the great offence of the people, who were wont to have God's word preached there; and so they said to the curate at that time.

31. Item, To the ploughing of a pasture not above ten days work, in lent, anno 1549, he had 32 ploughs in one day, and those ploughs the priest bade in the church, contrary to the statute of Gomortha in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of gentlemen in that country.

32. Item, Where the king's majesty, of godly remembrance, Henry VIII. appointed at Brecknock a school-master, usher, reader of divinity, a minister, and certain scholars, and for the maintenance thereof ap-

pointed 40l. and 12l. of the pensions and revenues of Brecknock; the bishop finding it so furnished, has neither reader nor minister there, covetously converting their stipends to his own use.

33. Item, The bishop was twice in one day presented in the great court, held in the court of Caermarthen, for inclosing and covetously incroaching on the king's high-way.

34. Item, He covetously continueth purchasing of lands, buying of cattle, merchandise, and other things, being indebted a notable sum to the king's majesty, as may appear by his accounts in the court of tenths, and first fruits.

35. Item, Whereas one Lewis John Tho. Bool, putting from him his lawful wedded wife, upon Christmas-eve last, without banns, had marriage solemnized with a concubine of his in a church within three miles of the bishop's abode at that time: the bishop since knowing the premises, has not only of a covetous mind entered into a familiarity with the said Lewis, and bought a piece of land of him, but also ever since has (to have his lands cheap) left both the parties and priest unpunished, using him so familiarly, that whereas a sumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the same fact, the bishop commanded the said sumner to let him alone, and so they all remain unpunished.

36. Item, Whereas the whole chapter of St. David's, (as it was thought) was in assured amity with the bishop, they all being his officers or chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a writ of *quo warranto* in the King's-bench, keeping the writ with him secretly, at least three months, not delivering it but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being seven days journey from London.

37. Item, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lawful possessions, stirring thereby much contention, and so notably known to the offence of the country.

38. Item, Whereas the bishop aforesaid was appointed in August, 1547, and consecrated in September following, he never came into the diocese himself, nor sent or appointed any officer there before the month of April, 1548, to the great disorder of the king's majesty's subjects, lack of reformation, and administration of justice.

39. Item, During his visitation, the said bishop did not endeavour himself to see reformation, but rode surveying of lands, appointing vain inclosures, and such other things. Which are no parts of the office to him committed, nor yet proper at that time.

40. Item, The visitation finished, he neither appointed his officers to examine the clergy of the places of scripture to them appointed to be studied in the same visitation, nor has hitherto effectually gone about any good reformation, according to the ordinances of this realm.

41. Item, The bishop since his coming to the diocese never administered the communion, saving only twice that he ordained certain deacons; but in every thing (save that he sometimes preaches) ordereth himself like no minister, nor man of his vocation.

42. He hath so alienated himself from study, that he preaches indiscreetly, discrediting the office, not only untruly reporting the scriptures, but also preaching the ten commandments in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of stuff, the pith of his matter was matrimony of priests.

43. Item, The 13th day of September last, he ordained certain deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bound to forgive, but him that asketh forgiveness: and being admonished by a letter better to declare the same, because that divers were offended with that doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred so to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in these parts.

44. Item, Since the 1st day of August, 1549, unto the feast of Candlemas last, he hath preached but two or three sermons, of which one was preached at Aberguilly upon St. Stephen's day last, to a great audience that understood no English, being but a mile from



Caermarthen, an English town, and chief of his diocese.

45. Item, Since his ordinary visitation which was finished in July 1548, he hath neither preached, nor caused to be preached in the towns of Tinby, Pembroke, nor Haverford, being English towns, not much distant from the place of his abode.

46. Item, The churches appropriated to the bishop have no paraphrases in English, and few of them bibles.

47. Item, The churches of the diocese for the most part, and the clergy almost every one, lack paraphrases, notwithstanding there hath been these two years, and yet be a great number of them to be sold in the diocese.

48. Item, To declare his folly in riding, he useth a bridle with white studs and snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, with spurs, a Scottish pad, with a little staff of three quarters long, which he hath not only used superstitiously these four or five years, in conversation oftentimes boasting what countries he has compassed and measured with the same staff.

49. Item, He hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he says, it is comely wearing of a hat, and so cometh in his long gown and hat, both into the cathedral church, and to the best town of his diocese, sitting in that sort in the king's great sessions, and in his consistories, making himself a mock to the people.

50. Item, He said that he would go to the parliament on foot: and to his friends that dissuaded him, alledging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he answered, I care not for that, it is no sin.

51. Item, Having a son, he went before the midwife to the church, presenting the child to the priest, and giving his name Samuel, with a solemn interpretation of the name, appointing also two godfathers and two godmothers, contrary to the ordinances, making his son a monster, and himself a laughing-stock throughout all the country.

52. Item, He daily useth whistling to his child, and says that he understood his whistle, when he was but three days old. And being advertised by his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he answered, They whistle their horses and dogs, and I am contented: they might also be contented that I whistle my child, and so whistled him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. Item, In his ordinary visitation, among other his surveys, he surveyed Milford Haven, where he espied a seal-fish tumbling. And he crept down to the water side, and continued whistling there the space of an hour, persuading the company that laughed at him, that by his whistling he made the fish to tarry there.

54. Item, Speaking of scarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetousness of fishers, who in the time of plenty took so many, that they destroyed the breeders.

55. Item, Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he wished that what metal soever it was of, the penny should be in weight worth a penny of the same metal.

56. For a conclusion, The said bishop in all his doings, since he came to his diocese, hath behaved himself most unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a minister of justice, an abuser of the authority to him committed; for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of superstition, a maintainer of superstition without any doctrine of reformation; for a liberal and hospitable, an insatiable covetous man; for a diligent overseer, wilful and negligent; for an example of godly wisdom, given wholly to folly; for merciful, a cruel revenger; and further, for a peacemaker, a sower of discord. And so in all his behaviour a discrediter and slanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that had hope he should do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his diocese, nor hath belonging unto him, any learned preacher. But such learned preachers as he found in the diocese at his entry, he so vexeth and disquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching for the defence of their livings, against his quarrellous inventions, and unjust pretensions.

After these wrangling articles and informations were given up, then the bishop was called for to answer, the

hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Wotton, and sir John Mason, knight, who likewise received the bishop's answers to the aforesaid articles, the copy and effect of which answers hereafter follow.

*The ANSWER of Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. DAVID'S, to the ARTICLES ministered against him.*

TO the 1st article he says, That after lawful admonition in the king's majesty's name and authority, from the said bishop (being then at London) given to the chaunter and chapter of St. David's, for visitation at a certain day there to be entered; the said bishop himself for such purpose coming into the diocese, knowing also that the chaunter, and one of the canons of that church, and late before commissaries in that diocese, had not only by their own evil examples and winking at the faults of others, or neglecting to correct the same, left there among priests and others much detestable whoredom; but had also spoiled the cathedral church of crosses, chalices, and censers, with other plate, jewels, and ornaments of the church, to the value of four or five hundred marks or more, for their own private lucre (the church remaining even yet very vile, and in great decay), and had also made further under their chapter seal many blanks, to the number of twelve or more, vacant seats, without the king's majesty's licence or knowledge; therefore he brought with him one Edmund Farlee, batchelor of law, commended by Dr. Young and Dr. Nevison to him, as a man sufficient in faithful truth, and learning, to be his chancellor. To whom he granted and sealed a commission for that purpose, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and form thereof. But the king's majesty's stile of supremacy was fully set forth in the same commission. Whether there were any default of formal words in setting forth of the king's authority therein, he is not certain; for he committed the doing thereof to his chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the bishop says, that he never did ground the commission upon any foreign usurped laws or authority: neither did his said chancellor by force of such authority visit any deanry of the said diocese, nor gave any admonition to the chaunter and chapter there, by force of that commission, for any like intent or purpose, but only offered in the king's majesty's name and authority (to the said bishop committed) to enter visitation of the chaunter and chapter of the cathedral church, at another day to be executed by the bishop himself, for the reformation of the chapter church, and ministers there, according to the king's gracious ordinances and injunctions in that behalf. But the aforesaid chaunter and canon of the church, before the sight of any commission, stubbornly answered the said chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to visit them, except he were of their chapter. And further, desiring to see his commission, he delivered the same into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And so it may appear that he did nothing by force of that commission.

2. To the 2d article he says, That they opened not unto him the danger of any statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheless, he not knowing any default in the said commission, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of preaching, and visiting the whole diocese in his own person, by the king's majesty's authority, for the conservation of God's peace and the king's, in that dangerous time of rebellion, then beginning to arise in other places, did neglect and laid aside the stubborn behaviour and wicked doings of the said chaunter and canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches towards him and his said chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing else that through their unquietness some tumult might have risen among the people there; and did also make the said chaunter his chancellor, and canon his commissary, according to their ambitious desires, to appease their malice in that dangerous time. And further he says, that he made collation to sir John Evans of the vicarage of Penbrin, what day or time he remembereth not, by any old foreign usurped authority, but by the king's authority only, making



ing full mention of the king's stile and authority in the same collation.

3. and 4. To the 3d and 4th he says, That whereas he had granted to George Constantine the office of a register, who brought unto him a commission for the chancellorship, to be sealed and delivered to the aforesaid chaunter of St. David's, desiring the said bishop to seal it, he utterly refused so to do, because the said George had put therein a clause of admitting clerks into benefices; which authority the said bishop would not in any wise grant, reserving the examination and admission of clerks only to himself, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the said George and the chaunter promised the said bishop by their faith and truth, before three or four honest witnesses, not to execute that clause of institution into benefices, but only to those clerks whom the bishop did first examine and admit, and send unto them to be instituted and inducted; upon which promise the bishop sealed the said commission, and after that time the parsonage of Haskard being void, and by reason of lapse devolved to the bishop's gift for that time, he conferred it on one Henry Goddard, with a collation of institution by the king's authority, not extolling any foreign usurped authority. In which collation or institution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and all foreign power and authority, with the full stile of his majesty's supremacy. And this collation of the church of Haskard he gave, before he understood or knew that his chancellor had given out the like, and he surely thinketh his collation was the first. That notwithstanding, the said George Constantine, and the said chaunter having a vowson determined by reason of lapse, admitted and instituted one John Gough, to the said parsonage of Haskard, by virtue of their expired vowson, and sealed his institution with a wrong seal, (because they had not the right seal of office to that purpose) contrary to their former earnest promise, and the bishop's right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given; which thing by them untruly done, the said George Constantine nevertheless came to the bishop's house and there did write with his own hand the letters of induction for the said Henry Goddard, priest, comprising in the same the whole sum of the institution or collation which the said bishop had made, and the same George did seal the said letters of induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the chaunter's former wrong doing, but so departed for that time. And afterwards he came again, and shewed the bishop what they had done before concerning the parsonage aforesaid. And further, the said defendant saith, that he did not molest the said John Gough, but lawfully did call him in the king's majesty's name, not for any title of patronage, but to know whether he was parson to Haskard, and how he was there-to admitted, instituted, and inducted, and by what authority he presumed to preach there, without the king's majesty's licence, with other like lawful demands; whereunto he sturdily refused to give answer, and saith, that the article contained in his accusation, namely, "Item, He is interrogated under what title he holds the rectory of Haskard," was not ministered unto the party in that sort, so far as he knoweth, but in these words or like, "How did he get admission into the rectory," &c.

5. To the 5th he saith, That albeit George Constantine, register, did wilfully withdraw his bounden service due to the king's highness, and to the said defendant in the king's name, refusing to attend either by himself, or his sufficient deputy for writing of records and other instruments, yet the said defendant made his collations and institutions in his own name, not by his own authority, nor by another, save only the king's authority, according as he hath declared in his answer to the first article, expressing in them the king's supremacy with the bishop's own name and seal of office, as he ought to do, according to the provision of the king's statute in such a case.

6. To the 6th he saith, That the vicarage of Penbrin being void, he, as right patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans, clerk, with letters of insti-

tution and induction; and after, when the king's presentation came to him for one David Jenkin, clerk, he desired fourteen days respite at that time, either to shew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the law, or else if he shewed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk, which condition was by sir Thomas Jones, knight, Dr. Meyrick, and the said David Jenkin, received; and an institution with an induction was made conditionally to be put in the hands of sir Thomas Jones, knight, for safe custody of the king's clerks' behalf, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the said defendant, if he failed to shew. Within which time the said defendant did shew an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the said defendant's behalf, and so that institution and induction was never by the said defendant put in execution. Nevertheless, the said David Jenkin (contrary to his promise and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to the said sir Thomas Jones, knight) took advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said defendant. After which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the said defendant, advertised him, to admit one John ap Powell, clerk, presented by virtue of the vowson which the lord chancellor judged to be good, and so to be admitted notwithstanding his former presentation, whereby he would not bar the other man's right. And so this defendant made one collation, two institutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further (he saith) that there was no business nor unquietness about the said possession of the vicarage, but this defendant giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

7. To the 7th he saith, That as he now remembereth, he never decreed any caveats to be made in benefices, neither did institute nor cause to be inducted any into benefices, being known to him litigious.

8. To the 8th he saith, That because the archdeacons be absent from their offices, and have not had faithful diligent officials, he hath directed his mandates to them or their officials, or to other lawful persons in that behalf, so far as he knoweth.

9 and 10. The 9th and 10th articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the 11th he saith, that whereas sir Thomas Jones, knight, advertised him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private house, betwixt a certain priest and woman, whose sister had refused the same, the said Prichard leaving his own cure unserved on that Sunday, this defendant did put the same Thomas Prichard to penance for so doing, marrying them without banns. And whereas he made the said Thomas Prichard, who is a bachelor of law, his commissary; it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to justice. And the said defendant did never favour nor bear with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confesseth that the matrimony was solemnized in a private church, and that the cure was that day unserved.

12. To the 12th he saith, That it is slanderous and utterly untrue. And that one John Hughes, priest, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his step-mother) a harlot at eleven years of age, and after married openly to another man, being minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her husband again, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the said John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the said bishop, in open court at Caermarthen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the king's pardon thereof, yet the said Sage confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which later crime he denied. Nevertheless she proved with child, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his, the midwife and others being witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstanding, George Constantine, as a wicked encourager of the said priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforesaid chaunter, first uttered that Meridith Thomas was the father of the said child: which matter was ordered in the ecclesiastical court according to justice, without any partial affection of the said bishop, or of any other to his knowledge.



13. To the 13th he saith, It is utterly false so far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14th he saith, That by lawful sequestration in the king's majesty's name, he committed the custody of the fruits of Langatnoke and Lanvihangel to two honest men, for the behoof of the king's first fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor minister any cause of unquietness in that behalf.

15. To the 15th he saith, That he made a collation, (lawful, as he supposeth) of the prebend of Lanbister, to Stephen Greene, his chaplain, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16th he saith, All is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17th he saith, It is untrue for his own part, and his officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18th he saith, It is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recusants justly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to pay the king's whole subsidy of their whole dividends, as it standeth in the king's book, pertaining to the canons resident.

19. To the 19th he saith, That after a travel of fourteen miles, being not able fasting to celebrate the communion, in a chapel within the house of sir Thomas Jones, knight, one of the king's majesty's honourable council of the marches of Wales, this defendant celebrated matrimony without receiving the communion for the causes above said, betwixt Mr. Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the said sir Thomas Jones, according to the king's ordinances. And Thomas Prichard, priest, administered the holy communion there without any superstition, to this defendant's knowledge: and the married persons not disposed to receive the holy communion, he could not compel them against their consciences, and saith, that he did not dispense with them, as it is contained in the article.

*To the slanderous and untrue CHARGE of maintenance of SUPERSTITION, &c. he saith, that he did not maintain any SUPERSTITION, contrary to the King's Ordinances and Injunctions, but abhorring in his Heart all SUPERSTITION, hath travelled and doth travel to abolish the same by True Doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the King's Peace, among his People there.*

20. **T**O the 20th he saith, That George Constantine, in the third year of his majesty's reign, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any authority known to this defendant, the communion altar in Caermarthen church, by his own presumptuous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the Bishop fearing tumult, commanded the vicar to set up the communion table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21st he saith, That he has been divers times in the quire of Caermarthen, and hath tarried there in the communion time, not communicating himself, and that in every church where he cometh on the holy-day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the quire bare-headed, as well at matins before the communion, as at evening song after, without any superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the communion's sake to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneel nor knock to the visible shew or external shew of the sacrament. And the choirs of Caermarthen and other places there, are not close at the sides, so that the people may come in and go out at their pleasure. Moreover the king's ordinances do not authorize him to rebuke the people for knocking on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for mercy in Christ.

22. To the 22d he saith, That in the time of the rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he taught the people the true form

of prayer, according to God's holy word, and declaring the prayer upon beads to be vain and superstitious, yet durst not for fear of tumult forcibly take from any man his beads, without authority. And touching the not reproving of such as he should meet, wearing beads, he remembereth not that he hath so done, unless it were in the rebellion time, at which time he durst not rebuke such offenders.

23. To the 23d he saith, That he being in the pilpit, his face towards the people, did not see the lights, if any were set about the corpse behind his back till after that he came down to the pulpit. But he with George Constantine and the aforesaid chaunter, sitting in the church, in Caermarthen, to hear causes, and seeing the vicar with other priests, with song and lights bringing a corpse up to the church, called forthwith the vicar and priests, and rebuked them in open court, as cormorants and ravens, flying about the dead carcasses for lucre sake.

24. To the 24th he saith, That he caused the one child being born with great peril of death to the mother, and itself lying for dead a certain space after, to be christened on the working day: the other child was christened on the working day, because both father and mother, and all other people there were in peril of death by reason of the sudden sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusation, which is, that by that example, it is used after the old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

*To the CHARGE of CROUOUSNESS he saith, His doings prove the contrary, as his Neighbours know.*

25. **A**ND the 25th article he utterly denieth.

26. To the 26th he saith, That his hall at Aberguilly being ruinous, he useth for his hall a great chamber adjoining, for himself and his servants, and all manner of strangers, and besides twenty persons in house daily. What other hospitality he keepeth, honest neighbours can testify.

27. To the 27th he saith, That his talk is according to his hearers, that is to say, reverently and truly of faith, love, and honest life, according to scripture to like auditors; and to other irreverent and rash tumulters of scriptures and holy doctrine, he doth talk of honest worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not most commonly talk of such things as are expressed in this article, but when he hath honest occasion so to do.

28. The 28th he saith, is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of his lands; but where he is destitute of necessary provision, and would have part of his own demain from certain freeholders, having it only from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain it without brawling. Wherefore he suffereth them to keep it even yet still, against right and reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the crows should eat it, &c. he never spake any such word.

29. To the 29th he saith, That whereas his predecessor bishop Barloe, did let to farm the isle of Ramsey to one William Brown, after whose hands this defendant received it into his own possession, the vicars of St. David's being dispossessed of it long before; he did let it over to Stephen Green, for 40s. the ground, as it was before, and 3l. more for seals, coney, and fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the vicar's choral had therein, who did refuse when this defendant did diligently upon reasonable conditions offer the same unto them: and this defendant made no promise unto them, as is contained in the article.

30. To the 30th he saith, He knoweth not but that he advertised his bailiff to warn the freeholders, and others having his demain in rent, during pleasure, to leave it at a lawful day to this defendant's necessary use; but did not cause the curate to do as is contained in the article to his remembrance.

31. To the 31st he saith, That he knoweth not what the priest bade in the church, nor how many ploughs there came, undesired of this defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he desired no man's labour but for his money.

32. To



32. To the 32d he saith, That he knoweth not any such appointment of schools and revenues there, but he found there (after the departing of bishop Barloe) a schoolmaster, an usher being a priest, and twenty scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any penny thereof to his own use, albeit he might lawfully have done the same.

33. The 33d, he saith, is all untrue, so far as he knoweth.

34. To the 34th article he saith, He never purchased more than three parcels, whereof one was 2s. 8d. by the year; the second, 3s. 4d. and the third, 1l. 6s. 8d. or thereabout, by the year; the rest he denieth.

35. To the 35th he saith, That he never bought of Lewis John Thomas, his land good cheap, but after 40 years purchase, not knowing at that time any such thing as is contained in the articles against the said Lewes John Thomas. Neither bade he the sumner to let him alone, but as soon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the sumner to cite him; and so he was cited in this defendant's house, occasioning him to break his bargain; to which Lewes, the defendant said these words, If you would give me your land with a house full of gold, I cannot, nor will I suffer you to keep a woman. Then the said Lewes affirming the latter woman to be his wife, and the first unknown to this defendant, he brought the said Lewes to the consistory for trial, where it hangeth yet: and also by lawful process excommunicated the first woman, for that she would not by any means appear in the court to claim or to confess marriage with the said Lewes, and so she standeth this day at the point of *Significavit*.

36. To the 36th he saith, That whereas the chaunter, and R. M. with other canons there, would not obey the king's godly injunctions, concerning the finding of a school for poor men's children, a lecture of divinity sermons on the Sundays, repairing of their church and mansion houses, decent order and ministration there; but stubbornly counted themselves (with the chaunter) to be a body politic, without regard of the bishop and his lawful motions, being himself named in their shire statutes a deacon, having also their dean-stall in the choir with a prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the chapter-house, with a key of their chapter-seal, being also by the king's majesty's commission appointed their ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a book of their statutes, for the better knowledge of his and their duties, now shew unto him their records and monuments, for declaring of the king's right and his. For which cause this defendant, by writ of *quo warranto*, lawfully called them to answer, which yet lieth asleep, to the loss of the king's majesty's right. The time of delivery of the said writ, he remembereth not.

37. The 37th, he saith, is also false, as far as he knoweth.

To the CHARGE of WILFUL NEGLIGENCE he saith, that he hath used to his power Willing Diligence.

38. **T**O the 38th he saith, That he being attendant (according to his bounden duty) to serve the king's highness during the time of the parliament, from the first unto the last day; then immediately after repaired into his diocese, and he might not trust R. M. the chaunter, and George Constantine to execute faithfully the jurisdiction, because they had before (through their slanderous life, and not punishing misdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredom. And saith further, that one cause why he appointed not an officer, &c. was for that he lacked his letters of authority of jurisdiction.

39 and 40. The 39th and 40th, he saith, are untrue.

41. To the 41st he saith, That how often he did minister the communion he doth not remember; but in all other things, so far as he knoweth, he hath studied to order himself according to his vocation, and as far as he believeth acted like a minister.

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42. To the 42d he saith, That he hath not alienated himself from study, neither preached indiscreetly, nor reported the scriptures untruly to his knowledge; (but he hath been very much hindered both from study and preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed persons.) And that he did set forth the doctrine of honest marriage, as well of all other men as of priests, even as the scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

43. To the 43d he saith, That reciting the words of Luke, "If thy brother have offended against thee, blame him, and if he repent, forgive him, and if he have offended against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day he be converted unto thee, saying, I am sorry, forgive him;" he said farther these words in effect, It appeareth by this place of scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him.

44. To the 44th he saith, That he hath preached right often at Caermarthen, as well as at other places; and he saith that a great number at Aberguilly do understand English very well.

45. To the 45th he saith, That after he had preached first at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Swansey, Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroke, Hereford, St. David's, Cardigan, with other notable towns; he hath since that time preached to a great many other poor churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroke: but for Hereford he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first a learned preacher, of godly life, the ungodly stubborn behaviour of the persons before named, wearied him away. And whereas he had engaged another learned man to come into his diocese to preach, George Constantine by his discouragement advised him from this defendant.

46. To the 46th he saith, That in all his churches appropriated, there is both bible and paraphrases, so far as he knoweth: and if the priests there would not shew him the lack thereof, yet should the officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47th he saith, That George Constantine covetously ingrossed into his hands a great number of paraphrases: and this defendant hath admonished the clergy to buy every one, for his discharge; and if the said George being official of two archdeacons, and other officials in their office would declare unto him what churches do lack bibles and paraphrases, he would cause it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

To the CHARGE of FOLLY he saith, That his Desire is in true simple Manner of his Words, Deeds, and Honest Behaviour, through GOD's GRACE, to shew GODLY WISDOM.

48. **T**O the 48th he saith, That he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or fashion with honest use of saddle, bridle, stirrups, staff, and other like necessary or convenient things; and saith, that he used a saddle made after the Scottish fashion, with stirrups of iron unvarnished, and like spurs; and black bridle without studs, the bit and snaffle white as other men's are.

49. To the 49th he saith, That when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to bear off rain and snow, and in summer to shadow him from the sun, without any vow of superstition or offence to the people.

50. To the 50th he saith, That all is one to him, to ride or walk, as cause requireth; and whether he said as is contained in the article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth use to go on foot.

51. To the 51st he saith, That after lawful prayer it pleased God to give him a son begotten and born in honest marriage; whom he therefore caused to be named Samuel, presenting him to the minister to be received into Christ's church as a poor member of Christ: by the holy sacrament of baptism was this done openly in the cathedral church, with earnest gravity, and without offending any man; and also two wives, being before at  
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variance, desired both to be godmothers, which were both received to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people.

52. To the 52d he saith, That he doth use with gravity all honest loving entertainment of his child, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his father's mouth, to receive wholesome doctrine of the true fear and love of God; and saith, that he hath whistled to his child, but said not that the child understood it, and that he answered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the article.

53. To the 53d he saith, That he never was surveyor, but went to see Milford-Haven for honest purpose, and not to survey it; and for that he at the sight of a seal whistled in his fist, such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose. But it is not true that he stood whistling an hour to the fish, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any such answer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54th he saith, That if he did say, the destroying of the fry hindereth plenty of fish, he thinketh the same not against reason: but he remembereth not to have said, as is contained in the article.

55. To the 55th he saith, That he remembereth not that ever he said as they alledge.

56. To the slanderous, untrue, and ungodly conclusion he saith, That George Constantine, with other his adversaries before-named, and their adherents, not regarding the fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving obedience towards God and the king, and his true ministers, have with false tongues, contumelious words, and spiteful deeds, laboured by all means to discredit and deface the king's gracious authority to him committed; who, ever since he came to the diocese hath endeavoured himself to shew his faithful ministry by his true honest doing, and to use his authority according to his vocation, to God's glory and the king's honour. And this deponent brought into his diocese both learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Constantine with his adherents hath wearied out.

The whole process was long and tedious, and during the whole time of the examination of witnesses, the bishop was obliged to continue in London upon the allegation of his adversaries, which was, that if the bishop should depart into his diocese, he would hinder them of their proofs. About three weeks after the return of their commission, 127 witnesses having been examined, publication of their witnesses was granted: after which it was a fortnight before the bishop could obtain a copy of their depositions, the whole thereof being so voluminous.

This good man was detained in prison till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary

and the popish religion; new trouble now began, being accused and examined for his faith and doctrine, he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunde, and others, the 4th of February. On which day he should also with them have been condemned; but his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till February 14.

He now was examined before Stephen Gardiner and others.—His second examination took place, February 28, before Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, and George Constantine, his notary; Morgan's words having no effect, he pronounced him obstinate, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and did so pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the 4th of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two. The third examination being attended with the same effect, he was committed again to custody till the following Thursday, March 7, when the pretended bishop delivered unto him a copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

March 11, appearing again before the bishop, and George Constantine, he exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer. Upon that the bishop assigned the next Wednesday in the forenoon to hear his final and definitive sentence.

Dr. Farrar personally appearing the appointed time, and refusing still to renounce his faith, the bishop in a rage pronounced the definitive sentence, and he was given up forthwith to the secular power, namely, to Mr. Leyson, sheriff of the town of Caermarthen.

The good bishop being condemned and degraded, was not long after brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he in the market place, in the south side of the market-cross, the 30th day of March, being Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments of the fire.

Concerning whose constancy, this is moreover to be added, that one Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Dr. Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer; unto whom the bishop answered again to this effect, saying, That if he saw him once stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved; till one Richard Gravell, with a staff struck him down.

## C H A P. VI.

*The HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of RAWLINS WHITE, aged 60, a Fisherman in WALES, who was burned at CARDIFF, in the same Month as was Bishop FARRAR: reported by J. DANE, who was almost continually with him during his Troubles and Sufferings, unto his DEATH. Also a LETTER from Bishop GARDINER to Bishop BONNER, concerning celebrating the POPE's FUNERAL; with other Public Occurrences in the Months of March and April, 1555.*

**R**AWLINS WHITE was by his calling and occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade for the space of twenty years at least, in the town of Cardiff, being one of a very good name amongst his neighbours. As touching his religion at first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used in the reign of Henry VIII. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through

the blessed government of king Edward the VI. Rawlins White began partly to dislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the times had been concealed from him; and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher, out of the truth.

Because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy



satisfy his great desire. At length it came into his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: He had a little boy, his own son, which child he sent to school, to learn to read English; now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read part of the holy scripture, and now and then of some other good book. In which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had such delight and pleasure, that as it seemed; he rather practised himself in the study of the scripture, than in the trade or science which before-time he had used: so that within few years in the time of king Edward; through the help of his little son, and through much conserence besides, he profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but also to admonish and instruct others: and therefore when occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in.

When he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, king Edward died, upon whose decease queen Mary succeeded, and with her came persecution. The extremity and force whereof at last so pursued this good man, that he looked every hour to go to prison; whereupon many who had received comfort by his instructions, began to persuade him to shift for himself, and dispose of his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children.

Howbeit he continued still in his good purposes, till at last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy, upon which apprehension he was convened before the bishop of Landaff, then at his house near Chepstow: by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins White was committed to prison in Chepstow.

At last he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued for the space of one whole year; during which time, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother, (who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days,) and others of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praises to God.

When he had continued in Cardiff castle for the space of one whole year, the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the bishop of Landaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house near Chepstow; and while he continued there, the bishop endeavoured by various means to reduce him to some conformity. But when they found their threatening words and flattering promises ineffectual, the bishop desired him to advise and determine with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to suffer the rigour of the law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination: which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of the neighbours that had the curiosity to see their proceedings. When the bishop and his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins White was brought before them. The bishop made a long discourse, declaring the cause of his being sent for, was his being well known to hold heretical opinions, and that by his instructions many were led into blind error. In the end, he exhorted him to consider his own state wherein he stood, offering favour if he recanted.

When the bishop had made an end, this good father Rawlins boldly said, My lord, I thank God I am a christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a christian man ought to be. The bishop then told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as an heretic.

Proceed in your law in God's name, said Rawlins; but for an heretic you shall never condemn me while the world stands. But (said the bishop to his company) before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that he would send some spark of

grace upon him, and it may so chance, that God through our prayers will here turn his heart.

Having prayed, the bishop said, Now Rawlins, wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no? Surely, my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. When he perceived his hypocrisy took no effect, with sharp words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence; but upon some advice given to him by his chaplains, he thought best first to have a mass, thinking, that by so doing some wonderful change would have been wrought in Rawlins.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place; until the priest came to the sacring, as they term it; which is a principal part of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the sacring-bell ring, he rose out of his place; and came to the choir door, and there standing a while, turning himself to the people, speaking these words; Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or at least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol (meaning the host that the priest held over his head.)

Mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions: but the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's discourse was altogether in vain. Whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed, and from thence he was by the bishop's commandment carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel, a very dark, loathsome, and most vile dungeon.

Having continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison at Cardiff, some time, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head officers of the town that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him because they would be sooner rid of him; although they had no writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have; but by the advice of one H. Lewes, the recorder of the town, they sent to London for the writ above-named: upon the receipt whereof they made speed to the execution. The day being at hand, wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before engaged in preparing himself.

Now when Mr. Rawlins perceived his time was no less near than it was reported, he sent forthwith to his wife, and desired her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which afterwards he was burned in. This request, or rather commandment of his, his wife with grief of heart did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully.

The hour of his execution being come, this good and constant martyr was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old russet-coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins. And thus being brought out of prison, he was accompanied, or rather guarded with a great number of bills and weapons. Which sight when he beheld, Alas! (said he) what meaneth all this? By God's grace I will not run away: with all my heart and mind I give God most hearty thanks that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name's sake.

He now came to a place, where his poor wife and children stood weeping, and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart, that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself: inso-much, that striking his breast with his hand, he used these words, Ah flesh, hinderest thou me so? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory.

By this time he approached a stake ready set up,



with some wood towards the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward very boldly: but in going towards the stake, he fell down upon his knees and kissed the ground; and in rising again, a little earth sticking on his nose, he said these words, Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust; thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return.

Then went he cheerfully and set his back close unto the stake. A smith came with a great chain of iron, whom when he saw, he cast up his hand, and with a loud voice, gave God great thanks.

Now when the smith had made him fast to the stake the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch.

When all things were ready, directly over-against the stake, in the face of Rawlins White, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to the people, which were many in number, because it was market day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reaching a little straw unto himself, made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. At last, he came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which harangue he cited the common place of scripture. When Rawlins perceived, that he went about not only to preach and teach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, Come hither good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching: and then said unto the preacher, ah! thou wicked hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by scripture?

Hereupon some that stood by cried out, Put fire; set to fire; which being done, the straw and reeds cast up a great and sudden flame. In which flame this good man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk; and the fat dropped away, saying that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, O Lord, receive my spirit, until he could not open his mouth. At last, the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was hurt, which made the whole body fall over the chain in the fire sooner than it would have done. He was, at the time of his death, about sixty years of age.

TRANSACTIONS in the PRIVY COUNCIL, and PUBLIC OCCURRENCES, in the Months of March and April, 1555.

**M**ARCH 28th, the queen summonsed into her presence four of her privy council, namely, William, lord marquis of Winchester, high-treasurer of England; sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; sir William Peter, knight, secretary; and sir Francis Inglesfield, knight, master of the wards: to whom she thus spoke:

"You are here of our council, and we have ordered you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions, as well of monasteries as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

"First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God, and of the church; for which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or retain the same lands for mine, but

with all my heart freely and willingly, without any covenant or condition, here and before God I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seem best to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"You may object to me, that considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding I set more by the salvation of my own soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God who hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than myself.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, do resort together to-morrow to the most reverend lord legate, and signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

On Wednesday, in Easter week, there were hearfes set up, and dirges sung, (a service for the dead used by the papists) which ceremony was ordered and celebrated by the queen and her council for the death of his pope's holiness Julius, who led, by all accounts, a very unholy life. At which time a woman going into St. Magnus' church, at the bridge foot in London, and there seeing an hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: some that stood by, said that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him. Nay, said she, that I will not, for he needeth not my prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself: therefore I need not to pray for him.

Some who stood by, heard her speak these words, and upon their information she was put into the cage, at London-bridge.

On the 2d of April, John Awcock died in prison, and was buried in the fields, as the manner of the papists was, to deny christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

The beginning of this month, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Woodgate and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council.

On the 7th, another letter was sent to the sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about with a boy preaching from place to place.

On the 15th, a letter was directed to sir Nicholas Hare, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, requiring them to examine Mr. Flower, alias Branch, what he meant by wearing about his neck this motto: *Deum time, idolum fuge*, "Fear God, beware of idolatry:" and whom else he knew to wear the like; praying them also to speak to Bonner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion according to the laws; and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute, so as if he continued in his opinion he might be executed at the farthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be struck off the day before his execution, or the same day.

The 22d of April, there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand struck off before his burning.

The 29th of April, Mr. Robert Horneby, servant then to the lady Elizabeth, was convened before the council for his religion; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.



## C H A P. VII.

*The HISTORY of the LIFE, EXAMINATION, and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, who was Burned for professing the TRUTH of the GOSPEL, at WEST-CHESTER, April 24th, 1555.*

**G**EORGE MARSH was born in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his parents: who afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then God taking his wife out of this world, he (leaving his household and children in good order) went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to the Rev. Mr. Laurence Saunders, as himself reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of Antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Deane, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

At length he was apprehended, and kept close prisoner in Chester, by George Cores, then bishop of that see, within the precinct of the bishop's house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop, as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently will appear in what followeth.

*The FIRST EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, before the EARL of DERBY and others, written by himself.*

**O**N the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone, with other of Mr. Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to Mr. Barton the next day following, with orders, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

I knowing this, by my friends, was diversely affected; my mother, and other my friends advising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended, after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion, (as they thought I would not, and as God strengthening and assisting me in his Holy Spirit I never will,) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also my own self, after troubles and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

This considered, they advised and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these

years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living professed, and with my word and mouth taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their counsel and advice, and the thoughts and counsels of my own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying, I would come again at evening.

In the mean time I ceased not by earnest prayer to ask and seek counsel of God, (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my friends, whose pious judgments and knowledge I much trusted to. After this I met with one of my friends on Deane-moore, about sun setting, and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, said, I doubt not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel, as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining my eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where several of Mr. Barton's servants had been seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, strictly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smethehills the next day; who being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere.

Thus intending before to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking little rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

At my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, who said thus: My friend's advice was that I should in no wise fly, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to Mr. Barton, who did seek for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind before being much disquieted and troubled, was now merry and at ease.

I arose early in the morning, and after I had said the English litany (as my custom was) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed side, I prepared myself to go toward Smethehills; and as I was going thither, I went into the houses of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralf Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson, desiring them to pray for me, and have me commanded to all my friends, and comfort my mother, and be good to my little children; for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day; and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both sides, and came to Smethehills about nine o'clock, and presented myself to Mr. Barton; who shewed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o'clock,



o'clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit, with other special friends, which I had there at the same time, to Mr. Barton, that he would take some one, or all of them, bound by recognizance or otherwise, for my appearing before the said earl or his council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chief time of feeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping, and departing from them, went towards Latham, and lay all night within a mile and a half of it. The next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Then was I called by Roger Mekinson, to my lord and his council, and was brought into the chamber of presence, where were present sir William Nores, sir Pierce Alec, Mr. Sherburn, the parson of Grapnal, Mr. Moore, with others. Where, when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned himself towards me, and asked what was my name: I answered, Marsh.

Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissention amongst the people: which thing I denied, desiring to know my accusers, and what could be laid against me: but that I could not know.

Then, said he, he would with his council examine methemselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, no. He asked me what had been my living, I answered, I was a minister, served a cure, and kept a school. Then said my lord to his council, This is a wonderful thing; before he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one. I answered, By the laws now used in this realm, (as far as I do know) I am none.

They asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any. I answered, I received orders of the bishop of London and Lincoln.

Then said they one to another, those are of these new heretics: and asked me what acquaintance I had with them? I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if they at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again.

At which they murmured, and the parson of Grapnal said, This last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised. Then they asked me what my belief was.

I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, according as the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apostles, the creed of the council of Nice, of Athanasius, and of Austin and Ambrose, do teach.

After a few words the parson Grapnal said, But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?

I answered, I believe that whoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body, and with all the benefits of his death and resurrection to their eternal salvation; for Christ, said I, is ever present with his sacrament.

They asked me, whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed in the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether he were received or reserved was the very body of Christ. Whereunto I made answer, I knew no farther than I had shewed already.

After many other questions, which I avoided as

well as I could, remembering the saying of St. Paul, "Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but ingender strife;" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand; and commanded me to write my answers to the questions of the sacrament above-named; and I wrote as I had answered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying, I should not chuse but do it.

Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to a shameful death like a traitor, with other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone-house, where was little room; there I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent clothes, and so continued till Palm-Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study; for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

#### SECOND EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.

ON Palm Sunday after dinner, I was sent for to my lord and his council, (saving sir William Nores and sir Pierce Alec were not then present) amongst whom were sir John Beram, and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot a good while concerning that matter, he returned with me to my lord and his council, saying, That answer which I had made before, and then did make, (as it is above written) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such times as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other things; and after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, on condition I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my mind than before, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved.

A day or two after I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass did offend me, first because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv. and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place thereof; and I named several; which places they went about with gentle and far sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and shewed me where in some places of the mass was written, A sacrifice of praise. Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the people.

After this, Mr. George Marsh was sent to Lancaster castle, and being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors; at which time the earl of Derby had this conversation with him.

A CON-



*A CONVERSATION between the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, and the Earl of DERBY.*

I said unto my lord, I had not dwelled in the country the three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and others of my friends, and meant to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother, but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of my own will came to his lordship.

He said to his council, he had heard tell of me before at London; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or at London, and asked me into what land I would have gone.

I answered, I would have gone either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his council, in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England: but as for Almain, he said the emperor had destroyed them.

So after such like words, I said unto him, my trust was that his lordship being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful deaths, as he had threatened me for embracing the same with so good a conscience.

He answered, that he, with the lord Windsor and lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgot, did not consent to those acts, and that the name of them four would be seen, as long as the parliament house stood. Then my lord did rehearse the misfortune of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again the prosperity of the queen's highness, because she favoured the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God; and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and said that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.

After remaining some weeks in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop's liberty, where his lordship frequently conferred with him, and used his utmost endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, confession, and in short, of all the tenets and practices of the Church of Rome.

When the bishop found he would not assent to a single point, he remanded him back to prison; and in a few days summonsed him before him in the cathedral church of Chester, where, in the presence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he caused him to take a solemn oath to answer truly to such articles as might be alledged against him.

*The FIRST EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.*

WITHIN a few days the Rev. Mr. Marsh was sent for by Dr. Cotes, bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody else being present; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: to whom he made such answers as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which point the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Other discourse he had with him to submit himself to the universal church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again: and after being

there, came to him divers times Mr. Massey, a fatherly old man, Mr. Wrench, a schoolmaster, Mr. Henshaw, the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more: who with all plausibility of words, philosophy, and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, but not after Christ, went about to persuade him to submit himself to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope to be heard thereof, and to interpret the scriptures no otherwise than that church did; with many such like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

To whom the said Mr. George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one, because it ever hath, doth, and shall confess and believe one only God, and him only worship, and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation; which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men: and that this church is built only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone, and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And where they said the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued for the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither was it bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers; nor had it any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but it was a poor simple flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children: and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, councils, and word of Christ, he being the supreme head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever encompassed about.

*The SECOND EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.*

AFTER that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner, and often reviling him with the odious names of heretic, &c. he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel in the cathedral church of Chester, called our Lady's-chapel, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the bishop; George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Getham, register, sat directly over against him.

Then they caused the said Mr. Marsh to take an oath, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid to his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretical and blasphemous doctrines, within the parishes of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other places within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last, proceeding directly against the pope's authority, and catholic church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spoke against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, as he said all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late king Edward VI.



Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him answer yes, or no, without equivocation; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received, and taught in this realm at the death of king Edward; which answers were every one written by the register to the uttermost that could make against him. After this, the company for that time broke up, and he was returned to prison again.

*The THIRD and LAST EXAMINATION of the  
Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.*

**T**HE bishop was now determined, if Mr. Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would (after the sentence given) be too late, though he would ever so gladly desire it.

Then the chancellor first asked him, Whether he were not of the bishop's diocese? To which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was at Cambridge. But they asked, whether he had not lately been at Deane parish in Lancashire, and there abode? He answered, Yes.

Then the chancellor read all his answers that he made in that place at his former examination, and at every one he asked him whether he would stick to the same or no? To which he answered again, Yes, yes. Said the chancellor, in your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies, you said, That the church and doctrine taught, and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome was not the true and catholic church.

So said I, replied Mr. Marsh, and I believe it to be true. Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men; and he answered, Yes, and divers others; but he said, they claimed no more authority in England, than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ.

Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed, said the bishop. In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?

To whom Mr. Marsh answered, Oh, my lord, I pray you judge not so of me. I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For where Christ in the institution thereof did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, "Drink ye all of this;" and St. Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the same sort also it was used in the primitive church for the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word, that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then said the bishop, there is no disputing with a heretic. Therefore when all his answers were ready, he asked him whether he would stand to the same, being as they were full of heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church?

To whom he made this full answer, That he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people there to bear him witness, (if any hereafter should slander him, and say that he held

any grievous heresy) that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law established, and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward VI. and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die. Here the chancellor spake to one Leach, who stood near to Mr. Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his presence did him no good.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom, and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when he had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, Good my lord, stay, stay: for if you proceed any further, it will be too late to call it again, and so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many of the ignorant people, called upon Mr. Marsh, with many earnest words to recant; and amongst others, one Pulleyn, a shoemaker, said to him, For shame man, remember thyself, and recant. They bade him kneel down, and pray, and they would pray for him: so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, lest he lose his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles on, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with flattering words and smiling countenance called to the bishop, and said, Yet, good my lord, once again stay, for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve; and the bishop (pulling off his spectacles) said I would stay if it would be.

How sayest thou, said he, wilt thou recant? Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace; and pulling him by his sleeve, bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ, and then he would deny me before his Father in heaven.

Then the bishop read out his sentence unto the end and afterwards said unto him, Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog. Mr. Marsh answered, That notwithstanding he would pray for his lordship; and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. His late keeper said, Farewell good George, with weeping eyes, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the north-gate, where he was very strictly kept until he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would do him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do, for fear of accusation; and some of the citizens who loved him, for the gospel's sake, (whereof there were but few) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening at a hole upon the wall of the city (that went into the said prison) call to him and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him that he would give him grace, not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory; and comfort of his church.

When the day and time appointed came that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Couper, with their officers, and a great number of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and poll-axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out Mr. George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand



hand (as felons were accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution) to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved; but Mr. Marsh said, he would not then be troubled to receive money, but desired some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it to the prisoners or poor people. He went all the way with his book in his hand, looking upon the same, and many said, This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die.

When he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittal-Boughton, one Cawdry, being then a deputy chamberlain of Chester, shewed Mr. Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, That it was a pardon for him if he would recant. He answered, forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

He now began to speak to the people, shewing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, George Marsh we must have no sermoning now. To whom he said, Master, I cry you mercy; and so kneeling down said his prayers, put off his clothes unto his shirt, and then was chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in it, over his head; the fire being unskilfully made, and the wind driving the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he bore very patiently.

When he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and pulled up, that they who stood before him, could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed he had been dead; suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, Father of heaven have mercy upon me, and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord. Upon this, many of the people said he was a martyr, and died marvellously patient; which caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirm, that the said Marsh was an heretic, burnt as such, and was a fire-brand in hell.

The Rev. Mr. Marsh wrote, besides his examinations while in prison, several letters.

### LETTER I.

*From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH to his Friends.*

**H**ERE you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught, and as yet do believe, profess, and teach, and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common places of the pious and learned men, Philip Melancthon, and Erasmus Sarcerius, whose judgment in these matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down: and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet our faith faileth not through Christ's aid, but that we are all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, "and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, and that with meekness and reverence; having a good conscience: and whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, for-

asmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ." I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it; but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Mr. Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle workman). But he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that pleasing Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glittering of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights (as the blind papists do judge it), but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the scribes and of the sadducees; I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists which with their glosses deprave the scriptures. For as the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, There shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects; and he saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandize of us: and Christ earnestly warneth us, to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we christians taught, that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, Try all things, hold fast that which is good.

Letter II. To the faithful professors of Langhton on the same subject as Letter I.

### LETTER III.

*From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH to some of his FRIENDS at MANCHESTER, in LANCASHIRE.*

**G**RACE be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrance of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and coming of Christ; these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they ever so many and mighty, and you on the other side ever so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's. And as in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. "For as I was with



with Moses, so will I be with thee," saith God, "and will never leave thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and bold; neither fear nor dread; for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?"

In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, or fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand steadfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.

Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul, a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valient warrior St. Paul being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he himself doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles: so that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm: and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is the best of all, most heartily desiring death.

Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand captain Christ. Let us fast and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy, that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the spirit: and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

This fast do the christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with shewing mercy to our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast, and that we then fast, when we abstain from one thing and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

To fasting or prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy; and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required.

First, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart: for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.

Secondly, That we give liberally, putting aside all niggardliness, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously, shall reap plenteously. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest wretch in the world may give as great and acceptable alms in the fight of God, as the

richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ; insomuch that he himself affirmed, That she of her penury had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. "For if there be first a willing mind, (as St. Paul saith) it is accepted, according to what a man hath, and not according to what a man hath not."

Thirdly, We must give without hypocrisy and ostentation, not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth in us his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. "What hast thou," saith the Apostle, that thou hast not received? if thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?"

Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and venture your lives, if need shall require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name.

Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting: for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Esdras) is like a city built and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things, but the entrance thereof is narrow, (full of sorrow and travail, perils and labours) like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one strait path between them both, so small, that there could but one man go there. If this city were now given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore seeing we are in this narrow and strait way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life; let us not stagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our captain Jesus Christ in the narrow and strait way, and be afraid of nothing, no, not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door to everlasting life. Consider also the course of this world how many there be which for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would venture their lives in worldly affairs, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and our's is unspeakably great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure much less, to be made kings in heaven for evermore? Consider also the wicked of this world, which for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of imprisonment and hanging. So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle.

And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to send me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where (for the time) is most danger, I beseech you all, in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all our fellow-soldiers standing in like perilous places, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God, that you and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that you also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

Consider



Consider what I say? the Lord give us understanding in all things. Brethren, the time is short; it remaineth that you use this world as though ye used it not: for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. Be meek and long-suffering, serve and edify one another, with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life. Beware of uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin, spend no more time in vice, be sober and apt to pray, be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark you shoot at in all your doings. And above all things cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and power for evermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God (which by grace has called us from wicked popery unto true christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution) will of his mercy and favour in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen. At Lancaster, August 30, 1555.

By me, an unprofitable servant of Christ,  
GEORGE MARSH.

## A P R A Y E R

Of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, which he used to say daily.

O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our hearts: thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit openly and daily. Wherefore we beseech thee according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be very unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldst mercifully circumscribe our stony hearts, and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed, and our hearts, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting. Amen.

Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him.

## C H A P. VIII.

The LIVES, SUFFERINGS, and MARTYRDOM of Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, the Rev. Mr. JOHN CARMAKER, Mr. JOHN SIMSON, Mr. JOHN WARNE, and Mr. JOHN ARDELEY, under the Persecution of the Inhuman BONNER, in the Bloody Reign of MARY I.

## I.

The HISTORY of Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, a Monk and Priest, who, for striking a Popish Priest, was apprehended, and, first having his Hand cut off, was martyred for his constant Adherence to the Truth.

WILLIAM FLOWER otherwise named Branch, was born at Snow-hill, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to school some years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained a while, he was a professed monk, according to the order and rule of the same house wherein he remained, using and bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and orders of the same house, until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabouts; and before he came to that age, and being a professed monk, he was made a priest also in the same house, and there did celebrate and sing mass. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions by the authority of Henry the eighth, he forsook the same house, and casting from him the monk's habit and religion, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snow-hill, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and sing mass, and taught children about half a year.

He then went to Ludgate, in Suffolk, and there served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; from thence to Stoniland, where he tarried, and served as a secular priest also, until the coming out of the six articles: and then he departed from thence, and went into Gloucestershire, where after he had made his abode in that country a while, at length in Tewksbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued; and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewksbury about two years together, and from thence he went to Brosley where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practised

physic and chirurgery. From thence he removed into Northamptonshire, where under a gentleman he taught children to write and read. But departing from those parts he came to London, and there remained for a certain space. After that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snow-hill, where he was born; from thence to Brankstrey in Essex, then to Coxall, where he taught children, and coming to Lambeth, near London, he hired a house, where he and his wife did dwell together: however for the most part he was always abroad, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he being at home upon Easter-Sunday, about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; when seeing a priest, named John Chelam, administering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same, did strike and wound him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand with his wood knife, the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest.

Being examined before bishop Bonner, he confessed he had done wrong, submitting himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Mr. William Flower being apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster, (where he had given two groats the same day, to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly be with them) having as many irons as he could bear, was afterwards summonsed before bishop Bonner his ordinary, April 19, 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, (according to his ordinary manner) ministered articles and interrogatories to him. Previous to this the following conversation took place between Mr. Flower and Mr. Robert Smith, a fellow prisoner.



A CONVERSATION *between* Mr. ROBERT SMITH and Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, *concerning the Crime with which the latter stood charged, of having struck and wounded a Popish Priest, while officiating before the ALTAR, at Westminster.*

*Smith.* FRIEND, forasmuch as I understand that you do profess the gospel, and also have done so a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishment not only of me, but of divers others that also profess the truth.

*Flower.* I praise God for his great goodness in shewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending by God's grace to declare all the truth that you shall demand lawfully of me, in all things.

*Smith.* Then I desire you to shew me the truth of your deed, committed on John Chelham, priest, in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was.

*Flower.* I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, and there seeing the people falling down before a most detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and struck the priest which ministered the same unto them; whereupon I was immediately apprehended; and this is most true, as the act is manifest.

*Smith.* Did you not know the person that you struck, or was you not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?

*Flower.* No, verily, I never to my knowledge saw the person before that time, neither had evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had at any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it.

*Smith.* Do you think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?

*Flower.* I do confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phineas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing decrees, but also planting zeals to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as St. Paul saith, "His works are past finding out:" by whose Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order, as it shall please the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the act committed I looked for.

*Smith.* Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

*Flower.* No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at St. Paul's church upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came there, I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that which is done; and yet now being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot teach you to do the like. First, Because I know not what is in you. Secondly, Because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injury: yet nevertheless, if he makes you worthy, that hath made me zealous, you shall not be hindered, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth, the great mercies that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

*Smith.* Are you not assured to have death ministered unto you for the same act committed, and even with extremity?

*Flower.* I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me in writing, my opinion of God and the holy scrip-

tures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which, (I praise God) is laid up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death that may be ministered upon my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all my offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same.

*Smith.* I need not examine or commune with you of the hope that you have any further: for I perceive (God be praised) you are in good state, and therefore I beseech God, for his mercies, spread his wings over you, that, as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this world into a better life, which I think will be shortly.

*Flower.* I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; intirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly.—And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this is the truth, as near as the said Smith could report it.

Now to return again to the matter of his examination. We shewed before, how this William Flower, after his striking the priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse: then, being examined before bishop Bonner, had articles ministered against him, the copy whereof here followeth.

ARTICLES *exhibited by* Bishop BONNER, *against* Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, *late of* LAMBETH, *in the County of* SURRY.

1. THAT thou being of lawful age and discretion, at the least seventeen years old, wast a professed monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profession thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using all the mean time the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

2. That thou wast ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church, and afterwards thou didst execute and minister as a priest, and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

3. That after the premises, thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take, as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewksbury, in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation, as man and wife, and had by her two children.

4. That thou being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted expert nor learned.

5. That upon Easter-day last past, that is to wit, the 14th of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's, at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex, and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy wood-knife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called John Chelham, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and administering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon, the said Priest, first upon the head, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly from him; the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and receive the said sacrament.

6. That



6. That by reason of the premises, thou wast and art by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicated and accursed in very deed, and not to be accompanied withal, neither in the church nor elsewhere, but in special cases.

7. That thou, concerning the truth of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of one or more years, and yet art at this present, of this opinion, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained (under the form of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

8. That thou for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and against the said priest administering the same, didst smite and hurt him in manner before declared.

9. That thou art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of the said heresy and damnable opinion.

10. That all the premises be true, manifest, notorious, and famous, and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is within the said parish of St. Margaret's, and other places thereabouts, a public voice and fame.

#### WILLIAM FLOWER's *Answers*.

**T**O the first article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof, except that he saith and confesseth that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof. Howbeit he saith, that he never did, nor yet doth esteem the said order of priesthood according to the order of the said catholic church, because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

To the third article he answereth and confesseth, That he intended to live in holy matrimony, and not forgetting God did marry with the said Alice Pulton named in this article, wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was a professed monk, and made priest, he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he saith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he answereth and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fifth article he answereth and confesseth, That his conscience being greatly offended with the said John Cheltam, priest, for administering the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did so smite and strike the same priest with his hanger or wood-knife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body, which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was shed in the said church, as he believeth, having, as he saith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only that his conscience was offended and grieved, in that the same priest did so give and administer the said sacrament to the people: which people he believed was greatly abashed and offended with this said act and doing, and were compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the said sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he intended to have killed the said priest, or not; he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest, he would make no answer thereunto.

To the sixth he answereth, That whether he be so excommunicated or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himself to the ecclesiastical laws.

To the seventh he answereth, That by the space of 26 years now past, he hath always been, and yet is of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth; that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in

very deed, contained, under form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

To the eighth he answereth and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article, that is to say, the canonical laws.

To the last he answereth and believeth, That those things before by him confessed be true, and those which he hath denied be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

By me WILLIAM FLOWER.

After the depositions of certain witnesses were taken, the said bishop spake to William Flower, and asked him, if he knew any matter or cause why sentence should not be read, and he to be pronounced as an heretic. Whereunto he answered, I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and what I have said, I will not go from: and therefore do what you will. Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded, and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the 24th day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's eve, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's church-yard at Westminster, where the fact was committed.

Mr. Cholmeley now came to him, desiring him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good and not be damned: to which Flower answered, Sir, I beseech you for God's sake to be contented: for what I have said, I have said, and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his holy Spirit to continue to the end.

This done, first his hand being held up against the stake, was struck off, his left hand being fastened behind him. At which he in no part of his body did shrink, but once a little he stirred his shoulders. When fire was set unto him, he cried with a loud voice, O thou Son of God have mercy upon me, and receive my soul, three times, lifting up, notwithstanding, his stump with his other arm as long as he could.

May 3, 1555, a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, shewed them to the people, persuading them to be constant in his religion; and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days till further examination.

The 12th day, Mr. Thomas Ross, preacher, was by the council's letters delivered from the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed to the bishop of Norwich; and he either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The 16th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, signifying what the lord-lieutenant had done for Ross; and as for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his lordship perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bedlam, there to remain till their further order.

#### The MARTYRDOM of Mr. JOHN CARDMAKER, and Mr. JOHN WARNE, May 30, 1555.

**M**R. Cardmaker was first an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeyes; afterwards was a married minister, and in king Edward's time appointed to be a reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so enraged against him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. Mr. Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London and put in the Fleet prison, king Edward's laws being yet in force. But

R r

after



after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, officially, to exercise their tyranny, these two were brought before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and others appointed by commission (as before mentioned) to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners; and as unto others before, so now unto them the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholics. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles.

#### ARTICLES *against* JOHN CARDMAKER.

1. **I** Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me Edmund, bishop of London.

2. Item, That thou in times past didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience.

3. Item, that thou in times past did receive all the orders of the church then used.

4. Item, That thou after thy said entry into religion and profession, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hast carnal copulation, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs there, (bread and wine) there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

6. Item, That the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of God) the body and blood of Christ invisibly and really present under the said sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

7. Item, That it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church, that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That Christ at his last supper taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body; did institute a sacrament there, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

#### Mr. CARDMAKER's ANSWERS.

**T**O the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth, That he being under age, did profess the said order and religion, and afterwards by the authority of king Henry VIII. he was dispensed with for the same religion.

To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he answereth and confesseth the first part thereof to be true; and to the second part of the same article he answereth, that in marriage he brake no vow because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, That he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe or teach.

To the sixth he answereth, That he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, That he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, that it

is true, that is to say, that Christ taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, namely, Willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof, he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

By me

JOHN CARDMAKER.

The next day Mr. Cardmaker did exhibit unto the bishop the following schedule:

"Where in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess, but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same according to Christ's institution: so I say, that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament: so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence. This I have thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it."

#### ARTICLES *objected against* JOHN WARNE, Upholsterer, of the Parish of St. JOHN, in WALBROOK.

**F**IRST, That thou John Warne, being aged 29, of the parish of St. John of Walbrook, in London, hast believed, and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Item, That thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration.

Item, That thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught.

Item, That thou hast said, that about a twelvemonth ago and more, a rough spaniel of thine was shorn on the head, and had a crown like a priest made on the same, thou didst laugh at it, and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but that thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said bishop Bonner, in the presence of divers witnesses, May 23, 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

It was also objected by the aforesaid bishop,

Item, That thou John Warne wast in time past here in the city of London, accused in Guildhall of heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry VIII. and when alderman Barnes was then sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund bishop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence



*The Martyrdom of the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> John Cardmaker and  
M<sup>r</sup> John Warne, in Smithfield.*



*The Martyrdom of M<sup>r</sup> George Marsh, at  
West Chester.*



*Phillips and Alphonsus (two Spanish Friars)  
disputing with the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bradford, in the  
Compter.*



*The Archbishop of York & Bishop of Chichester  
at another time disputing with M<sup>r</sup> Bradford in the  
same Prison.*





fence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine; but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the said laws condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon suit being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of king Henry VIII. and thereby didst save thy life.

Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then, and also afore believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there is material bread, and the receiving of it as before; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the virgin Mary, is only in heaven and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

John Warne being examined upon the aforesaid articles by the bishop before certain witnesses, whose names were John Roswell, John Heywood, and Robert Ravens, the 23d of May, did answer for the same, confessing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the bishop exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies, (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24th of May.

Who so doing (and answering as he did before) was ordered to come thither again in the afternoon, and so he did: at which time he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the holy scriptures.

Upon which answer he was ordered to come again the next day, being the 25th of May, at one of the clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles objected, to which he, most constantly adhered with this further answer added thereunto: I am persuaded (said he) that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to recant; for all the filthiness and idolatry is in the church of Rome.

The bishop then seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises and terrible threatnings, (whereof he used many) he could not prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the 30th day of May.

Which day being appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, and the said John Warne, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer; who being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Mr. Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, during which time Mr. Warne had said his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him, while Mr. Cardmaker was talking with the sheriffs.

The people who had before heard that Mr. Cardmak-

er would recant, and beholding this, were greatly afflicted, thinking indeed that Mr. Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Mr. Warne. At length Mr. Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and (in his garments as he was) kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself. His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, and went with a bold courage unto the stake, and kissed it: and taking Mr. Warne by the hand, he heartily comforted him, and cheerfully gave himself to be bound to the stake. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, saying, God be praised, the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom.

The MARTYRDOM of JOHN SIMSON and JOHN ARDELEY, of the Parish of WIGBOROW-THE-GREAT, in ESSEX.

JOHN SIMSON and JOHN ARDELEY were condemned for the same cause and on the same day with Mr. Cardmaker and John Warne, which was the 25th day of May. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to bishop Bonner, in tenor and form as followeth.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters to the justice of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions, or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of the peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with, as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; we have thought convenient both to signify our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you that when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of the peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws. Given under our signet at our manor of Hampton-court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our reign."

This letter coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom we are now treating, namely, Mr. John Simson and Mr. John Ardeley; who being both of one country, of one town, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborow in Essex, and almost of one age, Simson 34, the other 30, they were brought up both together by the under-sheriff of Essex, before Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation of heresy, as in that time it was called.

Here followeth the articles objected against them, with their answers, taken out of the bishop's registers.

S I

ARTICLES



ARTICLES *objected* by BISHOP BONNER, *against* JOHN SIMSON and JOHN ARDELEY, Husbandmen, at FULHAM.

1. **T**HAT thou John Simson (or John Ardeley) husbandman, of the age of 34 years or thereabouts, wast and art of the parish of Great-Wigborow, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here on earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe that that faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but to the contrary, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid have hitherto believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed by any christian man.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine, are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the Glory in the highest, and the epistle and the gospel: and that therefore thou hast not, and wilt not come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid.

7. Item, That thou hast in time past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be

said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught.

JOHN SIMSON and JOHN ARDELEY's ANSWERS to the aforesaid ARTICLES.

**T**O the first, they believe, that here on earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article, and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said church of England be ruled and governed by the word of life, then the church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise: and do say also, that if the church of England were ruled by the word of life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor changed in substance in any wise, and that he receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ, but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

To the fifth they say, they have answered, in answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the Glory in the highest, the epistle and gospel, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will they come and hear mass.

To the seventh John Ardeley answereth and saith, That he believeth the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith that he never said that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; neither did he ever say, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMSON.

The bishop, according to his usual manner, respited them to the afternoon, between the hours of two and three. At which time repeating the articles, and beginning with John Ardeley, he urged and solicited him to recant, but in vain. After this he read the sentence of condemnation against him, and also against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered to the sheriffs May 25th, they were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where they were both put to death in one day, but not in the same place; for John Simson suffered at Rochford, and John Ardeley at Raley.

The commissioners charged them with stubbornness and vain-glory, unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and popery. Yet this could not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart's blood; so greedily and thirstily are the persecutors of christian blood.



## C H A P. IX.

*Further PROCEEDINGS of Bishop BONNER against the PROTESTANTS, together with the LIVES, EXAMINATIONS, and MARTYRDOMS of THOMAS HAUKEs, THOMAS WATs, THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, who were all inhumanly burnt in the bloody Reign of Queen MARY I.*

*The ridiculous PROCEEDING of Bishop BONNER, against JOHN TOOLY, whose Body being taken out of his Grave, was given to the secular Power, and so burned for an HERETIC.*

ABOUT the same time of the burning of John Simson and John Ardeley, in the beginning of the month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spirituality, against John Tooly in a case of heresy. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to make a stir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with others of this society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and altho' the deed was heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, Tooly was found guilty, and adjudged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The aforesaid Tooley being led to the gallows, (which stood near Charing-Cross) a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood, and not by any masses, or trentals, images, or saints, which were, as he said, mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome; and as the same Tooly, and two others his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such paltry, with covetousness, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice the following words: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, Good Lord deliver us."

After this it happened, that when John Tooly had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be an apprentice) stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it to Tooly again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers, the book aforesaid, and desired him to deliver it to one Mr. Haukes, saying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley, serjeant, who desired to have it of him; on the top of which was written a line, containing these words, Beware of Antichrist, and subscribed underneath, By me Thomas Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antichrist. For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromley was afterwards brought, and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooly, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooly had made his prayers, as is above-said, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayer he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the report of this fact came to the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat,

thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooly's talk at his death was debated among them.

At last (after much pro and contra) they all consented to those men's judgment, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. By the cardinal Poole's orders, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had been almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooly's carcass was at London. And besides this, because he would shew some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the church-yard, and to be buried on the dung-hill. Of these two prodigious acts you shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooly, who having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again by the command of the bishops, and because he was so bold as to deny the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as an heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

*The COUNCIL'S LETTER to Bishop BONNER.*

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, understanding that of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lewd person that was condemned for felony, died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so we thought good to pray your lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your lordship heartily well to fare. From Hampton-Court, April 28, 1555.

Your lordship's loving friends,

STEPH. WINTON, Chanc.	R. ROCHESTER
F. SHREWSBURY	WILLIAM PETER
JOHN GAGE	R. SOUTHWELL
THOMAS CHENEY	

Soon after a citation was set up upon St. Paul's church door, under the bishop of London's great seal; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

*The WRIT or MANDATE of Bishop BONNER, set up at Charing-Cross, St. Paul's Church Door, and at St. Martin's in the Fields, for the citing and further inquiring into the CASE of JOHN TOOLY.*

EDMUND, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, to all singular parsons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our diocese of London, and especially unto Richard Clony, our sworn sumner, greeting, salutation, and benediction. Forasmuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of several credible persons, that one John Tooly, late citizen and poulterer of London, the son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice at the self same time in which he



should go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of his soul, and to have died in the unity of the catholic church, did utter diverts and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the verity of the catholic faith, and unity of the same, and did exhort, stir up, and encourage the people, there standing in great multitude, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions: and moreover, certain of the people there standing, as it did appear, affected with errors and heresies, as favourers and defenders of the said Tooley, did confirm and give express consent to the aforesaid words, propositions and affirmations: which thing we do utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart.

We therefore the aforesaid Edmund, and bishop aforesaid, not being able, nor daring to pass over in silence, nor wink at the aforesaid heinous act, left by our negligence and slackness the blood of them might be required at our hands at the most terrible day of judgment, desiring to be certified and informed whether the premises declared unto us be of the truth, and lest that any scabbed sheep, lurking amongst the simple flock of our Lord, do infect them with deadly heresy: to you therefore we straitly charge and command that you cite, or cause to be cited all and singular, having or knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation upon the church door of St. Martin's in the fields, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church door of St. Paul's in London, leaving there the copy hereof, or by any other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and singular by the tenor of these presents we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar general, or commissary, whatsoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, in the consistory place, upon Thursday the second day of May, now next ensuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the clock in the forenoon the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises, and moreover to do and receive what law and reason doth require.

Further we commit unto you as before, and straitly enjoining you do command, that ye will generally cite the wife of the said Tooley that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and familiars especially, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises, that ye admonish them after the manner and form aforesaid, whom we likewise, by the tenor of these presents, do in such sort cite and admonish that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep silence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our vicar general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, alledge, and propose in due form of law a cause reasonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooley, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for such an heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcase to lack church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the arm and power secular, and they compelled hereafter forever to hold their peace.

And moreover, that you cite and admonish, after the manner aforesaid, all and every of the receivers, favourers, and creditors of the said John Tooley that is dead, especially if any of them do incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, that on this side the said Thursday they return and submit themselves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy church: which thing if they

do, we trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promise that we will receive them being penitent for such their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own souls; and what ye shall do in the premises, let him among you, which shall execute this our present mandate, certify us, or our vicar general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patent, together with these authentically sealed: Dated at London under our seal, the last day of April, 1555, and of our translation the 11th.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear; next in order of law came the suspension, (whereas one suspension had been enough for him) and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat or drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow, and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such a manner, as in such cases full wisely they use to do, at length one stood up that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) sufficiently answer them by the other, to avoid the name of an heretic; first witnesses were provided against him, whose names were Henry Clark, Esq; Thomas Way, keeper of the Marshalsea; Philip Andrew, under-marshal; William Holingworth, fishmonger; William Gellard, William Walter, chandlers; Richard Longman, merchant-taylor; Philip Britten, John Burton, brewers; Thomas Smith, serjeant. Then he was condemned for an heretic, and so committed to the secular power, namely to the sheriffs of London, who with the like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretic, and besides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

#### *The LIFE and MARTYRDOM of THOMAS HAUKES, GENTLEMAN.*

Immediately after the story of Dr. Taylor, mention was made of six men brought before bishop Bonner upon the eighth day of February, whose names were Stephen Knight, W. Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, J. Lawrence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewise with them the 9th day of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow their's, but was prolonged to the 10th day of June, it followeth therefore now consequently to give an account thereof; first beginning briefly with his pious conversation and institution of life, then shewing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, according as the order of the story doth require.

As he was of the county of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier; besides that, he was of such comeliness of stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour towards others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and piety did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him; even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to make famous the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his example.

Mr. Haukes entered into the service of lord Oxford, where he remained so long as Edward VI. lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, true piety not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every-where. Haukes misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness, which he had tasted, thought to change the place: and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his



his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

But what place in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither the old wicked serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean time, Haukes keeping his house at home, had born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner, which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to contemn the sacraments of the church.

The earl either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger, and letters, and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which his letter sent to Bonner, are as follow.

**M**OST reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church, whereupon I have sent him to your good lordship, to use as you think best, by your good discretion.

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterwards read it to Mr. Haukes, he hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings. Then the bishop began to enter communication with Mr. Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom Mr. Haukes answered thus again as followeth.

*Haukes.* Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

*Bonner.* Why? baptism is commanded by the word of God.

*Haukes.* His institution therein I do not deny.

*Bonner.* What deny you then?

*Haukes.* I deny all things invented and devised by man.

*Bonner.* What things are those that be devised by man, that you are so offended withal?

*Haukes.* Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, &c.

*Bonner.* Will you deny that which all the whole world and your fathers have been contented withal?

*Haukes.* What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I.

*Bonner.* The catholic church hath taught it.

*Haukes.* What is the catholic church?

*Bonner.* It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world.

*Haukes.* Who is the head thereof?

*Bonner.* Christ is the head thereof.

*Haukes.* Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?

*Bonner.* Have you not read in the eighth of St. John where he said, He would send his Comforter which should teach you all things?

*Haukes.* I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter, but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

*Bonner.* Ah sir, you are a right scripture man. For you will have nothing but the scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?

*Haukes.* Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know.

*Bonner.* I thought you were acquainted with him: it

seemeth of your judgment. What preachers do you know in Essex?

*Haukes.* I know none.

*Bonner.* Do you know one Baget?

*Haukes.* Yes, forsooth, I know him.

*Bonner.* What manner of man is he?

*Haukes.* An honest man so far as I know.

*Bonner.* Do you know him if you see him?

*Haukes.* Yes, that I do. [Then said he to one of his servants, Go call me Baget hither; and then said to me, You seem to be a very proud man and stubborn. He that brought me up, stood all this while by.]

*Haukes.* What should move your lordship so to say?

*Bonner.* Because I see in a man that came with you much humility and lowliness.

*Haukes.* It seemeth your lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtsey to you: and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget, How say you, sir, know you this man?

*Baget.* Yes, forsooth my lord; with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the bishop to Baget, Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened, (as I have letters to shew) who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church: how say you thereto?

*Baget.* Forsooth, my lord, I say nothing thereto (with low courtsey to the hard ground).

*Bonner.* Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church or not.

*Baget.* I beseech your lordship to pardon me, he is old enough, let him answer for himself.

*Bonner.* Ah knave, are you at that point with me? Go call me the porter, said he to one of his men, thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and are you at this point? Then came the bishop's man, and said, The porter is gone to London: then said the bishop to Baget, Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded the away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, (who was one of his own teaching) who desired amongst other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were that were my teachers.

*Haukes.* When I see your commission, I will make you answer. And then immediately came the bishop again: but before he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me also, and said to Baget, How say you now unto baptism? Say whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?

*Baget.* Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good.

*Bonner.* I befool your heart, could you not have said so before? You have wounded this man's conscience. Then the bishop turned to me, and said; How say you now, sir? this man is turned and converted.

*Haukes.* I build not my faith upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus, who (as St. Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith.

*Bonner.* I perceive you are a stubborn fellow. I must therefore go to work another way with you, to win you.

*Haukes.* Whatsoever you do, I am ready to suffer it; for I am in your hands to abide it.

*Bonner.* Well, you are so, come on your ways; you shall go in, and I will use you christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not.

*Haukes.* I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth.

*Bonner.* I will have no heresy talked on in my house.

*Haukes.* Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

*Bonner.* If you will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel.

*Haukes.* Then I trust you will grant me my request.

*Bonner.* What is that?

*Haukes.*



*Haukes.* That your doctors and servants give me no occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience. Then he commanded his men to take in Baget, that Haukes and he might not have an opportunity to talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the steward's table.

After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But, amongst others, there was one named Darbishire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious: for you will have (said he) nothing but your little pretty God's book.

*Haukes.* And is it not sufficient for my salvation?

*Bonner.* Yes, it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction.

*Haukes.* God send me the salvation, and you the instruction. And as we thus reasoned came the bishop, who said unto me; I gave you a commandment that you should not talk.

*Haukes.* And I desired of you that your doctors and servants should give me no occasion. Then we went into his orchard again, he and I and his doctors.

*Bonner.* Would not you be contented, provided your child should be christened after the book that was set out by king Edward?

*Haukes.* Yes, with a good will; it is the thing that I desire.

*Bonner.* I thought so: you would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and in necessity it may serve.

*Haukes.* Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point.

*Bonner.* What is that?

*Haukes.* "Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c."

*Bonner.* Thou speakest that because I am no preacher.

*Haukes.* I speak the text: I do not mean you. Then said all the doctors, and his men that were with him, He spake it of you, my lord (with a great noise that they made).

*Bonner.* Will you be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?

*Haukes.* If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before.

*Bonner.* You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do you think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?

*Haukes.* What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but you get my consent never the sooner.

*Bonner.* Well, you are a stubborn young man: I perceive I must work another way with you,

*Haukes.* You are in the hands of God, and so am I.

*Bonner.* Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me. And so we departed until even-song time: and before even-song was begun, my lord called for me to come to him in the chapel, and said; Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul.

*Haukes.* What I have said, I will stand to, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

*Bonner.* Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard; the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went.

*Haukes.* The last went.

*Bonner.* Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee; how sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John; "I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Do you believe this?

*Haukes.* Yes, I must needs believe the scriptures.

*Bonner.* Why, then; I trust that you be found in the blessed sacrament.

*Haukes.* I beseech your lordship to feel my conscience no farther then in that which I was accused in unto you.

*Bonner.* Well, well, let us go unto even-song.

*Haukes.* With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

*Bonner.* Why will you not tarry even-song?

*Haukes.* No, forsooth.

*Bonner.* And why?

*Haukes.* For I will not.

*Bonner.* And why will you not?

*Haukes.* Because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin.

*Bonner.* Why, you may pray by yourself. What books have you?

*Haukes.* I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter.

*Bonner.* Then I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter.

*Haukes.* I will not pray in this place, nor in any such. Then said one of his chaplains, Let him go, my lord, and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers.

*Haukes.* I think myself best at ease when I am farthest from you, and so the bishop went to even-song, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till even-song was done; and within an hour after even-song was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself, and when I came there was he and three of his chaplains.

*Bonner.* You know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any farther, than in that you were accused of.

*Haukes.* I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge.

*Bonner.* Well, you shall answer me to the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony.

*Haukes.* There is none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them.

*Bonner.* The sacrament of the altar you seem to be found in.

*Haukes.* In the sacrament of the altar? why, sir, I do not know it.

*Bonner.* Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, before we have done with you.

*Haukes.* No, that shall ye never do.

*Bonner.* Yes, a faggot will make you do it.

*Haukes.* No, no, a fig for your faggot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do, and more ye shall not do.

*Bonner.* Do you not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ? And at that word he put off his cap.

*Haukes.* I do believe as Christ hath taught me.

*Bonner.* Why? did not Christ say, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

*Haukes.* Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach, neither did Christ ever teach it so to be.

*Bonner.* Why? the catholic church taught it so, and they were of Christ's church.

*Haukes.* How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Read the Acts, the second and the twentieth. Neither St. Peter nor St. Paul ever taught it, nor instituted it so.

*Bonner.* Ah sir, you will have no more than the scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare.

*Haukes.* He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him.

*Bonner.* Why? then you must eat a lamb, if you will have but Christ's institution only.

*Haukes.* Nay, that is not so, for before Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament.

*Bonner.*



*Bonner.* Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution.

*Haukes.* Then I would be glad to learn.

*Bonner.* Marry, we will teach you; but you are so stubborn you will not learn.

*Haukes.* Except you teach me by the word of God, I never will credit you, nor believe you: and thus we concluded.

A CONVERSATION between Mr. HARPSFIELD and Mr. THOMAS HAUKEs.

UPON Monday morning very early, the bishop called for me. There was with him Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, This is the man which I told of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies.

*Harpsfield.* Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?

*Haukes.* That I well know, but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto.

*Harpsfield.* Admit your child die unchristened: what a heavy case you stand in!

*Haukes.* I admit if it do, what then?

*Harpsfield.* Marry, then are you damned; and your child both.

*Haukes.* Judge you no farther than you may by the scriptures.

*Harpsfield.* Do you not know that your child is born in original sin?

*Haukes.* Yes, that I do.

*Harpsfield.* How is original sin washed away?

*Haukes.* By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus.

*Harpsfield.* How can your child, being an infant, believe?

*Haukes.* The deliverance of it from sin standeth in the faith of his parents.

*Harpsfield.* How prove you that?

*Haukes.* By St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 14. "The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man, or else were your children unclean."

*Bonner.* Recant, recant: do you not know that Christ said, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved?

*Haukes.* Doth christianity consist in outward ceremonies, or no?

*Bonner.* Partly it doth: what say you to that?

*Haukes.* I say as St. Peter saith, "Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God."

*Bonner.* Let us make an end here. How say you to the mass?

*Haukes.* I say it is detestable, abominable, and unprofitable.

*Bonner.* What nothing profitable in it? what say you to the epistle and gospel?

*Haukes.* It is good if it be used as Christ left it to be used.

*Bonner.* How say you to the *Confiteor*?

*Haukes.* I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God, and his son Jesus Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only Christ Jesus.

*Harpsfield.* What books have you?

*Haukes.* The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter.

*Harpsfield.* Will you read any other books?

*Haukes.* Yes; Latimer's books, my Lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, and Ridley's books.

*Bonner.* Away, away, he will have no books but such as maintain his heretics: so they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day came hither an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him unto my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened.

*Haukes.* I deny not baptism.

*Bonner.* Thou art a fool, thou canst not tell what thou wouldst have. This he spake with much anger.

*Haukes.* A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger.

*Bonner.* Thou judgest me to be angry: no by my faith I am not, and struck himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, Alas good young man, you must be taught by the church, and by your elders, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

*Bonner.* No, no, he will have nothing but the scriptures; and God knows he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one: what say you to holy water?

*Haukes.* I say to it as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them.

*Bonner.* Why, the scriptures do allow it?

*Haukes.* Where prove you that?

*Bonner.* In the book of Kings; where Elisha threw salt into the water.

*Haukes.* You say truth; that it is written in 2 Kings, chap. ii. the children of the prophets came to Elisha, saying, "The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted." This was the cause that Elisha threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if you can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.

*Bonner.* How say you to holy bread?

*Haukes.* Even as I said to the other. What scripture have you to defend it?

*Bonner.* Have you not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?

*Haukes.* Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread. He did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle, but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby.

After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber; for I would be glad (said he) if you could convert him. So he took me into his chamber, and sat himself down in a chair, and said to me; I would to God I could do you some good: you are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat.

*Haukes.* I will bear nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked, that the old bishop should have made me an answer, but he was fast asleep. Then I departed out of the chamber alone.

The next day Dr. Fecknam came to me, and said, Are you he that will have no ceremonies?

*Haukes.* What mean you by that?

*Fecknam.* You will not have your child christened; but in English, and you will have no ceremonies.

*Haukes.* Whatsoever the scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not.

*Fecknam.* How say you, Christ took bread; and brake it, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body."

*Haukes.* I grant Christ said so.

*Fecknam.* Why, then, is Christ a liar?

*Haukes.* Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, &c.

*Fecknam.* Christ spake these words in parables.

*Haukes.* And why speaketh he this in parables, when he said I am a vine, a door, a king, a way, &c. more than when he said, This is my body? For after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, This is my body; so saith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he saith not I am like a door, like a vine, &c.

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, I had such a one before me the other day. Alas! those places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive you hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

*Haukes.* What mean you by that?

*Fecknam.* I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

*Haukes.* I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

*Bonner.* If any of those recant, what will you say to it?

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*Haukes.*



*Haukes.* When they recant, I will make you an answer.

*Bonner.* Then thou wilt say as thou dost now for all that?

*Haukes.* Yes indeed will I, and that trust to it by God's grace.

*Bonner.* I dare say, Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living. And the bishop and Fecknam departed from me laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

The next day Dr. Chedsey came to the bishop and him. They declared unto him that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, he denies the order of the catholic church.

*Bonner.* Yes, he thinketh there is no church but in England and Germany.

*Haukes.* And you think that there is no church, but the church of Rome.

*Chedsey.* What say you to the church of Rome?

*Haukes.* I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe.

*Chedsey.* What say you to the bishop of Rome?

*Haukes.* From him, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

*Bonner.* He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, nor the sacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English.

*Chedsey.* Christ never spake in English.

*Haukes.* Neither did he ever speak any Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And St. Paul saith, "That tongues profit us nothing." He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle? So if I hear a tongue, that I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

*Chedsey.* If you understand St. Paul's saying, he speaketh under a prophecy, "If one prophesy to you in tongues," &c.

*Haukes.* St. Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, "That if any man speak with tongues, let it be two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course, and let the others judge: and if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace:" so that it seemeth that St. Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying.

*Chedsey.* What gospel have you been taught?

*Haukes.* Praying to saints, and to our lady, and trusting in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols.

*Chedsey.* He that teaches you so, teaches you not aright.

*Haukes.* Cursed be he that teacheth me so: for I will not trust him, nor believe him.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done: and then came the porter for me, and said, My lord would have you come to the sermon, and so I went to the chapel door, and stood without the door.

*Bonner.* Come in, man.

*Haukes.* No, that I will not. He called again, and I answered I will come no nearer, and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, Go to your sermon.

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water-sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was the 16th of St. Matthew, "Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some

say that thou art John the Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God." Then he left the text there, and said, Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound: which authority (said he) is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at since the beginning: yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics ever so much, the church doth stand and flourish. And then he went straitway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above heaven, (as most of them do) and so returned to his place again, saying, Whose sins do ye remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the bishops and priests to forgive sins, and said, All that be of the church will come and receive the same. And this he proved by St. John, chap. xi. saying that Christ came to raise Lazarus, who when he was risen was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, (who were his disciples) Go ye and loose him, let him go. And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles.

*Another CONVERSATION between THOMAS HAUKES, BISHOP BONNER, and others.*

**A**FTER dinner I was called into the chapel, where were several of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

*Bonner.* Haukes, How like you the sermon?

*Haukes.* As I like all the rest of his doctrine.

*Bonner.* What, are you not edified thereby?

*Haukes.* No, surely.

*Bonner.* It was made only because of you.

*Haukes.* Why, then I am sorry that you had no more heretics here, as you call them: I am sorry that you have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded.

*Bonner.* Well, I will leave you here, for I have business, I pray you talk with him, for if you could do him good, said he, I would be glad.

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said unto me, Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?

*Haukes.* Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all. They cried, Faggots, burn him, hang him, to prison with him, it is pity he liveth, lay irons upon him; and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber, and said, You have been with me a great while, and you are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate.

*Haukes.* Truly I did look for none other when I came to your hands.

*Bonner.* Come on your ways, you shall see what I have written. Then did he shew me certain articles, and these are the contents of them:

Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these; "Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ?" which if it were not so, St. Paul would never have said it.

*Haukes.* What your church doth I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth never so take it, nor believe it.

*Bonner.* Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?

*Haukes.* I answered to it as I did to the other question before.

After many persuasions on his part we ended, and then departed.

The next day in the morning, which was the first of July.



July, the bishop called me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make myself ready to go to prison, and to take such things with me as I had of my own. And I said, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing. Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gate-house at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who with his own man and one of the bishop's men brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me to the keeper; and this was contained in the warrant:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a false prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that you deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice; for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism, a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days." And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, My lord would be glad to know how you do. I answered them, I do like a poor prisoner. They said, My lord would know, whether you be the same man that you were then when you departed. I said I am no changeling. They said, My lord would be glad that you should do well. I said, if my lord will do me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me. So they said they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to prison at Westminster: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the 3d of September.

## SECOND EXAMINATION of Mr. THOMAS HAUKEs.

**T**HE bishop of Winchester, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Cross, and the bishop of London said to my keeper, I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day.

*Haukes.* Yes, my lord, I pray you let me go; and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me, and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the bishop's house, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the bishop called for me, and asked me if I was the same man that I was before.

*Haukes.* I am no changeling, nor none will be.

*Bonner.* You shall find me no changeling neither. And so he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the chamber. And as I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted as it appeared in print) saying, he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was? Then said they that stood by, he is Dr. Smith. Then said I, Are you he that did recant? And he said, It was no recantation, but a declaration.

*Haukes.* You were best to term it well for your own honesty.

*Smith.* Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?

*Haukes.* To be short with you, I will know whether you will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then said the bishop's men and his chaplains, that my lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by, cried with a great noise, Hang him, burn him, it is a great pity that he lives.

Then said one Miles Huggard, where prove you that infants were baptized?

*Haukes.* "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Sir, here is none excepted.

*Mr. Huggard.* What shall we go to teach children?

*Haukes.* That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

*Mr. Huggard.* So I am called.

*Haukes.* Be you not a hofier, and dwell in Pudding-lane?

*Mr. Huggard.* Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

*Haukes.* It should seem so, for you have more skill in eating pudding, and selling stockings, than in disputing from the scriptures. With that he was in a great rage and chafed up and down. Then I desired that some person would take pains to appease the gentleman; he did so fret for anger. Then one that stood by me (who was parson of Horn-church and Rumford in Essex) said, Alas, what do you mean? A young man to be so stubborn? there seemeth too much pride in you.

*Haukes.* Are you not the parson of Horn-church?

*Parson.* Yes? that I am.

*Haukes.* Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?

*Parson.* Yes, for a shift.

*Haukes.* Like master, like man: For I know the priest to be as vile a man as can be. I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weather-cock of St. Paul's? and he fell into a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said I did rail.

Then said another that stood by unto me; What books have you here? I answered the New Testament. May I look in it, said he? Yes; that you may, said I; and so he looked into my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, if the things contained in it be true, then ye are false prophets. He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying; Here is the generation of Christ; and Isaiah saith, no man can tell his generation.

*Haukes.* What meaneth Isaiah by that?

I would learn of you, said he:

*Haukes.* You would be angry if the scholar should teach the master: but if you will have me to teach you, I will tell you Isaiah's meaning.

Then said he, No man can tell the generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare say) did know it before.

*Haukes.* Isaiah denieth not the generation.

Then said he; Why is Christ called Christ?

*Haukes.* Because he is the Messiah.

Then said he; Why is he called the Messiah?

*Haukes.* Because he was so prophesied by the prophets.

Then said he, Why is your book called a book?

*Haukes.* These words do breed more strife than godly edifying.

Beware, said he, that you do not decline from the church; for if you do, you will prove yourself an heretic.

*Haukes.* Even as you do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church; so are ye all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets, if ye say, This saith the church: and will not say, This saith our Lord. And so he went away as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another, and said unto me; he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry and out of patience.

*Haukes.* I will see your commission, before I talk with you, or with any more. For I knew not how to be rid of them, they gathered so thick about me. And I said, I came to talk with my lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner: I Thomas Haukes do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition, and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (commonly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

*Haukes.* Stop there, my lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will. Then he took his pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

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Then he went farther with his writing, and said, I Thomas Haukes have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion.

*Haukes.* Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men.

*Bonner.* You will grant that you have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure. Then said all his doctors, if your lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together: and then read more to me. Here unto this bill have I set my hand; and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

*Haukes.* You shall not have my hand to any thing of your making or devising.

*Bonner.* Wilt thou not set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying it.

And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber? and so he had all their hands to it, and said, He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged; and so said all his chaplains with a great noise.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

*Haukes.* You shall do no more than God shall give you leave.

*Bonner.* This jeer shall not be unpunished, trust to it.

*Haukes.* As for your cursing, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool.

*Bonner.* I will be even with you at a future time.

*Haukes.* You may in your malice destroy a man: but when you have done, you cannot do so much as make a finger; and you be meetly even with some of us already.

*Bonner.* If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me.

*Haukes.* Solomon saith, "Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his honour."

*Bonner.* Solomon saith, "Give not a fool an answer."

*Haukes.* What, do you count me a fool?

*Bonner.* Yes, by my troth do I, and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee, and so do I.

*Haukes.* Thought is free, my lord. Then the bishop took the bill and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it him again.

*Haukes.* What needeth that ceremony? neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and went away in great anger, and called for his horse, for the same day he rode on his visitation into Essex: and so I went to prison again with my keeper. This was the second time of my examination.

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debates with Mr. Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was determined to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Mr. Haukes was shortly after cited with the rest of his companions above-mentioned, namely, T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygot, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter, to appear at the bishop's consistory, the eighth day of February, 1555. Upon which appearance was laid against him, in like order as to the others, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's own hand, to which bill it has been already mentioned this worthy man refused to subscribe.

The bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick to. But still persevering in the true faith, bishop Bonner at last read the sentence of death upon him, and he was condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged,

and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June. Then he was committed to the hands and charge of the lord Rich, who being sufficiently assisted with power by the worshipful of the shire, had Thomas Hawkes down into Essex, with six other fellow prisoners, whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coxehall, the others in several other places.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhortation to his friends, and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

Mr. Haukes being led to the stake, there mildly and patiently prepared himself for the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with a multitude of people on every side. Having secretly promised his friends to shew a pious disregard of pain, he would during his agonies lift up his hand above his head towards heaven; this noble martyr, when he had continued long in the fire, his speech taken away, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed, mindful of his promise, suddenly reached up his hands burning on a light fire, over his head, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck, or clapped them three times together: then straitway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, June 10, 1555. And thus have we plainly and expressly described unto you the whole story, as well of the life, as of the death of Mr. Haukes, a most faithful witness of Christ's holy gospel.

#### The History of Mr. THOMAS WATS.

THOMAS WATS, of Billerica within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen-draper; who, before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, his things being set in order for his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he daily expected to be taken by God's adversaries and his, as shortly came to pass; upon the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich, and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, justice Gaudy, &c.

When Thomas Wats came before the lord Rich and the justices, at the sessions at Chelmsford, lord Rich spoke to him as follows:

Wats, you be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and queen's laws. You will not come to the church, you will not hear mass, &c. but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings. To which Mr. Wats answered and said:

My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law. Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him; Wats I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this religion, or where didst thou first learn it? Forsooth, said Wats, even of you, sir, you taught it me, and none more than you. For in king Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used, no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered. Then Mr. Brown said to my lord Rich, He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this! He will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face. And my lord Rich said again, I dare say he doth so.

The commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in these matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with a letter, declaring the cause.

The reception he met with from the bishop and a summary of the proceedings in the consistory at St. Paul's, (the common stage of these tragedies) will appear in the succeeding Chapter.



*The FIRST APPEARANCE of Mr. THOMAS WATS, in the BISHOP'S CONSISTORY.*

**F**IRST upon Thursday, the 2d of May, Mr. Thomas Wats was brought before the bishop of London, and there being examined upon his words said before the lord Rich, and others, as contained in their letter, he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles, to which he answered likewise as follows.

ARTICLES *objected against* Mr. THOMAS WATS, of BILLERICA, in the County of ESSEX, within the Diocese of LONDON, by BISHOP BONNER.

1. **T**HAT the said Thomas Wats is of Billerica, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

2. Item, That he believeth not in the sacraments, of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the same, ever hitherto hath believed, and is taught by all good and faithful people: nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but hath despised the same.

3. Item, That he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine do remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed; and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

4. Item, That he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

5. Item, That he believeth, affirmeth, and faith, the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

6. Item, That he believeth and affirmeth that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

7. Item, That he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have held against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men, and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so living and dying.

8. Item, That he hath and doth believe, that no fast, prayer, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

9. Item, That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Rich, sir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late king Edward VI. was said and alledged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught; so he the said Thomas Wats, then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught: and that he did also then utter, before the said commissioners, other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

10. Item, That he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was, and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as an heretic, and for the same, by order of the ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and

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being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, to be punished as an heretic.

11. Item, That he, over and above all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass, namely, That he had believed and deliberately said, that the church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, institutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had assented and agreed in opinion with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing-cross, who at the time of his execution desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as much as to say, that his authority and doings were tyranny; and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, That the premises and every part thereof be true; notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that of all and singular the same within Billerica aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

*The ANSWER of Mr. THOMAS WATS to the aforesaid ARTICLES.*

**T**O the first he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he doth not believe now as he had done in times past; for in times past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he said he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him; and further said, that he was so taught to believe by the preaching of Mr. Alvey, and others whose names he remembereth not, who did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe that Christ's body is in heaven, and no where else: and further, that he never will believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the fourth he answered; confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, That he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the sixth, That he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the priest can absolve him from his sins: howbeit, he denieth not that it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the seventh he said, That he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good men.

To the eighth he said, That he had not spoken as is contained in this article; but he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, That he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained, and further he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, That he will submit himself herein to the order of the law; and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

To the eleventh he said, he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley he said, he did never see or know him; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

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To



To the twelfth he answered, That all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me THOMAS WATS.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three o'clock in the afternoon, upon the same day; when after many persuasions to cause him to recant, he ordered him to depart, and come again on Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning. Where the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. But Wats being still resolute, Dr. Harpsfield ordered him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10th day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop sent for him privately into his chamber, but finding all persuasion in vain he was again dismissed until Friday the 17th of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory; when being condemned he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or (as some assert) to the 22d of May: at which time he was carried to Chelmsford, to Mr. Scot's house, which was an inn, where, as they were eating with Mr. Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Mr. Wats went and prayed privately by himself, and afterwards came to his wife and six children, when having exhorted them to remain steadfast in the true faith, bade them farewell, kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my lord Rich these or the like words: My lord, said he, beware, beware, for you do against your own conscience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will avenge it: for you are the cause of this my death. Thus did this good martyr offer his body to the fire, in defence of the true gospel of Jesus Christ.

In the beginning of this month about Whitsuntide, vain rumour was spread about in London of the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of the expected child. Bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp, guns were fired upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners rewarded with an hundred pistolets or Italian crowns by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Several preachers, particularly the parson of St. Ann within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum sung, took upon them to describe the prince; but soon after the people were certified, that the queen neither was then delivered, nor even after in hopes to have a child.

A proclamation was now issued for the restraining all books and writings, tending against the doctrine of the Pope and his church. The book of common service set forth by authority of parliament in the time of King Edward VI. was prohibited—in the stead of which were only allowed popish books, particularly the Lady's Matins or catholic Primmer, containing prayers to the saints and Virgin Mary.

ARTICLES to be inquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching seditious Books, especially concerning the Book called, A WARNING for ENGLAND.

1. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the said books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.

4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasburgh, Frankfort, Wesel, Embden, and Doefburgh.

5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters, or money thither from hence.

6. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter.

In this proclamation the reader will easily discover the profound and learned censure of the Roman catholic church, what books they dislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. On which catholic censure of the learned fathers, we have not leisure at present to enlarge; neither is it necessary in this place to enter into a particular defence of the authors here condemned. Suffice it therefore, to take a general view of the ridiculous (not to say blasphemous) matter contained in some of the popish books; which by being contrasted with the doctrines of the opposite side, may give an opportunity of judging the better, which is most agreeable to God's holy word and truth, and of discerning between the true catholic church and the mother of abominations.

And first to begin with the primmer in English, for children, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen's majesty's letters patent, in the reign of queen Mary. Let us repeat and survey some part of the said primmer.

To Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Crnterbury.

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,  
Make us, Christ, to climb, where Thomas did ascend."

Of St. Nicholas.

"O God, which hast glorified blessed St. Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.

"Grant, we beseech thee, thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting." &c.

Another Prayer to our Lady.

"The dolorous passion of God's sweet mother,  
Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," &c.

Another.

"Hail queen mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, shew to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son, &c. &c.

Likewise the Lady's Psalter, produced by Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus IV. in the year 1482, for a saint in the kalendar. In the second part of his whole works, (which were printed at Argentine, anno 1495) to shew himself a devout servant to his lady, he hath taken every psalm of David's Psalter, put out the name of the Lord, and substituted the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole Psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief specimen whereof, for example's sake, we thought proper here to exhibit unto the reader as followeth.

The Title of the Psalter in English.

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, bishop of Alban, and cardinal of the holy church of Rome.

1. "BLESSED is the man which understandeth thy name, O virgin Mary, thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou surpassest in beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels, in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where. Glory be to the Father, &c.

2. Why do your enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall establish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart, for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, &c.

3. Why are they so many, O lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul.



soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my maker and creator. Glory be to the Father," &c.

4. "When I called to thee, thou heardst, O my lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me; because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth." &c.

5. "Hear my words, O lady, &c. turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces."

6. "O lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened; that we may shew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall not praise thee, O lady, but they which obtain by thy grace life everlasting," &c. &c. &c.

This, it is presumed, is sufficient specimen of the psalms of popery.

Account of THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and THOMAS OSBORNE, &c.

**M**ENTION was made before in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex the same time as he went to execution. Of which six prisoners, three were sent to be burnt, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next to treat. The names of the six were these, Thomas Osmond, fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver, Thomas Osborne, fuller, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver, Thomas Brodehill, weaver, Richard Web, weaver, being all of the town of Coxhall. All which men, next after the examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas Wats, were sent up to bishop Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford and sir Philip Paris, knight, a letter also being sent with them, and were brought before the said bishop the 17th of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles ministered and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and put their hands to the same: the copy of which their articles and answers, being all in one form and effect, here followeth.

The COPY of the ARTICLES objected against THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN.

**F**IRST, That thou Thomas Osmond, fuller, wast and art of the parish of Coxhall, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in the earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounded under the pain of the damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the faith and religion of the same in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the said faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed that the faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but contrariwise, thou hast believed and dost believe, that that faith and religion which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any christian person.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ under the forms of bread and wine; and albeit that it be so believed, taught and preached

undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe, but contrariwise, thou hast believed and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the form thereof, and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are by faith received only for a remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and are by faith to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and hast openly spoke and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood is only to take material and common bread, and to break it and distribute it among the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, thought, and spoken that the mass, now used in the realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in Excelsis, the epistle and gospel, and therefore thou hast not, nor wilt come to be present at mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, nor any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in the realm of England, &c.

7. Item, That thou hast in times past believed, and yet dost now believe, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made unto the priest, but is a thing superfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God and to none other person. And likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise, it is unlawful and naught.

8. Item, That thou being notoriously and openly suspected for an heretic, and a person culpable in the premises, wast of late called and brought before the earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, and there wast charged with the said heresies, and wouldst not come to the church to be confessed and receive the said sacrament as other christian people did, but utterly didst refuse to do the same, thou wast by the said earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, sent up by a constable unto me bishop of London, and was by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an heretic and misbelieving person.

9. Item, That thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard, reported, spoken, and said, that all and all manner of persons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the sacraments of the church, or any of the articles of faith, otherwise than is found already discussed and determined by our mother the holy church, or doth call into doubt or question that thing which is already decided or determined by the church, or that willingly or wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any slanderous or blasphemous words concerning the said sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep any sect or kind of heresy, against the wholesome doctrine of the church, and do wittingly or obstinately defend the sect or kind of heresy, are by the canons of the whole and universal catholic church, and also by the ecclesiastical laws of this church of England, by their so doing, accursed with that curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the sacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are (in continuing in this sad sect and heresy) to be pronounced, declared and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the secular power, and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the custom of the same, to be by the said secular power put to death, and burnt for this sad sect and heresy.

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10. Item,



10. Item, That thou, by reason of the premises, wast and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged, for a manifest and open, wilful and obstinate heretic, for a wicked and cursed person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said canon laws, usages, and customs.

*The ANSWERS of THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, to the aforesaid ARTICLES.*

**T**O the first they answered and confessed the same to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in earth one catholic and whole church, and that the same church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this article.

To the second they answer and believe the said article not to be true; for they say that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.

To the third they answer, That the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be used in faith and religion) of the catholic church of Christ, and that the faith and religion, used in the said churches is not agreeable with the church of Christ, but is false and erroneous.

To the fourth they answer and say, That howsoever the said churches of Rome and others of Christendom have and do believe touching the sacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material bread and wine, and that the same material bread and wine be only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

To the fifth article they answer, That the true receiving and eating of Christ's body, according to Christ's institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by faith (as they believe) Christ's body and blood, and not otherwise.

To the sixth they answer, The same to be true in every part thereof, except that over and besides the Gloria in Excelsis, the epistle and gospel, which they believe to be good, they believe the Pater-noster and Creed used in the mass to be also good.

To the seventh they answer and confess, That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to the priest; nevertheless they think it is necessary to go to such a priest as is able to give good counsel; and that for counsel only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they answer the same to be vain and unprofitable. No service in the church ought to be said but only in the English tongue.

To the eighth they answer, and believe the same to be true in every part thereof, except that they do not believe that they be heretics, or suspected of heresy.

To the ninth, Osmond and Bamford answered, That they referred themselves to the said laws mentioned in that article; but Chamberlain made no answer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the said Osmond and Bamford answered and said, That by reason of their belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or adjudged for wilful and obstinate heretics, nor to be punished therefore, as is declared in that article. The other answered nothing.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were dismissed till the afternoon. At which time they did again appear, and were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, the 18th of May; when being condemned, they were delivered to the sheriffs, and then to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed, Chamberlain at Colchester, the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Maningtree; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the 15th of June.

## C H A P. X.

*The LIFE, ACTS, and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. JOHN BRADFORD, who, together with Mr. JOHN LEAF, was burned in SMITHFIELD, in the bloody Reign of QUEEN MARY I.*

*The LIFE and ACTS of the Rev. Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.*

**M**R. John Bradford was born at Manchester in Lancashire; his parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times, in Boulognois, had such experience of Mr. Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also his faithful trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many others of his private business, he trusted Mr. Bradford before others.

Mr. Bradford continued several years in an honest and thriving way, after the course of this world, if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many others be. But the Lord, which had

electd him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the gospel of Christ, called this his chosen servant to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel. In which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then he forsook his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and after a just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures. And the better to accomplish his design, he departed from the Temple at London, and went down to the university at Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and pious conversation, so pleased all men, that within a few years after he had been there, the university gave him the degree of master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him fellowship in their college with them, and that



that good man, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he held him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. To which Mr. Bradford always answered, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, if thou hast not fine wheat bread, yet give the poor people barley-bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee. And while Mr. Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that was then in the church of England, called him to take the degree of deacon. Which order, because it was not without some abuse, as to which Mr. Bradford would not consent, and the bishop perceiving that he was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to ordain him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained from him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office Mr. Bradford diligently laboured for the space of three years.

On the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, Mr. Bourne, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross, in London, to set popery abroad in such sort, that it moved the people to great indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of bishop Bonner, who was then his master, nor yet the command of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage: but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Mr. Bourne seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, desired Mr. Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Mr. Bradford at his request was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as soon as the people heard begin to speak unto them, they were so glad that they gave a great shout. The tumult soon ceased, and in the end each man departed quietly to his house.

Thus Bourne for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be shewed in the time appointed.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church in Cheapside, and reprov'd the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanor. After this he abode still in London, with an innocent conscience, to try what would come of his just doing.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving Bourne, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then to the King's Bench in Southwark, and after his condemnation he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London; in which two places he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees.

In the afternoon before he was had to Newgate, walking in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost out of breath, said, Oh Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news. What is that? said he. To-morrow, said she, you must be burnt; and your chain is now a-buying, and you must soon go to Newgate. With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord made me worthy thereof! and so thanking her for her kindness, departed up unto his chamber, where he continued in private prayer for some time.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about 11

or 12 o'clock at night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad; and yet, contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapside and other places (between the Compter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again most gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare.

It was nine o'clock in the morning before Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going from Newgate thitherward, espied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on one side of the way, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things, and after a little private talk with him, they parted; when immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, who as soon as he had taken the said Mr. Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, Mr. Woodrofe, came with his staff and brake the said Roger Beswick's head, that the blood run about his shoulders; which sight Mr. Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, desiring him to recommend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and speedily to go to some surgeon; so they parting, had little or no talk together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield, with a great company of armed men to guard him thither. Mr. Bradford now fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God; then rising again, and putting off his cloaths unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf.

He remained in the Tower from the month of August, 1553, to the 22d of January, 1555, upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen, bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners, the effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceedeth in manner as followeth.

*The FIRST EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN BRADFORD before the LORD CHANCELLOR and others of the COUNCIL.*

**A**FTER the lord chancellor, and the rest of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Farrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but the lord chancellor immediately commanded him to stand up, and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor spake thus to him in effect: That he had been a long time justly imprisoned for his seditious behaviour at Paul's-cross, the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now, said he, the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake.

To these words Mr. John Bradford spake (after reverent obeisance made) in this manner: My lord and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to serve the Bishop of Bath now, then Mr. Bourne, the preacher at the cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

*Lord Chancellor.* I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shews thou makest; but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, wherupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion; I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk,



for which cause thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.

*Bradford.* My lord, I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say, that my lord of Bath, Mr. Bourne, will witness with me, that I fought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life.

*Bonner.* That is not true; for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much.

*Bradford.* No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Mr. Bourne himself, as, if he were present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him, to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseech me, if your lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would presently make you answer.

*Lord Chancellor.* Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we have, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon.

*Bradford.* My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from: although (I thank God therefore) my conscience doth not accuse, that I did speak any thing why I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did tend much to quietness.

*Lord Chancellor.* I know well enough that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure, that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive.

*Bradford.* I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and hope shall be ready to confirm with my blood. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

*Durham.* Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?

*Bradford.* My lord, here I must desire of your lordship and of all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherein you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid.

*Secretary Bourne.* Hast thou been sworn six times? what office hast thou borne?

*Bradford.* I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke-hall, and when I was there, the visitors came thither and swore the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king a little before his death.

*Mr. Rochester.* My lords, I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be kept in prison.

*Secretary Bourne.* Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught), and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words several of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said Mr. Bourne added, saying, How say you, sir, have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?

*Bradford.* I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any seditious thought, nor trust ever shall do.

*Secretary Bourne.* Yea, thou hast not written letters.

*Lord Chancellor.* Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

*Bradford.* What I have written, I have written.

*Lord Chancellor.* We shall never have done with thee; I perceive now: be short, wilt thou have mercy?

*Bradford.* My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law: in the mean season I ask no more than the benefit of a subject till I be convicted of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was heresy, using for probation and demonstration thereof, no scripture nor reason, but this; that it ended with treason and rebellion, so that (said he) the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

*Bradford.* Ah my lord, that you could enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify.

Here my lord chancellor again offered mercy, and Bradford answered as before: Mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he should have none. Whereupon the lord chancellor rang a little bell to call in somebody; for there were few present besides those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in, it is best, said Mr. secretary Bourne, that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow. So the under marshal was called in.

*Lord Chancellor.* You shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge to you now than he was before. And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

*The SECOND EXAMINATION in St. MARY OVERY's CHURCH, before the Lord Chancellor, and other BISHOPS, January 29, 1555.*

**A**FTER the excommunication of Mr. John Rogers, Mr. John Bradford was called in, and standing before the lord chancellor, and other bishops, the lord chancellor having made a long speech, Mr. Bradford began: My lord, and my lords all, as I now stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David doth witness) is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging: and as you would have your place to be by us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood, neither hunt by questions to bring into a snare them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have.

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, That the Lord is in the midst of them that judge. But, said he, this and all thy gesture declareth but hypocrisy and vain glory. And further he endeavoured to clear himself that he sought not guiltless blood, and so began a long process how that Bradford's fact at St. Paul's Cross was presumptuous and arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, in that thou (speaking to Bradford) was so refractory and stout in religion at that present. For which as thou wert then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to the great hurt of the queen's subjects, as was credibly declared by the earl of Derby in the parliament-house. And to this he added, that the said Mr.

Bradford,



Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee, said he, but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

*Brad.* My lord, whete you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, who will one day open your's and my truth and hearty meanings: in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of my own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at St. Paul's-Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did any thing which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept a long time in Prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer as I did the last time I was before you.

*Lord Chancellor.* There didst thou say stubbornly and faucily, that thou wouldst manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days.

*Bradford.* My lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf, and therefore I durst not answer to any thing that should be so demanded, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving my oath, I said I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of king Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should be, and yet think still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same.

*Lord Chancellor.* I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy.

*Bradford.* My conscience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As therefore, I said then, my lord, so I say again now, That for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England.

*Lord Chancellor.* Why didst thou begin to tell that we are Gods, and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?

*Bradford.* My lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now, as God's place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of scripture, that you might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath or not.

*Lord Chan.* No, all men may well see thy hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake, thou didst not answer, then wouldst thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldst escape, blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do.

*Bradford.* That which I spake at the first was not a reply or an answer to what you spake unto me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did; but when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England; and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak that I dare not for conscience sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing, whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction,

ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as ever any did, that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God; for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands a long time: but I am afraid when death come h, I should have matter to trouble my conscience by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do.

*Lord Chancellor.* These are gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory, and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in my own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

*Bradford.* My lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here before God, all this audience being witnesses, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and then your honour shall hear me give as flat and plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand of me, as ever any did.

Here the lord chancellor was greatly offended, and said that truly the bishop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Mr. Bradford's answering, nor any such as he was; and turned his discourse to the people, saying, that Mr. Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, which because they would lend no money to their neighbours, when they were in need, would say that they had often sworn, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so often deceived them. Even so thou, said he to Mr. Bradford, dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with an heresy, (which is greater and more hurtful to the common-wealth than the other is) pretend thy oath, whereby the people might make a conscience, whereas they should not. Why speakest thou not?

*Bradford.* My lord, as I said, I say again, I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me, or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some are according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome; and some against faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need.

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further endeavoured to prove that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity.

But Bradford answered, that howsoever his honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer: for as for death, my lord, said he, as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do, his good will be done. And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is against charity.

*Lord Chancellor.* How prove you that?

*Bradford.* Forsooth, I prove it thus:

Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.

The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is with God's word, and is not against it.

Ergo, The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity.

*Lord Chancellor.* Is it against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in this realm?

*Bradford.* No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power, the sovereignty in all his dominion.

*Lord Chancellor.* I pray you, where find you that?

*Bradford.* I find it in many places, but especially in the 13th chap. of the Romans, where St. Paul, exhorteth "every soul to be subject to the higher powers:" but



what power? "The power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power." As Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which your honour knoweth better than I. He. (Chrysostom I mean) there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates.

Here the lord chancellor was angered yet more, and said, how that Mr. Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: and so, said he, this man would make God's word a warrant of his disobedience; for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she says, Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority: No, (will he say) for I shall be forsworn, and so he makes the queen no queen.

*Bradford.* No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to king Edward, not simply, that is, not only concerning his own person, but also concerning his successors, and therefore in denying the queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient.

*Lord Chancellor.* Yes, that thou dost; and so he began to tell a long tale, how if a man shall make an oath to pay me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, No, you cannot do it; for I am forsworn then.

Here Mr. Bradford desired my lord chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his honour would make solemn oaths made to God trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests.

At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said he did not trifle: but, says he, thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requires obedience to the bishop of Rome.

*Bradford.* No, my lord, I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet this notwithstanding, all his inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch.

*Lord Chancellor.* I will have none of these similitudes.

*Brad.* I would not use them, if you went not about to persuade the people, that I meant that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give example of all most humble obedience to the queen's highness, so long as she requires not disobedience against God.

*Lord Chancellor.* No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king and to the emperor.

*Bradford.* It is true; my lord, but the cases be not alike; for here is an exception: Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time. If we in like manner were sworn; Thou shalt not serve the emperor, &c. you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your honour remember what you yourself have written, answering the objections against this in your book, of true obedience: "Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away."

Here the lord chancellor was greatly moved, and said still, how that Mr. Bradford had written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, against all men: and now, says he, he says he dare not answer.

*Bradford.* I have written no seditious letters, I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And where your lordship says, that I dare not answer you; that all men may know that I am not afraid, save mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you

answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will: only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace, Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer.

*Lord Chancellor.* Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?

*Bradford.* My lord, I do believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word (corporally) I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith.

*Lord Chancellor.* Unto faith! we must have many more words to make it plain.

*Bradford.* You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words.

*Lord Chancellor.* Speak on.

*Bradford.* I have now been a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you have never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoke my conscience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely and not to your liking, and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writes to Eugenius the pope; "I read, that the apostles stood to be judged, but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was," &c.

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. It was not my doing, said he, although some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes: which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been too mild and too gentle.

At which words Mr. Bradford spake thus; My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness that I may feel it, for hitherto I have never felt it.

As soon as ever he had spoke thus; the lord chancellor, perhaps thinking that Mr. Bradford would have had mercy and pardon, said that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's highness would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

*Bradford.* Return, my lord! God save me from that going back; I mean it not so, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink, and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now you have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you would have; God's good will be done.

Here now were divers telling my lord it was dinner time. And so he rose up, leaving Mr. Bradford speaking, saying, in the afternoon they would speak more with him, and he was had into the vestry, and was there all that day until night, when he was carried to prison again.

In the mean time, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a gentleman, called Mr. Thomas Hufsey, of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, came into the vestry to inquire for one Stoning; and when it was answered him by the under-marshal's officers of the King's-bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and made an acquaintance with Mr. John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

The next morning about seven o'clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein Mr. John Bradford lay, and being with him, he began a long oration, how that of love and acquaintance he came to speak that which he would further utter. You did (said he) so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the greatest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you, (speaking as though



though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him as he said) this day, for anon you shall be called before them again, to desire a time, and men to confer withal, so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity and piety in you; and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you are aware of. To this Mr. Bradford answered, I neither can nor will make such request. For then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess, which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence.

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, whom when Mr. Bradford saw, he spake thus in his own mind: What, sir, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord, give me grace to remember thy lesson, "Beware of those men, &c. Cast not your pearls before dogs;" for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness to the other.

Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Mr. Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long discourse of my Lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore, my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others; all which talk tended to this end, that Mr. Bradford should make the like suit, being nothing to be compared in learning to my lord of Canterbury.

To this Mr. Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Mr. Hufsey.

With this answer neither the doctor nor the gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, Mr. Doctor said, I have heard much good talk of you, and even last night a gentleman made a report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that you were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor hath a favour towards you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer withal, &c.

But Mr. Bradford kept still one answer; I cannot, nor will I so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught.

Here Mr. Doctor waxed hot, and called Mr. Bradford arrogant, proud and vain glorious.

But Mr. Bradford answered, Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself. But still Dr. Seton urged him, shewing him how merciful my lord chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

*Brad.* I never saw any justice, much less love, (I speak for my part, said Mr. Bradford) in my lord chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my lord hath no just matter against me.

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not: for he perceived that they both did come only to fish for some things which might make a shew that my lord chancellor had justly kept him in prison.

When all their discourse took no such effect as they expected, Mr. Hufsey asked Mr. Bradford, will you not admit conference, if my lord chancellor should offer it publicly?

*Brad.* Conference, if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which at length will come, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with any he may appoint.

Dr. Seton hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever it pleased him.

Then Bradford perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; for, said he, otherwise I am helpless: and so they with much ado departed. Then Mr. Bradford went and made his prayers to God, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need, praised therefore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Mr. Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried uncalled for till eleven o'clock, that is, till Mr. Saunders was excommunicated.

*The last EXAMINATION of Mr. BRADFORD, in the Church of St. MARY OVERIES.*

**A**FTER the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought in before the lord chancellor and other bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus in effect: That if Bradford, being now come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Mr. Bradford began to speak thus: As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions; so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day: for you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do: for our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pleaded mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And last of all, as yesterday the answers I made, were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guilt of perjury.

At which words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, which yesterday, said he, before us you uttered.

*Brad.* My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament which you do disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter, to clear yourself that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner.

*Lord Chan.* What? I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

*Brad.* No, indeed my lord: you said so, but you have not proved it yet, nor ever can do.

*Lord Chan.* O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldst go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgeses, and all the whole realm be perjured. O what an heretic is this! here good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

*Brad.* O my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according



ing to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome.

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good, and which were evil, he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended: but Bradford still kept him at bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, of true obedience, for confirmation.

At length they came to this issue, who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath; and Bradford said, the word of God, according to Christ's word John xii. My word shall judge; and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, That God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. By this word, (said Bradford) my lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath. So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her highness, so did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's highness, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; no more, said he, than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like. Which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, That it was a wonder his honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. In short, this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, that the queen's highness could do no more but remit her right; as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God.

At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm with perjury; and therefore, said he to the people, you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England, and yet he hath no conscience at all.

Bradford. Well, my lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience: I have been a year and a half in prison: now before all these people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my lord of Bath, who desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people. Upon whose words I coming in the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I think) for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and so went out of the pulpit and intreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into an house.

Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there going up into the pulpit, one desired me not to reprove the people; for, said he, you will never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithstanding I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, imprisonment for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you are plotting. Let all men be judges where conscience is.

They endeavoured to interrupt him while he was speaking these words, but Mr. Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the cross was culpable.

Bradford. No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear me witness. For when I was at first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good, but my mind evil. Well, said I, then my lord, in that case you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; but how can I otherwise declare my mind to man but by saying and doing? God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and your's is.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. I had not so little wit, said he, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing: and so brought forth many examples little to the purpose, to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then came he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Bradford. Why, my lord, your honour knoweth that you would not reason with me on religion, but said a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish or cast me in prison therefore? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conscience is wanting.

Here came forth Mr. Chamberlain of Woodstock, and told my lord chancellor, that Bradford had been a serving man, and was with Mr. Harrington.

Lord Chancellor. True, and did deceive his master of seven-score pounds, and because of this, he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people, and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience.

Bradford. My lord, I am ready to face him, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justice by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it.

Here my lord chancellor and Mr. Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. But, said my lord chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are an heretic.

Yea, added the bishop of London, he wrote letters to Mr. Pendleton, who knoweth his hand as well as his own; your honour did see the letters.

Bradford. This is not true, I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.

Lord. But you indited it.

Bradford. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Then came in another, (I believe they call him Mr. Allen, one of the clerks of the council) putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

Lord Chancellor. You say true: for we have his hand to shew.

Bradford. I deny that you have my hand to shew of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter. Sir, said he, in my house the other day you did most contemptuously despise the queen's mercy, and you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days against all men, and this you do most stoutly.

Bradford. Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me before that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously despise the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though if justice might take place, I need it not) so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in king Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trust I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for other-  
wise



wife maintain it, than pertaining to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not.

*Lord Chancellor.* Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate.

*Bradford.* My lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reprov'd it not; nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

*Lord Chancellor.* Why? didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?

*Bradford.* No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as the bread and wine to the due receiver.

*Lord Chancellor.* Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there; under the forms of bread and wine?

*Bradford.* My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you; I believe it not.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a slanderer; for we ask no question, said my lord chancellor, of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence.

*Bradford.* I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was transubstantiated.

*Worcester.* If he be not included, how is he then present.

*Bradford.* Indeed though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you otherwise than by faith hear it, or understand it.

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking this, and others speaking that; and the lord chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius: but still Bradford kept him at that point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them.

Therefore another bishop asked this question; Whether the wicked man received Christ's very body; or no? And Bradford answered plainly; No. Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in a few words, that grace was at that time offered to his lordship, although he received it not: so that, said he, the receiving maketh not the presence; as your lordship should infer; but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace, the wicked that lack faith cannot receive.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout.

My lord, are not these words, Take, eat, a commandment? and are not these words, This is my body, a promise? If you will challenge the promise and, do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?

Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

*Bradford.* Why, my lord, I pray you tell the people what mood *accipite manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth?

At these words the lord chancellor fell to parsing and examining, and concluded it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this, I pray you give me drink, which, said he, is no commandment, I think.

*Bradford.* My lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament.

Here the lord chancellor called him again Diabolus or Calumniator, and began from these words, "Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread, (yea bread, said Bradford) and drink of of the cup," to prove that was no commandment to receive the sacrament: for then (said he) if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and all times.

*Bradford.* O my lord; discern between commandments: some be general, as the ten commandments, that they bind always in all places, and all persons: some be not so general, as this of the supper; the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac; &c.

Here the lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded by Christ: for then; said he, we should have eleven commandments.

*Bradford.* Indeed I believe you think as you speak: for else you would not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, "Drink ye all of it." But how say you, my lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, "Go and preach the gospel: feed Christ's flock," &c. Is this a commandment or no?

Here the lord chancellor was in a heat, and said as pleased him.

Then the bishop of Durham asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament? whether before the receiver received it; or no?

Mr. Bradford answered; that the question was curious and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the New Testament; so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly; but yet so that the bread is bread. For said he, in all the scripture ye shall not find this proposition, There is no bread. And so he quoted Chrysostom, to prove his assertions. Much ado was here; they calling Bradford heretic, and he desiring them to proceed in God's name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

*Lord Chancellor.* This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity; as though all things were so tied together, that of mere necessity all things must come to pass.

But Mr. Bradford desired him to take things as they are spoken, and not wrest them to a contrary sense. Your lordship, said he, doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time; though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles did; "Lord (said they) see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ; to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do."

Here the lord Chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford; lay-man. Why, (said he) art thou no priest?

*Bradford.* No, nor never was a priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hands: but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse. And so he fell down on his knees; and heartily thanked God that he had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake; and prayed to God to give him repentance and a good mind. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the City of London, this being proposed by his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterwards altered, for he suffered in London.

After the condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the last day of January, Mr. Bradford being sent to prison, remained there till the first of July, during which time he sustained divers other conferences and conflicts with sundry adversaries, who repaired to him in the prison. Of whom first bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, the 4th day of February, began to discourse with Mr. Bradford as follows:

CONVERSATIONS between Mr. BRADFORD, and BISHOP BONNER, and others at different times.

*Bonner.* WELL; Mr. Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered: because I perceive you are desirous to converse with some learned men, I have brought Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield to you.

3 B

*Bradford.*



*Bradford.* Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity, but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith as soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom you will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

*Bonner.* Well, well. And so he called for Dr. Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Upon another day in February, Mr. Willerton, chaplain to the bishop of London, came to confer with Mr. Bradford, and began to talk of the church, saying, that Bradford swerved from the church.

*Bradford.* No, that I do not, but you do: For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue.

*Willerton.* Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English, for it is written, "The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge."

*Bradford.* Should not the people then have the scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, "Search the scriptures?"

*Willerton.* This was not spoke to the people, but to the scribes and learned men.

*Bradford.* Then the people must not have the scriptures?

*Willerton.* No, for it is written, "They shall be all taught of God."

*Bradford.* And must we learn all from the priests?

*Willerton.* Yea.

*Bradford.* Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go, as the priests did then persuade the people. At which words Mr. Willerton was so offended, that he had no desire to talk any more.

Upon the 14th of February, Percival Creswell, an old acquaintance of Mr. Bradford's came to him, who after many words said: "I pray you let me intercede for you."

*Bradford.* You may do what you will.

*Creswell.* But tell me what suit I shall make for you.

*Bradford.* Forsooth, what you please: do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her.

*Creswell.* O, if ever you loved me, do one thing for me.

*Bradford.* What is that?

*Creswell.* Desire and name what learned man or men you will have to come unto you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you.

*Bradford.* No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know that I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them. So they went their way.

Upon the 25th of February, Percival Creswell came with Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made a long oration. That all men, even the Infidels, Jews, Turks, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire happiness as well as the Christians, and that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Mr. Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Then said Harpsfield, But the way thither is not alike: for the Infidels by Jupiter, Juno, &c. the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul.

*Bradford.* You speak truly.

*Harpsfield.* Well, then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.

*Bradford.* We are not to invent ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: "I am the way."

*Harpsfield.* What you say is true, and also false. I suppose what you mean by Christ, is believing in Christ.

*Bradford.* I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit, I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved.

*Harpsfield.* No, not all that believe in Christ: for some shall say, "Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils?" &c. but Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, "Depart from me, I know you not."

*Bradford.* You must make a difference betwixt believing, and saying I believe.

*Harpsfield.* Well, this is not very material. There is but one way, Christ. How came we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?

*Bradford.* Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

*Harpsfield.* Very good: but tell me how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism.

*Bradford.* Baptism is the sacrament, by which outwardly we are ingrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism.

*Harpsfield.* Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and begotten to Christ. For Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse is our mother. Now then tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?

*Bradford.* Yes, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever.

*Harpsfield.* Very good. But tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?

*Bradford.* It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or shew that setteth her forth commonly, and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of.

*Harpsfield.* Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?

*Bradford.* What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?

*Harpsfield.* I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth. It hath also succession of bishops. And here he endeavoured to prove this an essential point.

*Bradford.* You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the scripture, this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church Antichrist will sit. And Peter tells us, as it went in the old church before Christ's coming, so it will be in the new church since Christ's coming: that as there were false prophets, so shall there be false teachers.

This conversation continued for some time, and was renewed Feb. 26, when the archdeacon, not being able to dissuade Bradford from his faith, lamented that he was so secure and careless.

*Bradford.* I am more carnally secure, and careless, than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case, I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth.

*Harpsfield.* That you are not; for you are out of the catholic church.

*Bradford.* No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet I am in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be a child, and an obedient child of it for ever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated out of the synagogue; and further, I



am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church hath taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the testimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many hundred years after Christ, to believe or not believe.

*Harpsfield.* What is that?

*Brad.* Transubstantiation.

*Harpsfield.* Why, you are not condemned only for that.

*Brad.* For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body.

*Harpsfield.* You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else.

*Brad.* How you believe you know: for my part, I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver.

*Harpsfield.* Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament.

*Brad.* In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie it to him otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth, And with this and such like talk they departed.

On the 23d of the month, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Mr. Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently: they desired him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs have him put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper-cap also, saying unto him, That obedience was better than sacrifice.

While they were thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Mr. Bradford that they came to him out of pure love and charity, without being sent; and himself also, for the acquaintance he had with Mr. Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had; and after commending Mr. Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, How he was certain of salvation and of his religion?

After thanks for their good will, Mr. Bradford answered, By the word of God, even by the scriptures, I am certain of salvation and religion.

*York.* Very well said: but how do you know the word of God and the scriptures, but by the church?

*Brad.* Indeed my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man to know the scriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was the means by which the Samaritans knew Christ: but when they had heard him speak, they said, Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard: so after we come to the hearing and reading of the scriptures shewed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep, not because the church saith they are the scriptures, but because they be so, being assured thereof by the same spirit which wrote and spake them.

*York.* You know in the apostles time at first the word was not written.

*Brad.* True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament; but else for the Old Testament St. Peter tells us, "We have a more sure word of prophecy;" not that it is simply so, but in respect of the Apostles, which being alive and subject to infirmity, attributed to the written word more weight, as wherewith no fault can be found, whereas for the infirmity of their persons men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching; although in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth from one spirit of truth.

*York.* That place of St. Peter is not so to be understood of the word written.

*Brad.* Yes, sir, that it is, and of none other.

*Chichester.* Yes, indeed, Mr. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

*York.* Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and alledge the church against the heretics, and not the scripture.

*Brad.* True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles, so they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and had still retained the same doctrine.

*Chichester.* You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all scriptures, except it were a piece of St. Luke's gospel.

*Brad.* Then the alledging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the scriptures, that I appeal to them utterly, as to the only judge.

*York.* A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church! I pray you, where hath your church been hitherto? For the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto.

*Brad.* My lord, I do not judge the church when I discern it from the congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at some times it is more visible than at others.

*Chichester.* I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was these 400 years.

*Brad.* I will tell you my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell this one thing, Where the church was in Elijah's time, when Elijah said he was left alone?

*Chichester.* That is no answer.

*Brad.* I am sorry that you say so: but this I will tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen by you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it.

*Chichester.* You are much deceived in making this comparison betwixt the church then and now.

*York.* Very well spoken, my lord; for Christ said, "I will build my church," and not I do, or have built it; but I will build it.

*Brad.* My lords, St. Peter teacheth me to make this comparison, saying, "As in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation before Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming, and very many shall follow them." And as for your future tense, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers.

*Chichester.* In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church.

*Brad.* My lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it shall something move your honours. You know it well enough, no matter was laid against me, but was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I denied transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not by the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be accounted) did it.

*Chichester.* No: I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in one hand and the mattock in the other.

*York.* Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you imprisoned.

*Brad.* Your grace heard me answer my lord chancellor to that point. But suppose I had been so stout as they and your grace make it, were not the laws of the realm then on my side? Wherefore unjustly then was I imprisoned: only that which my lord chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said.

*York.* You deny the presence.

*Brad.* I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

*York.* Why? what is that to say other, than that Christ lieth not on the altar?



*Brad.* My lord, I believe no such presence.

*Chichester.* It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostom: for he proveth it.

*Brad.* Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostom, that he saith that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphims with their tongues touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is an hyperbolical speech, of which you know Chrysostom is full.

*York.* It is evident that you are too far gone; but let us come then to the church, out of which you are excommunicated.

*Brad.* I am not excommunicated out of Christ's church, my lord, although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was, John ix. I am sure Christ receiveth me.

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Mr. Bradford said: Affuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think you have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove that, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church.

*Chichester.* Ah, Mr. Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world; but it was always against my conscience.

*Brad.* I was but a child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evil. For you are come and have brought others to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is in the church: for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church.

*York.* See how you build your faith upon such places of scriptures as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though in the church, where you are not.

*Brad.* Well, my lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament, knowing as you know, that at least 800 years after Christ, as my lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not believe transubstantiation.

*Chichester.* He is an heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church, as a man to hold against transubstantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them who were baptized by heretics, because he held it before the church had defined it, whereas if he had held it after, then had he been an heretic.

*Brad.* Oh my lord, will you condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which you call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved.

*York & Chichester.* Yea, this is your divinity.

*Brad.* No, it is St. Paul's, who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved.

*York.* You delight to lean to hard and dark places of the scriptures.

*Chichester.* I will shew you that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.

*Brad.* My lord, what Luther writeth, as you mind it not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not built on Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, in this point.

*York.* Well, you are out of the communion of the church.

*Brad.* I am not, for it consisteth and is in faith.

*York.* Lo, how you make your church invisible; for you would have the communion of it consist in faith.

*Brad.* For to have communion with the church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by St. Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter,

saying, that disagreeing about fasting should not break the agreement of faith.

*Chichester.* The same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we separated ourselves from the see of Rome.

*Bradford.* Well, God forgive you, for you have done evil in bringing England thither again.

*York.* You think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution.

*Bradford.* What I think, God knoweth: I pray your grace to judge me by my words, and mark what St. Paul saith; "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."

*York.* Well Mr. Bradford, we lose our labour; for you seek to put away all things which are told you for your good: your church no man can know.

*Bradford.* Yes, that you well may.

*York.* I pray you whereby?

*Bradford.* Chrysostom saith, only by the scriptures.

*York.* Chrysostom is an imperfect work. The church is best known by succession of bishops.

*Bradford.* No, my lord, Lyra upon Matthew writeth, that "The church consisteth not in men by reason either of secular or temporal power, but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity."

Then came one of the servants, and told them, that lord Durham tarried for them at the archbishop of York's house; upon which they put up their written books of common places, and said that they lamented his case; they desired him to read over a book which did Mr. Crome good; and wishing him good in words, went their way, and Bradford to his prison.

Within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with Mr Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies.

*Alphonsus.* What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

*Bradford.* Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws for which I might justly be imprisoned, and now I am condemned, because I frankly confessed my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points; one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body.

*Alphonsus.* Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?

*Bradford.* No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare I believe.

*Alphonsus.* I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable.

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is every-where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding such questions as no wise man would have spent any time about.

At last the disputation became so high that the friar fell into a violent rage, and finally declared, that Bradford could not find in scripture that baptism and the Lord's supper bare any similitude together. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these men would have nothing but scripture, and yet are able to prove nothing by the scripture.

*Bradford.* Be patient, and you shall see that by the scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together. St. Paul saith, "That as we are baptized into one body, so we were *Potati in uno spiritu*, i. e. we have drank of one spirit," meaning the cup in the Lord's supper.

*Alphonsus.* St. Paul hath no such words.

*Bradford.* Give me a Testament, and I will shew you.

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he shewed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine, the friar made this simple shift, that St. Paul spake not of the sacrament.

*Bradford.* Well, the text is plain enough, and there are many



many of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostom doth expound it so.

Alphonfus, which had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. xi. and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lord's body.

*Bradford.* Yea, but therewith he saith, "He that eateth of the bread:" calling it bread still: and that after consecration (as you call it) as in the tenth of the Corinthians he saith, "The bread which we break," &c.

*Alphonfus.* Oh how ignorant are you who know not that things after their conversion do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses's rod: and calling for a bible, after he had found the place he began to triumph. But Bradford cooled him quickly, saying,

Sir, there is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense. But here you cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, you bring some matter that maketh for you.

At these words Alphonfus was troubled, and at length he said, That Bradford hanged on his own sense.

*Bradford.* No, that do I not: for I will bring you the fathers of the church 800 years after Christ, to confirm what I speak.

*Alphonfus.* This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for 800 years at least continually.

*Bradford.* What will you so prove; Transubstantiation?

*Alphonfus.* Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body.

*Bradford.* You speak more than you can do.

*Alphonfus.* That do I not.

*Bradford.* Then will I give place.

*Alphonfus.* Will you believe?

*Bradford.* Belief is God's gift; therefore I cannot promise: but I tell you I will give place: and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour.

Here the friar found great fault with Mr. Bradford's answer. But this he let pass, and repeated his question, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place?

*Bradford.* Yes, that I will. Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then said I, Suppose that I prove by the testimony of the fathers, that continually for 800 years after Christ at least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament, what will you do?

*Alphonfus.* I will give place.

*Bradford.* Then write you here that you will give place if I so prove, and I will write that I will give place if you so prove; because you are the elder you shall have the pre-eminency.

The king's confessor asked Bradford what the second question was?

*Bradford.* That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord.

*Alphonfus.* St. Augustin saith not so.

*Bradford.* Yes, that he does. So they arose and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away.

After they were gone, one of the priests came, and desired Bradford not to be so obstinate.

*Bradford.* Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the scriptures you cannot find these words, There is not bread.

*Priest.* Yes, that I can, in five places.

*Bradford.* Then I will eat your book. So the book was opened, but no place found: and he went his way smiling, God help us!

On the 21st of March, Mr. Bradford being called down, as soon as he entered into the hall, Dr. Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he

did, with such other talk. At length he desired them to go out of the chamber: so they all went out save Dr. Weston himself, Mr. Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the sub-dean of Westminster, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and the parson of the church near the Compter.

Now when he began with Mr. Bradford, to tell how that he had often intended to have come unto him, being desired by the earl of Derby: and (said he) after I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any other, I could not but come to do you all the good I can; for you may be sure I will never hurt you.

Sir, replied Mr. Bradford, when I perceived by the report of my lord's servant, that you did bear me good will, more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I told him then, that I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say: otherwise I desired not your coming.

*Weston.* Well, Mr. Bradford, now I am come to talk with you: but before we enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work.

First, said he, I shall desire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world.

*Bradford.* Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of an heretic; which if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth) yet I promise you by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive against it, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

*Weston.* I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do.

Secondly. I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions.

*Bradford.* Sir, God forbid that I should stick to my singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic, (understand catholic as good men do) according to God's word.

*Weston.* Very well, this is a good day's work, I hope to do you good: and therefore now thirdly, I shall pray you to write me the heads of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all doubts, &c.

*Bradford.* Sir, I will write you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me shall be no great hindrance to me therein.

*Weston.* You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet he was converted at length; so that I have good hope of you.

*Bradford.* Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in that religion for which I am condemned.

*Weston.* Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

*Bradford.* God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth.

*Weston.* I would have you so to pray.

*Bradford.* So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as he hath done and doth.

*Weston.* Yea, but pray with a condition if you be in it.

*Bradford.* No, Sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth.

Well, said Weston, as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son: so also I hope your prayers (for then Bradford's eyes did shew that he had wept in prayer) cannot but



be heard by God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please him. Do you not remember the history thereof?

*Bradford.* Yea, sir, I think it is of St. Ambrose.

*Weston.* No, that it is not. And here Weston would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things.

*Bradford.* Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This St. Augustine writeth in his confessions.

After this talk Dr. Weston began to tell Mr. Bradford, that the people were persuaded by him to withstand the queen.

The end was this, that Bradford should fend unto him the heads of the doctrine of the supper, and after Wednesday he would come unto him again; and thus he departed, after he had drunk to him in beer and wine.

In the mean time, when Mr. Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, soon after, about the 28th of March, there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the aforesaid Mr. Collier, sometime warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations, Dr. Pendleton began to speak to Mr. Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. And further, said he, after that I knew you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do you good, and serve you what I can, as you would wish.

*Bradford.* Sir, I remember that once you were (as far as any man might judge) of the religion that I am of at present, and I remember that you have earnestly set forth the same. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since which you saw not before.

*Pendleton.* I do not know for what you are condemned.

*Bradford.* Transubstantiation is the cause for which I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body: wherein I would desire you to shew me what reasons which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once, (as I said) you were as I am in religion.

Here Mr. Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, as though he had not fully denied transubstantiation indeed, although I said, says he, that the word was not in scripture: and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but (said he) I will gather you the places which moved me, and send you them. And here he desired Mr. Bradford that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to Dr. Weston: which Mr. Bradford promised him.

Dr. Weston came to Mr. Bradford the same day, and he desired every man present to depart. And after he had thanked Mr. Bradford for his writing to him, he pulled out of his bosom the writing which Mr. Bradford had sent him. The writing is as follows:

**CERTAIN REASONS** *against* TRANSUBSTANTIATION, *collected by* MR. JOHN BRADFORD, *and given to* DR. WESTON, *and Others.*

**T**HAT which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is latter false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine; for it was not defined generally before the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under pope Innocent, the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe, or not believe it, as the bishop of Durham doth witness in his book of the presence of Christ in his supper, lately published. Therefore, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

2. That the words of Christ's supper be figurative, the circumstances of the scriptures, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the opinions of all the holy fathers, which were, and wrote for the space of 1000

years after Christ's ascension, do teach; whereupon it follows, that there was no transubstantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the scriptures do witness. For he gave that and called it his body, which he took in his hand, whereon he gave thanks, which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread, as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of antiquity, do affirm: but inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

4 The bread is no more transubstantiated than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiated, St. Matthew and St. Mark teach us: for they witness that Christ said he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood but wine: and therefore it follows, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon St. Matthew, and Cyprian do affirm this reason.

5. As the bread in the Lord's supper is Christ's natural body, so it is his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, This is my body, said also For we many are one bread, one body, &c. but now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

6. The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not so mighty and effectual, as to transubstantiate it: for then the cup, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiated into the New Testament: therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolical mother churches, is to be counted for truth, because it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God. But it is manifest that the doctrine taught at this present by the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolical and mother churches of Greece, of Corinth, of Philippos, Colossia, Thessalonica, and Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it was taught in times past.

After Mr. Weston's departure, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and Stephen Bech came to Mr. Bradford, and spake to him in such a manner as if they had been his utter enemies, notwithstanding the friendship they hitherto pretended. If God be with us, it matters not who is against us.

There was a certain gentlewoman's servant came, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by her father and mother for not coming to mass; and she would have been put to death, had not the providence of God delivered her from her father's house.

This gentlewoman's servant therefore coming to Mr. Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, God be thanked for you. How do you do?

Mr. Bradford answered, Well, I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

*Servant.* Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthful in body, as methinks you be now.

Why, said Bradford, I have given over all care and study, and I only covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to serve.

*Servant.* Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wonderfully in you to his glory.

*Bradford.* Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance.

*Servant.* We hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of which I think no man shall pluck his head.

*Bradford.*



*Brad.* Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him, let them seek what means or ways they can.

*Serv.* Well, fir, there is a discourse of a friar that preached before the king, who told him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late.

I indeed, said Bradford, I had a book within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that heretics should live: and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise: for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named Alphonfus) and with divers others, and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain.

*Serv.* Sir, Mr. Cardmaker commendeth himself unto you.

*Brad.* How doth he, how doth he?

*Serv.* Well, God be thanked.

*Brad.* I am very glad thereof: for indeed my lord chancellor did cast him in my teeth: but as David saith, God hath disappointed him.

*Serv.* Forsooth, God's name be praised, he is very strong.

*Brad.* And I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid.

*Serv.* My mistress commendeth herself unto you.

*Brad.* How doth she?

*Serv.* Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted by her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment; and yet God hath preserved her, I trust to his glory.

*Brad.* I pray you, tell her, I read this day a godly history, written by Basilius Magnus, of a virtuous woman who was a widow, and was named Juledo. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelt a cormorant, who for her virtuous and pious living, had great indignation against her, and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to law with him: and in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do, for (said he) this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings: for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them. Then the judge hearing that, said unto her, Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them. This good woman hearing that, steps forth to the judge, and said, Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends, yea and farewell life too: and in respect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewell all. And with that saying the judge committed her to prison, and afterwards she suffered most cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant. For, saith she, you were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although you were made of the rib of the man, yet are you all of his flesh: so that also in the case and trial of your faith towards God, you ought to be as strong. And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you, tell your mistress of this story.

*Serv.* That I shall, fir, by God's grace: for she told me that she was with you and Mr. Saunders, and received your kind counsel.

*Brad.* We never gave her other counsel but the truth, and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our blood. For I thought this night I had been sent for, because at eleven o'clock there was such a rapping at the door.

Then answered a maid, and said, Why then, I perceive you were afraid.

*Brad.* You shall hear how fearful I was. For I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber, and sang, as it was told me, and

yet for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore I could not be much afraid, if I slept so fast.

*Serv.* Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?

*Brad.* Nothing but your prayers, and I trust I have them, and you mine.

*Serv.* I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning.

*Brad.* Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer.

*Serv.* Then we hinder you, therefore the living God be with you.

*Brad.* And with you also, and blefs you.

*Serv.* Amen, amen; and gave him thanks and departed.

Mr. Bradford continued still in prison, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he always before had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season to Newgate, as is declared before, and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he constantly abiding in the same truth of God, which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the pious young man of nineteen or twenty years of age, who suffered with him, cheerfully ended his painful life to live with Christ.

#### The EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN LEAF.

WITH Mr. Bradford was burnt John Leaf, apprentice to Humphry Gaudy, tallow chandler, of the parish of Christ-church, in London, born at Kirkly Moreside, in the county of York; who upon the Friday before Palm-Sunday was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of the ward where the said John Leaf dwelt. Afterwards he coming to examination before bishop Bonner, gave a firm and christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

First, As touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration spoke by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoke by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self same substance of Christ's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before. And further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually in faith they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed confession not necessary to be made unto a priest; neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon these his answers, and testimony of his faith, he was at that time dismissed, with orders to appear again on the next Monday, June 10, in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation. At which time the aforesaid bishop propounded the said articles to him as before, endeavouring by all manner of ways to bring him to renounce his religion; but notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words or deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words passing between them, at last asked him, if he had been Mr. Rogers's scholar? To whom the aforesaid John Leaf answered again, granting it so to be; and that he believed in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion,



who were lately burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for. The bishop still continued persuading him to return to the unity of the church, but he answered again in these words: My lord, (said he) you call mine opinion heresy; but it is the true light of the word of God. And again repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his stayed and well grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the bishop being too weak, either to refute his sentence, or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the sentence of condemnation; whereby this pious and constant young man being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered, the same day with Mr. Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of the said John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter at the same time, and saw the thing, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent unto him in the Compter in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand; first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, (because he could not read nor write himself) that he refused. And when the bill of his confessions was read unto him, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, desiring the reader thereof to shew the bishop, that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

#### *On the DEATH of Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.*

**L**ET no disciple 'bove his master be,  
 God's servants are not from afflictions free,  
 God, whom he loves, chastises every son;  
 Strait is the way to the celestial throne.  
 These words whilst, Bradford, thou didst ruminat,  
 No humane threats, no fears, no dismal state,  
 Could shock thy steady soul; no fiery dart  
 Of Satan's malice wound thy constant heart:  
 But thou didst freely (arm'd with grace divine)  
 Thy body to the flaming pile resign.

Mr. Bradford, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote several comfortable treatises, and many pious letters, of which, some were directed to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lancashire and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. Which letters, to the intent it may appear how well this good man occupied his time in prison, what special zeal he bare to the state of Christ's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, we thought good here to introduce: all the letters that he wrote cannot be here exhibited, being so many in number that they alone would make a large volume; however, for the satisfaction of the pious reader, we will insert those that are judged the best and most excellent among them.

It has been mentioned before how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house, of certain letters written by John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire; and he was likewise charged by the bishop of Winchester, and Mr. Allen, with some other letters. Now to the intent that the reader may more perfectly understand what sort of letters these were, which he wrote to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will here produce the copy and contents as followeth.

#### L E T T E R I.

*From Mr. BRADFORD to his Mother, a pious Matron, dwelling in MANCHESTER, and to his Brethren and Sisters, and other Friends there.*

**O**UR dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name) I am, preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my fathers John Traves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with

their wives and families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

I am now in prison, secure enough from starting, to confirm what I have preached unto you, as I am ready (I thank God) to seal the same with my life and blood, if God shall vouchsafe to make me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit from God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do; I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory, as St. Paul saith, "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him." Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at least for my sake, who am now in the right and highway to heaven: for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Nor will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, a man cannot know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then the chaff flieth away, but the wheat remaineth, and is so from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast in the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. God always beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in the most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now the children of God are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world: for surely the great plagues of God hang over this realm.

Ye all know that there never was more knowledge of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly; and earnest prayer was not minded. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh was quite out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, was common every-where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us: as me for carnal living. For, as for my doctrine, I am very certain that it is and was God's truth, and by his grace I resolve to give my life for it; but because I loved not the gospel as sincerely as I ought, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay, in punishing, he rather blesteth me. Indeed I thank him more for this prison, than for any parlour, yea, than for any pleasure that ever I had; for in it I always find God my sweetest and greatest good. The flesh is now punished to admonish us heartily to live as we profess; and to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

Perhaps you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children, whether they will unfeignedly and simply stand stedfast to him and his word. He did so with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean in the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth, nor quietness with him, but rather war: "The world, (saith he) shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep, but your weeping shall be turned into joy: and therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted." They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark, I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now with his shavelings rejoice; but woe unto them, for they shall be cast down, they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow, but afterwards the case was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard sir John: for the mass will not bite them, nor make them blush as preaching doth. Now they may do what they will, come devils to church, and go devils home again, for no man must speak against it. They are glad of all this! now they have their heart's desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone; but what



what followed? forsooth, when they cried peace, all shall be well, then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child; even so (dear mother) will it be to our papists.

Wherefore fear God; stick to his word, though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once, and when and how, you cannot tell. Die therefore with Christ, suffer for serving him truly, according to his word: for we may be sure, that of all deaths it ought to be our greatest desire to die for the cause of God. This is the safest way of dying: we need not doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall so die, the word of God will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for by God's grace I will drink before you of this cup, if it be put to me.

I doubt not but God will give me grace and strength to undergo what I purpose: pray for me, that I may be immovable in the fiery trial. I am ready whenever God shall be pleased to call me. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure, I trust in God, shall be able to separate me from my Lord God, and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me, then you believed me, and will you not do so now, seeing I speak nothing but that which by God's grace I will verify with my blood? Good mother, I write to you before God, as before him I have preached.

I have taught the pure word of God: it is the same infallible truth whereof he said, "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass." The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God, and the enemies of Christ's cross (the papists) have brought in again, to poison the church of God, highly displeaseth him, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may he be who for conscience sake will suffer the loss of life or goods, in contending against it. Come not near it. If God be God, follow him: if the mass be God, let who will see it, hear, or be present at it, go to the devil with it. What is there which God ordained? His supper was ordained to be received by us as a memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for the pardon of our sins; but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest alone keepeth all to himself. Christ saith, Take, eat: No, saith the priest, Gape, peep. Here (in the mass) is a sacrificing, yea, crucifying Christ again as much as they can. Here is idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine; here is all in Latin, you cannot tell what is said. In short, here is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good mother) come not near it.

I presume some will say, that it will be worse for you, if you refuse to go to mass, and do as others do. But be assured, that God will assist and protect you, as you shall one day find: he hath promised to them who suffer for his cause, his great blessing in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting.

You shall be counted an heretic: but they are the heretics that so call you, whose praise is a scandal.

You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will, that they shall not be able to withstand you. I doubt not but father Traves, and others of my brothers and sisters will comfort and assist you by their counsel and pious examples; but if they do not, I your son in God, by his grace, will so do, and go before you: pray that I may be constant: rejoice in my sufferings, for it is for your sakes, that thereby I may confirm the truth I have taught. Beware that this letter come not abroad, but only into father Traves's hands: for if it should be known that I have pen and ink in prison, it would be much worse for me. Therefore keep it to yourselves, and commend me to God's mercy through Jesus Christ, and pray that he would make me worthy to give my life for the sake of his church and gospel. From the Tower of London, October 26, 1553.

My name I write not, you know the reason well enough: like the letter never the worse. Commend

me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers; that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls.

After the time that Mr. Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, his adversaries purposed (as ye heard before) to send him to Manchester to be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last farewell of them in this letter.

## LETTER II.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to the CITY of LONDON.

**T**O all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wishes mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and all sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time I have to live is very little, (for I hourly look when I shall be had hence to be conveyed into Lancashire there to be burned, and to render my life by the providence of God, where I received it) and although there is great charge given to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my estate: yet having, as I now have, pen and ink, through God's working, in spite of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and join thereto a little exhortation to you all to live according to your profession.

First, For my faith, I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God, (for faith is God's only gift) all the twelve articles of the symbol and creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple! but alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner what I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the old Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than that which hath it's foundation and ground from thence. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar general, and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

To believe Christ our Saviour to be the head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander by, and looker upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as an heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; whereof I heartily ask God mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instru-



instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more than my former sinful life; which the Lord pardon for Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and will never lay mine iniquities to my charge to condemnation, so great is his goodness, (praised therefore be his holy name) although, I say, my late manifold and grievous sins have most justly deserved all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, his judgments be true, and I have deserved them: yet the bishops and prelates, instead of persecuting them in me, do persecute Christ himself, his word, his truth, and his religion. And therefore I have great cause to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto preserved by the Lord; that by my death, which I deserve for my sins, it pleaseth him to glorify his name, to testify and confirm his truth, and to overcome his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein.

And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and blood do now for my last farewell in this present life, beseech you, and every one of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly. By me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security; profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only; but in heart and in truth frame your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought myself, and too much consulted my own ease therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine, and therefore cannot be put into old bottles, without greater harm than good to those bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross, and follow him; we cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek the righteousness thereof. To this petition, Thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers only, we miserably deceive ourselves. If we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. Deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then God will answer us according to our own folly; and we shall deceive ourselves and others.

On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy scriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness. Let us fly from all idolatry. Let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service, detest the popish mass, renounce the Romish god, prepare ourselves to the cross, be obedient to all that are in authority, in all things that be not against God and his word; for then answer with the apostles, "It is more meet to obey God than man." Howbeit never for any thing resist, or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongeth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in yourselves an hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for

most certain, that he is careful for you; with whom all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure: much more then nothing shall happen to our bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to our senses. Depend on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means, yea, when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he chiefly requireth at your hands: namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you shall not lie still: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally deliver you, and bring you to his eternal joy. Doubt not herein, my dearly beloved, doubt not (I say) this God your Father will do for you, not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to pluck you; in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity, namely, how that you be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ and lords over all.

Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not though the devil and the world hate you, though ye be persecuted here, for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor the things of this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth, you shall be like unto him; when your life shall be thus revealed, then ye shall appear with him in glory.

In the mean time live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God. "For the just do live by faith; which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God as a lanthorn to her feet, and a light to her steps; her eyes be above where Christ is, she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not worthy to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste, then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards all of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you, by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen. February 11, 1555.

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,  
JOHN BRADFORD.

### L E T T E R III.

*From Mr. BRADFORD to the University of CAMBRIDGE.*

**T**O all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, imprisoned and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace



grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, (my right dearly beloved in the Lord) and although the charge over me is great and strict, yet having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but signify unto you my solicitude which I have for all of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death and hell, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, for which the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause for which I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an heretic, because I will not grant the Antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar general and supreme head of his church here, and every-where upon earth, by God's ordinance, and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received by the wicked, yea by dogs and mice. Also I am excommunicated and accounted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

Therefore you ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I who deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testimony, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou mother the university hath not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publickly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, (for the love and duty I bear unto thee) to admonish thee good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know, (if you will) these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuated, his sacrifice frustrated, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith faint, piety extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these opinions are not only besides God's word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you to take Christ's eyesalve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do, and have done, in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas! authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not "The dog returned to his own vomit: the sow that was washed returned to her wallowing in the mire," 2 Pet. ii. Beware lest Satan enter in

with seven other spirits, and then the last shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it: Ah, woe to this world and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. Oh that ever the dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm. If thou be light and shine, all the body shall fare the better: but if thou the light be darkness, alas how great will the darkness be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldst thus be afraid of him?

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know, that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And thinkest thou that God will not deliver his people now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her! Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember, that it were better that a mill-stone were hanged about thy neck and thou thrown into the sea, than that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

And alas, how hast thou offended? Yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward shew? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel, externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter, the church of Christ? Without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn.

When Christ and his apostles were upon the earth, who was most like to be the true church, they or the prelates, bishops and synagogue? If we ought to have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the greater part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out doors? therefore Christ saith, search the scriptures. Good mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for better entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? In Noah's time who was taken for the church, poor Noah and his family, or all the others that were destroyed by the flood? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom, righteous Lot, or the others? And doth not Christ say, "As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man?" What meaneth Christ when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth he not likewise say, that charity shall wax cold? And we plainly see the greatest scarcity of it in those, who would now be taken for Christ's true catholic church.

Therefore dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burnt to ashes for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent of what is past, make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the reading and preaching of God's prophet the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God against impenitent sinners. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, &c. awake and strengthen thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy intimate friends, Rogers, Saunders, and Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, that am now going to be burnt and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was, that it may not happen unto



unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally both of body and soul. Ah therefore, good mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For otherwise it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord, for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

You know I prophesied truly before the sweating sickness came what would come, if you repented not your carnal preaching. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you will be ashamed of Christ's truth which you know.

O Perne repent, O Thompson repent, O doctors, bachelors and masters repent; O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the approaching vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts and make haste to come unto the Lord. Let us all say, We have sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful unto our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, Where is now their God? O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease. For he is merciful, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he would rather have him turn from his wickedness and live.

Oh turn ye now and repent; yet once again I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor is the heart of man able to conceive the joys prepared for us, if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if you repent not, but be as ye were, and go forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickedness, your blood will be upon your own heads, your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; you shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you world without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace, and pursue it. Come out from Babylon, cast off the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his gospel, prepare yourselves for the cross, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand: and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my farewell for ever, with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom, Amen, Amen.

Out of prison, February 11, 1555.  
Your own in the Lord for ever,  
JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter IV. Herein he addressed the people of Lancashire and Cheshire, exhorting them to repentance with similar entreaties. Also (Letter V.) the town of Walden, requesting his dear friends not to waver in Christ's religion, as set forth in the days of king Edward.

## LETTER VI.

From Mr. BRADFORD to his loving BRETHREN,  
B. C. &c. their WIVES and whole FAMILIES.

I beseech the everliving God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper-hand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity seemeth to be oppressed, and they which take part therewith are unjustly treated: as they which love the truth lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this is God's anger and mercy; his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurturcth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. we have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with anti-christian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed outward fact, our bodies are to be laid in prison, and remain there, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

We should look upon this as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every one of us should often call to our memories, as particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, earnestly ask mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire and perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone forward in our evils? There is no greater sign of damnation, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished by God, as now the papists (my dearly beloved) are cast into Jezebel's bed of security, which of all plagues is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

A great mercy it is therefore that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising with us. Now he calleth us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children, and so begin to make us like unto Christ here, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according



according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

Only study to please him, and to keep your conscience clean, and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now every-where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you, for the sake of his holy name in Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

#### LETTER VII.

From Mr. BRADFORD to ERKINALDE RAWLINS, and his Wife.

**G**OD our dear and most merciful Father through Jesus Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever, and in all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him, Amen.

As you have often relieved my necessities, (for which I beseech God to make me thankful, and to recompense you both here and hereafter) I cannot but endeavour (as I am in gratitude bound) to write something for your spiritual comfort.

My dearly beloved, look not upon these days, and the afflictions which they bring, as dismal days, and days only of God's vengeance, but rather of good days, or days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be, that is, towards such as repent of their past sins, and earnestly purpose to amend their lives, walking not after the way of the world, and the greatest part of men, for the preservation of their self, which, will they nill they, they shall leave sooner or later, and to whom, and how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they condemn the physic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work for their health, if they did but consider it: and because they will not have God's blessing, which hath been offered to them both by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick man will receive no kind of physic from the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and at length destroyeth him. To such men, indeed, these days are, and should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh.

But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will, (among whom I do not only count you, but as far as a man may judge, I know you are) unto such, I say, this time is, and should be comfortable. For now our Father chastiseth us for our sins; if he had had a mind to destroy us, he would have left us to ourselves, to seek our own ways, and work our own ruin: let us patiently embrace his fatherly visitation, for he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, dear friends, call to mind and lament your sins: pray for mercy and forgiveness, and undoubtedly believe that God will hear you; he doth not punish twice for one thing.

So, that, I say, we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezabel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his own children; whereby we may be certain that we are no bastards, but sons; for he correcteth every son whom he receiveth. So that they who are not partakers of his chastisements, or that condemn it, declare themselves to be bastards and not sons, as I know you are, who being chastised, improve it accordingly. And therefore, my dear friends be glad, knowing certainly even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear and chosen children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen.

You have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein you yourselves, and all the world shall know that you belong not to it, but are God's darlings. Before these days came, Lord God!

how many thought themselves in God's bosom, and so were taken, and would be taken by the world? But now we see whose they are. For, whom we obey, his servants we be. If we obey the world, (which God forbid, and hitherto you have not done it) then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's. Which thing (I mean, that you are God's) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore you have no cause to be sorry, but rather to rejoice at this assurance of being the Lord's children, and as you are so accounted by all good people.

What though the world repine thereat? what though it kick? what though it seek to trouble and molest you? it doth but according to its nature: he cannot love the Lord who liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child that hateth the Father: he that careth not for the master will not mind the servant. If ye were of the world, the world would love you, you should live quietly, there would be no grief, no molestation. If the devil dwelt in you, (which God forbid) he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, or suffer his fiends to enter into your swine: but because Christ dwelleth in you, (as he doth by faith) therefore the devil stirreth up his first-begotten son, the world, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, and to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father, to try, and to make known to you and to the world, that you are intended for a better habitation that can be found here upon earth, even an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; hath given, or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him, (for you must not love them above him) as by giving that you have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

Satan, it may be, telleth God, (as he did of Job) that you love God for the sake of your goods. What then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, should give him power over your goods and body, would you be dismayed? would you despair? would you be faint-hearted? or would you not rather rejoice, as the apostles did, that they were worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to shew mercy to them that look and long for it, as you do, and I pray you still so to do: for the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to shew and pour out his mercy upon you. After he hath afflicted and tried you a little while, (saith St. Peter) he will visit, comfort, and confirm you; as he did to Jacob wrestling with the angel, when at length morning came, and the sun arose; so, doubtless, it will happen unto you. However, do ye as Job and Jacob did, that is, order and dispose the things that God has lent you, as well as you can while you have time: who knoweth but God hath given you power thus long, for that end?

Go, therefore, dispose of your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that ye may either stand to it like God's champions, or else if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may serve the Lord with a free and safe conscience. Think not this counsel to come by chance and fortune, but from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly, so if you feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God's dishonour, and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God's angel, to admonish you to take time while ye have it, and to see that God's name might not be dishonoured by you. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But (dear hearts) let vocations and all things else give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand to it: but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so



great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability, fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion. Wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these our days, because they be the days of confirmation, in which and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like to Christ's image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if we suffer with him, then shall we rise with him again; if we accompany with him in all troubles and afflictions, then shall we rejoice with him in glory; if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we take his part, he will take our's; if we lose ought for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad, for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c. for the Lord's sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with the Son? What may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? What can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of Hosts?

This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in forked caps, tippers, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and antichristian pelf, but in suffering for the Lord's sake. "The world shall hate you," saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children; the world shall hate you. Rejoice, therefore, (my dearly beloved) rejoice, that God doth vouchsafe to begin to confirm you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to condemn this world, more to desire life everlasting, more to be holy, (for holy is the end for which God doth afflict us (and so to come to God's company. Which thing because we cannot do as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Letter VIII. was addressed to Mrs. A. Warcup, consoling and entreating her to abide in the true faith.

#### L E T T E R IX.

To Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, PRISONER in the MARSHALSEA.

**M**Y good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his adversaries. "Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will shew forth his praise to destroy the enemy," &c.

I have perused your letters to myself, and have read them to others. For answer whereof, if I should write what Dr. Taylor and Mr. Philpot do think, then I must say, that they think the salt sent unto us by your friend, is unseasonable. And I think they will both declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, (my good and most dear brother) because I am so sinful and so defiled (the Lord knoweth that I lie not) with many grievous sins, which I hope are washed away with the blood of Christ, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but stood as a cypher. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek myself, and indeed I thank God for it, I purpose it not.

The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation

the godly, &c. O would to God, I were godly, &c. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation, such as trust in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not adore the beast, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the good he hath begun in us.

He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O that I were with you. Pray for me, my own heart root in the Lord. For ever your own,

JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter X. was likewise addressed to the same, being a repetition of the former.

#### L E T T E R XI.

From Mr. BRADFORD to the Rev. FATHERS, Dr. CRANMER, Dr. RIDLEY, and Dr. LATIMER.

**J**ESUS Immanuel. My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every one of your slaves had stood next the door, but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that amongst so many thousands it pleaseth his mercy to chuse me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I justly suffer, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed) yet what evil hath he done? Christ whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserved death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this tender kindness of the Lord towards me, which useth a remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of Antichrist, and his kingdom.

Out of prison in haste, looking for the tormentor, February 8, 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter XII. was addressed by Mr. Bradford to Lord Ruffel, who was then in trouble for the cause of religion, exhorting him to prefer suffering persecutions for Christ's sake, to all worldly possessions.

#### L E T T E R XIII.

To Mr. WARCUP and his WIFE, Mrs. WILKINSON, and other FRIENDS.

**T**HE same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

I perceive the time is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known; I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein; for such will not wither for a little heat or sun burning, but stiffly will stand and grow on, in spite of the malice of all burning showers and tempests.

O how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege against God and his Christ, (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loss of life and goods, yea, some for advantage and gain, will honour it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them.

But, alas, if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see that they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others, (for by this means the magistrates think



think them of their sort) they deceive themselves. They think at the time of elevation, that the eyes of all men are fixed upon them, to observe how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see or enquire of their behaviour there. O if there were in those men that are so present at the mass either love to God, or to their brethren, they would for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear men more than Him who hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire: they hasten on both knees; they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye salve, that they may see that they who take no part with God are against him; and that they who gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. O that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful. The advice given to the church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.

But to return to you again, (dearly beloved) be not ashamed of God's gospel: it is the power of God unto salvation to all those that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able, knowing for certain that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear: and think it no small favour from God to suffer for his truth: for the spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy: as one day ye shall see. Read 2 Thessalonians i. Hebrews xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ, 1 Pet. i. The flail and the wind hurteth not wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff. And ye (my beloved) are God's wheat; fear not the flail; fear not the fanning wind; fear not the mill-stone; fear not the oven: for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it blacken, yet it soileth not the cloth, but rather at length maketh it more clean: so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battle-axe. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number; happy are we, if God hath so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast your eyes wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup, if he hath appointed it for us. Drink it willingly, and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure, if we linger, we shall, with the wicked, drink the dregs thereof, if at the beginning we refuse to drink with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man shall touch you without his knowledge; and whenever they molest you, know that is for your good. God will thereby work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be like unto him hereafter. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and your sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Call upon his name through Christ, for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, saith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, let us say with holy Job, "If he kill me, I will trust in him." Read the ninety-first psalm, and pray for me your poor brother and fellow-sufferer for God's gospel's sake; his name therefore be praised; and may he through his infinite mercy and goodness make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for the same. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his sake.

Here is not our home; therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, Heb. xii. Rev. xxi. xxii. the way thither to be by persecution; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow, even to the gallows, if it please God, not doubting but that as he within the three days rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time, that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels, in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me for God's sake. Out of prison, Nov. 19, 1553.

JOHN BRADFORD.

## L E T T E R XIV.

From Mr. BRADFORD to Sir JAMES HALES,  
Knight, then PRISONER in the COMPTER.

THE God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake.

Although right worshipful sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God, and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, familiarity, yea, acquaintance, (for I think I am unknown to you both by face and name) and other such like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume to scribble something unto you; not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my sympathy and compassion, love and affection I bear towards you, who are contented, yea, desirous with us poor sinners, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God, how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes, I mean children for thyself and brethren for Christ? Look, good master Hales, on your vocation; not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chose to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say, you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you, but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you being a wise man do judge of things wisely, that is concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is the great master of error, nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith, nor after the present sense, to which it seemeth not to be joyous but grievous, as St. Paul writeth; but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself between God and you, God's chastising, and your Father's correction, nurture, school, trial, pathway to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain, yea even the frame-house to fashion you like to the dearest saints of God here, yea to Christ the son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

Now concerning your cross in respect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition, but the  
godly



godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see an eternal weight of glory which this cross shall bring unto you, while you look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things, and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as many did in the subscription of the king's last will: and therefore they did that, for which they afterwards repented. But let us look on things after another manner, as God be praised you did, in not doing that which you were desired; you then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and so you do now in religion, at least hitherto you have done, and that you might do still, I humbly beseech and pray you say with David, "Mine eyes fail for thy word, saying, when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be like a bottle in the smoke, (for I hear you want health) yet do not forget the statutes of the Lord; but cry out, How many are the days of thy servant? When wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me?" And be certain, "The Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him: for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life; weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning." Follow therefore Isaiah's counsel, Hide thyself for a little while until his indignation pass over, which is not indignation indeed, but to our sense: and therefore in the six and twentieth chapter of Isaiah, God saith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, so there is no anger in me, saith he.

The mother sometimes beateth the child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and calleth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore, saith he, Can a mother forget the child of her womb? As much as to say, No: but if she should so do, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me, &c. Forsake me not O Lord. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but only in their present sense: and therefore, saith David, I said in mine agony, I was clean cast away from thy face. But was it so? No verily. Read his psalms, and you shall see. So he writeth also, in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ, as when he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? He saith not, why dost thou forsake me? or why wilt thou forsake me? but, why hast thou forsaken me? whereas, indeed, God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense, and that this psalm telleth us full well, which I pray you sometimes to read; it is the twenty-second psalm, and thereto join the thirtieth, and the hundred and sixteenth, with divers others. Much the same we read in the fortieth chapter of Isaiah, where he reproveth Israel for saying, God hath forgotten them, in these words, "Hast thou not known; hast thou not heard? &c. They that trust in the Lord shall renew their strength." In his fifty-fourth chapter read the following comfortable words, "Fear not, for a little while have I forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hide my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall move, and the hills shall fall down, but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee."

Be certain, be certain, good master Hales, that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbered, so that not one of them shall perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore cast all your care upon God, who will comfort you with his eternal consolations, and make you able to go through the fire, (if need be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall, and lie forever; from which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire, which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it; it shall not then much terrify us to suffer for Christ our master's cause, which the Lord grant us for his mercy's sake. Amen.

From the King's Bench,

Your humble,

JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter XV. In this Mr. Bradford exhorts Dr. Hill, Physician, to abide in the true faith, to fear God, and not to fear man. In Letter XVI. he desires Mrs. M. H. a pious gentlewoman, to make God's glory shine in all her words and works: and his well-beloved friend, W. P. he solicits to pray for him in his Letter XVII.

### L E T T E R XVIII.

From Mr. BRADFORD, to a faithful WOMAN  
Inwardly Afflicted.

**G**OD our Father, for his mercy's sake in Christ, with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my greatest need: yea, he will comfort you, my good sister, only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you. For his calling and gifts are such, that he can never repent of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his chosen can perish. Of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved sister; God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you, may he give unto you to depend wholly on him, and on his providence and protection. For whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be happy for evermore.

You complain in your letters of the blindness of your mind and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which he hath given unto you; may he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where it lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the Canticles? O Joy, my good Joy, what is this? Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with Mary Magdalen, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth, Canticles i. You would see his face with Moses, not forgetting how he biddeth us to seek his face, Psal. xxvii. yea, and that for ever, Psal. cv. In bringing us to hell, saith he, he bringeth us to heaven; in darkness he beholdeth brightness; in hiding his face from us, he beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, (but as you would say) under Satan's cloak? For who cast the fire from heaven upon his goods? Who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? And yet Job pierced through all these, and lay God's work, saying, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away," &c.

In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw God's sweet love? And so, I see that you in your darkness and dimness by faith do see clearness and brightness: saith is of things hoped for, of things which I appeal



to your conscience whether you desire or not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? and is there any other true knowledge of heavenly things than by faith?

Therefore be thankful, for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah, my Joyce, how happy is the stay wherein you are? Verily you are in the blessed state of God's children; for they mourn, and do you not so? And that not for worldly wealth, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And I pray you, faith not Christ who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth you shed no tears? How could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you find it? How could you desire to be at home, if in your journey you find no grief? How could you so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all day long? How should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you fobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first feel sorrow and misery. If you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell; if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not scorn him in his rags. If you will sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

Can the head corner stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones, be content therefore to be hewn and persecuted, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows who suffer with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and threats of the flesh, whereby they are enforced to cry, O wretches that we are, who shall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, mill-stone, or oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

If you were a market sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture. If you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and want no wealth: but because you are God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and thrice happy are you, (my dear sister) that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little and be still. Let Satan rage against you, let the world cry out, let your conscience accuse you, let the law load you and press you down, yet they shall not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be against us? The Lord is with you, your Father cannot forget; your spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, Lord, I perish; and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease for the stormy surges, till it take hold of the rock of God's truth and mercy.

Think not that he who hath given you so many things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies, and that without your deserts or desire can deny you any spiritual comfort when you desire it. For if he giveth you a desire, he will give you the enjoyment of a desire. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which (you asking) he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, (as Isaiah saith) to his glory, and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not, nor can think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath) he would not have so called you, he never would have justified you; he never would have so glorified you with his gracious gifts, which, praised be his

name, I know; he never would have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth, if he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you, you shall never perish; for if you fall, he will lift you up. Never was mother so careful of a child, as he is of you.

Christ and his mercy is the only cause of our election. This Christ, this mercy, and the infallible truth of God remaineth for ever; and if an angel from heaven should tell you the contrary, let him be accursed. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election, but they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be much more fruitful and effectual, as you are more steadfast and sincere.

Arise, and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a shepherd who never slumbereth nor sleepeth: neither man nor devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgot what I read to you out of the Psalms, "The Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing!" As God spared Noah in the ark, even so hath he spared you. Ten thousand shall fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left, and yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly with the Psalmist, "Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me, but they have not prevailed;" no, nor ever shall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people; and who are his people but such as love him, serve him, and hope in him? Happy are all they that do so, as it is manifest you do by what you have written and unfeignedly confessed unto me. And if you once had that hope, as doubtless you had, though you feel it not at present, it is not lost, you shall find it again if you seek it; for the anger of the Lord lasteth but for a moment, but his mercy endureth for ever. Tell me who hath weakened you! Surely not a persuasion from him that called you. Why should you waver and be so heavy-hearted? Whom look you on? on yourself? on your own worthiness? on your own thankfulness? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Do you believe, hope, and love as much as you ought? No, no, nor never can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would and ought to be certain and quiet in conscience, your faith should break through all things that are in earth and heaven, or hell, until you come to Christ crucified, and the eternal mercies and goodness of God in him. Here is the resting place, here is the spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him, bewail your weakness, unworthiness, diffidence, &c. and you shall see he will turn to you; nay, I should rather have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that when Moses went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud; and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard him, but they saw him not, but you shall see him when he appeareth in power and great glory. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave at your hands with all my heart, I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, my



most intirely beloved sifter, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself; but complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which shall be most convenient, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive to your eternal joy, Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; may he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved for evermore, Amen.

I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever, Amen.

As for the report of W. P. if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, DO WELL AND BEAR EVIL. Be content therefore to bear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Here follow Letters XIX and XX. to the good lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This lady Vane was a great supporter of the pious martyrs who were imprisoned in queen Mary's time; unto whom divers letters wrote by Mess. Philpot, Careless, Tiahern, and others, wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness towards them. She died anno 1568.

In letter XXI he addresseth Mr. Royden and Mr. Esing, with their Wives and Families, enjoining them not to waver in their faith. He desires Mrs. Wilkin-son (Letter XXII) to be thankful to the Lord for his great mercies. In Letter XXIII. he encourages certain pious persons to prepare themselves to bear the cross with patience.—

"If ye go to mass, and do as the most part doth, then may you live quietly and at rest: but if you refuse to go thither, then ye shall go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea, lose your life also. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and consider the shortness of this life, which is even as a shadow and a smoke. Again, consider how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them, world without end, who lose either life, land, or goods for his name's sake; and then reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children something to live upon hereafter, yet we shall displease God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy, into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

Again we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? yea, our house and goods, and even our life are in danger of being lost by many casualties: and when God is angry with us, he can when he pleases send one means or other to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into greater trouble, who will not come into some little for his sake.

On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, that if you earnestly purpose not to forsake God, that he will make you so able to bear his cross, that you shall rejoice therein. "God is faithful, (saith Saint Paul) who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." Think how great a benefit it is, if God will make you worthy of this honour, to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly inflict most grievous plagues

upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod, whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that ye may for ever reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which ye have a long time stedfastly professed. O how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! O how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you! O how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! O how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if you should now go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth."

In Letter XXIV. he admonishes certain Professors of the Gospel to beware they fall not from the truth in consenting to the Romish Religion.

"My dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the devil, the world, &c. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross before you began with A B C. Go forwards then, pay your vow to the Lord: fight like men, and valiant men under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your master, as your brethren Mess. Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders, have done, and as now your brethren, Dr. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c. are ready to do. The ice is broke before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no occasion to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, "He that will save his life, shall lose it." And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, &c. and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing, much more death for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they be that die for the Lord? O what a blessing is it to have death due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth? O that we had a little of Moses's faith to look upon the end of the cross, to look upon the reward, to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hid manna, heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of his first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men, and so take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for Christ's sake to see a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us for his own goodness and truth's sake, Amen.

#### L E T T E R XXV.

From Mr. BRADFORD to his good BROTHER JOHN CARELESS, Prisoner in the KING'S-BENCH.

THE father of mercy, and God of all comfort, visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour, Amen.

My dear brother, I never received so much consolation by any thing since I came into prison, as I have by your last letter, God be praised. I must confess that for my unthankfulness towards you, and especially to God, I have now more need of his merciful assistance than ever. Ah that Satan envieth us so greatly, ah that our Lord would shortly lay his head under our feet. Ah that I may for ever beware, and be a godly example to you and to others, to beware of unthankfulness. Good Brother, we had more need to take heed of a foil  
alter



after lightning than before. God therefore is to be praised even when he hideth (for a season) his cheerful countenance from us, lest we, by not knowing how to use it as we ought, do hurt ourselves more thereby, so great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may find ourselves linked in the same Christ to one another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us, Amen, Amen.

Commend me to your good brother Skelthorp, for whom I heartily praise God, who hath given him at length grace to see and profess his truth. I doubt not but he will be so wary in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may thereby ever think themselves astray. Wo, and wo again would be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good to Trew and his companions. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them also, although we perchance think otherwise. It is not one or two drops that maketh the stone hollow, but the perpetual dropping; so if with hearty prayer for them, and by our good example gently working upon them, we may at length see the operation of God. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all, Amen. I desire you all to pray for me the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

Your Brother,

JOHN BRADFORD.

#### LETTER XXVI.

*From MR. BRADFORD to MR. JOHN HALL and his WIFE, Prisoners in NEWGATE.*

**A**Lmighty God our heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved as with his dear children for ever, and bless you with his Holy Spirit, that you may rejoice in his cause and this cross, and gladly take it up and bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard (my good brother and sister) that God hath brought you both into his school-house, that thereby you might see his love and care for you. If it be a token of a loving and careful father, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, while they inconsiderately endeavour to keep from school (which they would not do, if they did but know the advantage of the learning they might there get); how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of that love and fatherly carefulness which he beareth towards you? If he had winked at your faults, you might indeed have escaped beating (I mean the cross) but then you would have lost the advantage of learning that which your Father would have you to learn for your future good. He, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your wit and reason may tell you, it is by chance or fortune, yet my dearly beloved, whatsoever was the means, know for certain that God your Father was the worker hereof, and for your welfare, though your old Adam doth tell you otherwise; yet I say of truth, that your duty is to think of this cross, that as it is God's sending, and although you deserve otherwise, yet it cometh from him out of pure love and fatherly affection for your welfare and advantage.

You will be apt to object, and say, What advantage can arise from all this? We are now kept close in prison; our families and poor children have nobody to take care of them; our substance by this means is diminished; our poverty approacheth, and perchance more dangers also, yea, and loss of life too. These are no advantages, but the greatest mi-

series and misfortunes; so that we may justly inquire, and should be glad to know, what advantage can come from us from this cross, which seems to be attended with nothing but the most miserable inconveniences.

To these things I answer, That indeed what you say is true of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, &c. But then you must consider these things in another manner, you must view them inwardly as well as outwardly, and then, perhaps, you may find more satisfaction. Doth not you know that you must of necessity part from all these fine things in a very short time? Tell me then, have you not this advantage from the cross, to learn to loath and leave this world, and to long for and desire another, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in baptism) forsaken the world and all earthly things, using the world as though you used it not. Your heart must entirely set upon your treasure in heaven, or else you can never be Christ's true disciples, nor be saved, and be where he is. The advantage that cometh by this cross, if you rightly and willingly embrace it, will most assuredly bring you to the Lord in endless glory. How doth God now, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compell you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer? Are all these no advantages? Doth not the scripture say, that "God doth correct us in this world, because we shall not be damned with the world? That God chasteneth every one whom he loveth?" Doth not the scripture say, that you are now going the right way to heaven? That your suffering is Christ's suffering? My dearly beloved, what greater advantages than these can a godly heart desire?

Therefore you are commanded to rejoice and be glad when you suffer as you now do; for through the goodness of God great shall be your reward. Where? forsooth on earth, first your children; for now they are in God's immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for your's. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them shall be pulled away, yet God is not poor, he has promised to provide for them most fatherly. "Cast thy burthen upon me, saith he, and I will bear it." Do you therefore cast them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go begging their bread, for he will shew mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him. Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first, upon earth, shall be felt by your children even corporally, and so also upon you, if God see it most for your advantage, at least inwardly you shall feel it by the quietness of your conscience: And secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed. Then shall we think the cross, which is a means hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we say with David, "Happy am I that thou hast punished me; for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws."

That we may do this indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God. Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, for our good. Thirdly, let us call to mind our sins, and ask pardon. Fourthly, let us look for certain help at God's hand in his good time; help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and advantage of our souls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there



there proceed from us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most gracious sacrifice. That we may all offer this through Christ, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bleſs us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet croſs for ever, Amen, Amen.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. O that it would pleaſe our dear Father ſhortly to bring us where we ſhall never part, but enjoy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heavenly preſence. Pray, pray, that it may ſpeedily come to paſs.

To morrow I will ſend to you to know your eſtate; ſend me word what are the chiefeſt things they charge you withal.

From the Compter,  
by your brother in the Lord,  
JOHN BRADFORD.

He alſo addreſſes Mrs. Hall (Letter XXVII.) to the ſame purport. In Letter XXVIII. he answers a woman, who deſired to know if ſhe might be preſent at the Popiſh Mattins, having refrained from maſs.

"Firſt, The mattins and even-ſong is in a tongue forbidden to be uſed in the public congregation, where they underſtand it not. Read what St. Paul ſaith, that to pray in an unknown tongue is againſt God's commandments, 1 Cor. xiv. This one, I think, is ſufficient, if there were no other argument againſt it. For how can God's glory be ſought, where his word and commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to man ſtand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is broken down?

Again, Both in mattins and even-ſong idolatry is maintained; for there is invocation and prayer made to ſaints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

Moreover, this ſervice, and ſetters-forth of it condemn the Engliſh ſervice as hereſy, thereby falling into God's curſe, which is threatened to ſuch as call good evil, and evil good: whereof they ſhall partake who communicate with them.

Befides, this Latin ſervice is a plain mark of Antichriſt's catholic ſynagogue; ſo that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themſelves to be members of the ſame ſynagogue, and ſo cut off from Chriſt and his church, whoſe exterior mark is the true adminiſtration of God's word and ſacraments.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of Antichriſt, (as doubtleſs you do indeed, howſoever in heart you think) occasioneth the obſtinate to be utterly untractable, the weak papiſts to be more obſtinate, the ſtrong goſpellers to be much weakened, and the weak goſpellers to be utterly overthrown: the inconveniences that muſt neceſſarily attend it, neither tongue can utter, nor pen deſcribe. All theſe evils thoſe be guilty of that (externally only) accompany theſe in religion; from which you are admoniſhed to fly. If Chriſt be Chriſt, follow him. Gather with him, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serve God, not only in ſpirit; but alſo in body; make not your body, which is now a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongſt them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confels Chriſt and his truth, not only in heart, but alſo in tongue, yea, in very deed, which too few goſpellers do. Indeed many deny him, and therefore had need tremble, leſt that Chriſt deny them in the laſt day: which day, if it were often ſet before our eyes, the profits and pleaſures of this world would be eſteemed as mere trifles.

Therefore, good ſiſter, often have it before your eyes, daily ſet yourſelf and your doing, as it were, before the judgment ſeat of Chriſt, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will be

little profit to you to win the whole world, and loſe your own ſoul. Mark well Chriſt's leſſons, "He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it." The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Chriſt, who ſaith, follow me: this you cannot do, and follow idolatry, or idolaters. Fly from ſuch, ſaith the ſcripture."

Letter XXIX. is addreſſed to lady Vane on former ſubjects. Letter XXX. to Mr. Richard Hopkins, ſometime ſheriff of Coventry: who, during the time of his ſhrievalty, was accused by certain malignant adverſaries of matters pertaining to religion, and committed to the Fleet priſon, where he remained a long time in great peril of his life. Being at length delivered out of priſon, following Mr. Bradford's counſel, and minding to keep his conſcience pure from idolatry, he was forced with his wife, and eight young children to quit the realm, and went into High-Germany, where he continued in the city of Baſil till the death of queen Mary.

In Letter XXXI. he encourageth Mrs. Brown to perſevere in godlineſs.—In Letter XXXII. he inſtructs a friend how to answer his adverſaries.

"When you ſhall come before the magiſtrates to give an answer of the hope that is in you, do it with all reverence and ſimplicity. And if you are afraid of the power and cruelty of the magiſtrates, ſet before you the example of good father Moſes; for he ſet the inviſible God before the eyes of his faith, and with them he looked upon God and his glorious majeſty and power, as with the eyes of his body he ſaw Pharaoh and all his frightful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give light unto you, that as you are before the magiſtrates, ſo, and much more, are you and they preſent before the face of God, who will give you ſuch wiſdom as the enemies ſhall be amazed at: and further, he will ſo order their hearts and doings, that they ſhall, whether they will or no, ſerve God's providence towards you, (which you cannot avoid, though you would) as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your everlaſting comfort.

The chief matter they will trouble you for, and go about to deceive you withal, is the ſacrament, not of Chriſt's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby deſtroying the ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted. I would have you note theſe two things:

Firſt, That the ſacrament of the altar which the prieſt offereth in the maſs, and eateth privately by himſelf, is not the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood inſtituted by him, as Chriſt's inſtitution plainly written, and ſet down in the ſcriptures, being compared with their uſing of it, evidently doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Chriſt's ſacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be Chriſt's body or no: answer them, That as to the eyes of your reaſon, to your taſte, and corporal ſenſe, it is bread and wine, and therefore the ſcripture calleth it ſo, even after conſecration; but to the eyes, taſte and ſenſe of your faith, which aſcendeth into heaven where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very deed Chriſt's body and blood, which ſpiritually your ſoul feedeth on to everlaſting life, in faith and by faith, even as your body preſently feedeth on the ſacramental bread and ſacramental wine.

By this means, as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiation, nor none of their popiſh opinions; ſo ſhall you declare the ſacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reaſon, as the papiſts make it. For they deny God's omnipotence, in ſaying that Chriſt is not there if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to give us what he promiſeth ſpiritually by faith, the bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtance, as well as if the ſubſtance of bread were taken away: for Chriſt ſaith not in any place, this is bread. But in theſe things God will inſtruct you, if you rely on his promiſe, and pray for the power and wiſdom of his Spirit.



In Letter XXXIII. Mr. Bradford exhorts certain godly men, to continue patient in the cross, and constant in the true doctrine, which they had professed.

## L E T T E R XXXIV.

From Mr. BRADFORD to Mr. GEORGE EATON.

**A**Lmighty GOD our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, here and eternally, my dearly beloved, the good which from him by you I have continually received since my coming into prison. Other ways can I never be able to requite your loving kindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither I thank God I am even now going, always expecting the officers to come and satisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved an hundred thousand deaths at God's hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus, and his verity.

And because they can do him no hurt, (for he sitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants, Matt. ii. Great cause have I therefore to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, among many, to chuse me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me, (who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins) that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

As for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shall shortly by God's grace in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men: so that if an angel should come from heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore waver not, dear brother in the Lord, but be confirmed in this truth, and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be dangerous so to do. The end will evidently shew another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Reverently read God's word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in your life what you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father will give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my farewell of you, dear brother, for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly, Amen. God bless all your babes for ever, Amen.

Out of prison the 8th of February.

Your afflicted brother for the cause of Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.

## L E T T E R XXXV.

From Mr. BRADFORD to Mrs. ANNE WARCUP.

**A**Lmighty God our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and

safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I remember that, some time ago, I took my leave of you upon conjecture; but now indeed I bid you farewell, upon certain knowledge. My staff standing at the door, I continually look for the sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now I go to confirm that which I have preached. Now I am climbing up the hill, it will cause me to puff and blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodness, come almost to the top, I may by his grace be so strengthened, as not to rest till I come where I should be. O loving Lord, put out thy hand and draw me unto thee: for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath, and my great weakness. As he sent for Elias in a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me: for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess that my sins have deserved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me; and not my sins: therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, who I doubt not will take my part to the very end, Amen.

O that I had so open an heart, as could receive this great benefit and unspeakable dignity as I should, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved, pray for me that I never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am sure will not leave me when I have most need for his truth and mercy's sake; O Lord, help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you Amen also, and come after if God so call you. Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. Use hearty prayer, reverently read and hear God's word, put it in practice: look for the cross, lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of his heavy displeasure upon our country. God keep us for ever, God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, for God's sake, pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me.

Out of prison the 7th of February.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter XXXVI. is addressed to a certain gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her parents for not coming to mass; wherein he exhorts her, to be steadfast in the true faith; and encourages her to reject the popish religion.

In Letter XXXVII. he returns thanks to those from whom he had received comfort and relief in his imprisonment.

## L E T T E R XXXVIII.

From Mr. BRADFORD to a faithful FRIEND and his WIFE, resolving their DOUBT, why they ought not to come to AURICULAR CONFESSION.

**F**OR auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice, my dear brother, I am as ready to give it, as you are to desire it; yea more ready, for



I had half a suspicion that you and your wife (especially your wife) were tired of my advice, as if I had given too much; whereas indeed I should lament my too little care in feeding you spiritually, since you have spared no pains, both in prison and out of prison, to feed me corporally.

Auricular confession, as it was first used and instituted (which was by way of asking counsel) I take to be amongst these traditions which are in themselves indifferent, that is, it may be done, or it may be left undone, unless it giveth offence to the weak brethren, and then it ought to be avoided, for we learn by St. Paul that things may be lawful that are not at all times expedient. But to consider it, as it is now used, (I write to you as I think, and what my own mind is; which follow no further than good men by God's word do allow) to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinks it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes.

First, Because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, not to say meritorious; my brother, the bearer, can tell you at large how great an evil this is.

Secondly, Because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good christian.

Thirdly, Because it requireth of itself an impossibility, that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins, which no man can conceive, much less utter.

Fourthly, Because it establisheth and confirmeth, at least alloweth, praying to saints. *Precor Sanctam Mariam*, you must say, or the priest for you.

Fifthly, Because it is very injurious to the liberty of the gospel, which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work, and dear in the sight of God.

Sixthly, Because (as it is used) it is a note, yea, a very sinew of the popish church; and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing in bearing witness against it.

Seventhly, Because instead of counsel, thereat ye shall receive poison, or if you refuse it under Sir John's Benedicite, you shall no less there be wound in the briars.

Eighthly, Because the end and purpose of your going thither is to avoid the cross, that is, for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause or the edification of our brethren. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ and the freedom of his gospel: and the same thing teacheth us, that it is disadvantageous to our brethren, who either be weak, or strong, or ignorant, or obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak: if they be strong, you do what you can to decrease their strength: if they be ignorant, thereby you help to keep them so: if they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them to sleep in their obstinate error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony.

Letter XXXIX. is from Mr. Bradford, to Mr. Augustine Barriner; in which he begs him to learn what is said of him; and expatiates upon the great probability, of his being soon burnt in Smithfield.

#### LETTER XL.

From Mr. BRADFORD, describing a Comparison between the OLD MAN and the NEW, &c.

**A** Man that is regenerate and born of God, (which that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us say with the Virgin Mary, "Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word," according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, striving against it as we shall be made able by the Lord) a man, I say,

that is regenerate, consisteth of two men, (as one may say) namely of the old man and of the new man. The old man is like to a mighty giant, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect. But the new man is like to a little child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of the general resurrection.

Betwixt these two men there is a continual conflict and a deadly war. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth being perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man, (being but a child in comparison) and that in such a manner, that even the children of God themselves think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away; when yet notwithstanding the truth is otherwise, the Spirit and the seed of God at length appearing again, and dispelling the clouds which cover the sun; so that sometimes a man cannot tell by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind do so hide it from our sight: even so our blindness and corrupt affections do often shadow the sight of God's seed in his children, as though they were downright reprobates. Whereof it cometh that they praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he maketh us to think so for a time; for he always holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not still as others do which are not regenerate.

This our inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, Light of Light, co-eternal and co-substantial with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our husband, (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own person, to us all his children, his divine majesty, (as St. Peter saith) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our sins; as all that ever he hath pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action against our husband Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

#### LETTER XLI.

Mr. BRADFORD's FAREWELL to his MOTHER, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

**I**F I thought that daily, yea almost hourly you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children, then would I write more about it. But forasmuch as I am certain you are diligent herein, so I beseech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away. Among which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will spend this letter about it, and that briefly, lest it might increase the hindrance, as my good brother, this messenger can tell you. You shall know therefore good mother, that for my body, though it be in an house, out of which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have confirmed my will to God's, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, pious and learned company, books, and all other necessities for mine ease, comfort, and convenience, I am in much better case than I could wish, and God's merciful providence here is far above my worthiness. Worthiness, said I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But all this, for my soul I find to my advantage. For God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore



therefore for imprisoning me for his gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is I shall be. Now he maketh me like to his friends the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs, and confessors. Which of them did not suffer at the least imprisonment or banishment for his gospel and word?

Now, mother, how far am I unworthy to be compared to them? I (I say) which always have been, and am so vile an hypocrite and grievous sinner. God might have caused me long before this time to have been cast into prison as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and an heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but dear mother, his mercy is so great upon you and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison for none of these or for any such vices, but only for Christ's sake, for his gospel's sake, for his church's sake, that thereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ, for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore should be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, so I am, as ever I was, yea never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me and to pray on this sort: "Ah, good Father, who dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son's captains and men of war no fight and suffer for his gospel's sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christ's name, that thou wouldst forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer not only imprisonment, but even death itself, for thy truth, religion, and gospel's sake. As Anna did apply and give her first child Samuel unto thee, so I, dear Father, beseech thee, for Christ's sake, to accept this my gift, and give my son John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did, Amen, Amen."

Now therefore will I make an end, desiring you to expect no more letters: for if it were known that I had pen and ink, then should I want all other conveniences I have mentioned concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron: which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore for God's sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger: it may be your house may be searched for such things, whereto you little think of it; and look for no more, sweet mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, or till you and I meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder, Amen.

#### LETTER XLII.

*From Mr. BRADFORD to his MOTHER, being his last Farewell, a little before he was BURNED.*

**G**OD's mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.

My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, who now taketh me unto himself: I die not as a criminal, but a witness of Christ, the truth of whose gospel I have hitherto confessed, I thank God, both by preaching and imprisonment, and now I am willing to confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God might justly have taken me hence from my sins, (which are many, great, and grievous; but the Lord for his mercy in Christ, I hope hath pardoned them all) but now, my dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets and the apostles, is God's truth. The prelates in me do persecute Christ, whom they hate, and his truth which they will not abide, because their works are evil. They do not care for the light, lest men thereby should discover their darkness. Therefore my dear mother, give thanks to God for me,

that he hath made the fruits of thy womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Jesus Christ. Harken to the scriptures, and serve God according to them, and not according to the custom: beware of the Romish religion in England; defile not yourself with it: carry the cross of Christ as he shall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cause to God our Father: be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as well as you can.

I send all my writings to you and my brother Roger, do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for Christ's sake, to bless you, and to keep you from all evil. May he make you patient, and thankful that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his truth; wherein I confess to the whole world, I die, and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

Thus my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever, Amen.

Out of prison, June 24, 1555. Your son in the Lord,  
JOHN BRADFORD.

#### LETTER XLIII.

*Containing a SUPPLICATION sent by Mr. BRADFORD to QUEEN MARY, her COUNCIL, and the whole PARLIAMENT.*

**I**N most humble wise complaineth unto your majesty and honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity: which deserveth your protection and encouragement, as the thing by which you reign and have your honour and authority. Although we that be professors, through the grace of God, the constant professors of the same, are, as it were, the out-sweepings of the world; yet I say, the truth itself is not a thing unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, as the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are for the same purpose. Your highness and honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficient only to accuse. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know, that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are not kings, but plain tyrants, who reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge; and therefore it is required of them that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to kiss their Sovereign lest they perish; as all those potentates, with their principalities and dominions, cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at length take his own cause, which he hath chiefly committed to them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his own truth gloriously; the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more is suppressed; as it is now in this realm of England, over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your highness, and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to Antichrist and his prelates, who have already brought your highness and honours in the mind to let Barabbas loose, and so hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent,



if first it would please your excellent majesty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees, I mean the bishops and prelates, than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the world to pass the less of it. For this doctrine is higher, and of more honour and majesty than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the end of the world. And truly so he doth and will reign, that he will shake all the earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silver brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such a manner as though they were pots of clay, according to what the prophets write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to speak against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God, calling us the most wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might refer to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occasion your majesty and honours by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our father, for his holy name's sake, direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, in the safe-guard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

#### LETTER XLIV.

*From Mr. BRADFORD to certain of his FRIENDS,  
N. S. and R. C.*

**I** Wish to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I pray the Father of mercies to give me for his holy name's sake, Amen.

Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a christian man to wade in it.

I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ

(for man being thus fallen) did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all who believe in Christ, (I speak of such as be of years of discretion) are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of faith that men have by reason of miracles, John ii. 11. Acts viii. or by reason of earthly conveniences, Matth. xiii. custom and authority of men, which is commonly seen, the hearts of them that so believe, being not right and simple before God; but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith) I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none but those who are the children of God, that is, to those whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predestinated in Christ to eternal life.

Thus do I wade in predestination, in such a manner as he hath opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, so on to justification, and then to election. On this manner I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men, 2. Thess. iii. but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God, which will we must not call in question, but in fear and trembling submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will nothing otherwise than what is holy, just, and good, how far soever it may seem otherwise to our reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory, than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children shall well see; for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, Jer. ix. John v. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment, which is his justice, and most just, although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur against it. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your letter particularly answered by Mr. Philpot; as also, if I have time, and you so require, I will do.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Besides these letters, there were others to father Traves, minister of Blackley, long before he came into trouble, the substance of which being fully contained in the foregoing extracts, we think proper to omit. A now we proceed with the history of the martyrs.

#### CHAP. XI.

*An ACCOUNT of the LIVES, EXAMINATIONS, SUFFERINGS, and DEATHS of various PIOUS PROTESTANTS, most of whom were BURNED, and some DIED in PRISON, during the BLOODY PERSECUTION in the REIGN of QUEEN MARY I. A. D. 1555.*

*A short ACCOUNT of WILLIAM MINGE, who died in PRISON.*

**T**HE next day after Mr. Bradford and John Leaf suffered in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in Prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and would (had he lived a little longer) also have suffered the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel. This William Minge, with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by fire, as other good and godly men had done before at the stake, as himself was ready to do, had it pleased God to have called him thereunto.

*An ACCOUNT of JAMES TREVISAM, who was buried in MOORFIELDS.*

**U**PON Sunday the 3d of July, 1555, died one James Trevisam, in the parish of St. Margaret, in Lothbury, who being impotent and lame, kept his bed a long time. This Trevisam had a servant named John Small, who was reading in the bible, when one Berd, the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife; to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. All whom the said Berd apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, notwithstanding all the friends they could make. Not only so, but the said Berd intended to carry the poor lame bedridden man to Newgate



gate in a cart, (and brought a cart to the door for that purpose) had not the neighbour, who had a little more humanity, prevented that barbarous design. Nevertheless, the poor man was obliged to have two sureties for his forth coming, notwithstanding he could not get out of his bed, being not only lame, but very sick at the same time. In a few days time he grew so ill, that his life was despaired of; and the parson of the parish, one Mr. Farthing, came to visit him, and had communication with him, and they both agreed very well in matters of religion, and so the parson departed. No sooner was he come down into the street, but he was met by one Toller, a founder, who threatened to accuse him, for agreeing with Trevisam; for, said the founder, he denieth the sacrament of the altar. Upon that the parson went to him again, and then they could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London, and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt: and if he were already dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And when he was dead, the parson shewed as much spite and ill-nature to his poor sorrowful widow as possibly he could, not suffering her to put him in a coffin, or any thing else, but insisted on carrying him on a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The same night the body was taken up again, and the sheet taken from him, and he left naked above ground. The owner of the field seeing this, buried him again; a fortnight after, the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at St. Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him. But what became of this affair afterwards, I cannot certainly say.

*The HISTORY of Mr. JOHN BLAND, PREACHER and MARTYR.*

**T**HE 12th day of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all four burnt at Canterbury together for one cause. Of which number, Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adesham, and the other vicar of Rolvinton. Mr. Bland was a man so little born for his own advantage, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men. For his first doings were then employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue. Under whom were trained up several hopeful young men, which afterwards did handsomely flourish. In which number was Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well become a scholar for such a schoolmaster, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this, he coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this, that whereas he was twice cast into Canterbury prison for preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the intercession of his friends, yet he would preach the gospel again, as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found means to have delivered him if he would promise to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle St. Paul; "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or persecution, or the sword?" &c. But to express the whole life and actions of this pious martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it is best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as you shall hear.

*An ACCOUNT of the whole Proceedings against Mr. BLAND, written by himself to his FATHER.*

**D**EARLY beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to satisfy your

mind as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have happened unto me since you were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

Your son,  
JOHN BLAND.

**F**IRST, The 3d of September, being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table, (commonly called the Lord's table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, Who set this here again? Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered that he knew not. Then said Austen, he is a knave, that set it here. I was then going down the church, wondering what he meant, and said, Goodman Austen, the queen's highness hath set forth a proclamation that you move no sedition: and before I could speak any more, he said, Thou art a knave: and I said, Well, goodman Austen, what I have said, I have said. By God's soul, said he, Thou art a very knave. Then my clerk spoke to him, but what I am not sure. But he said, You are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us too long already, and if you say any service here again, I will turn your table upside down; and in that rage he, with others, took the table and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the tressels by it. Soon after I rode to Mr. Isaac, and declared unto him how seditiously Austen had behaved himself. Mr. Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear if he were called. But then we agreed so well, that it was never called for: the table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the aforesaid table after the communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard said unto me, Mr. Parson, we want to speak with you. And I said, What is your will? And he said, You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompence you would make us: for the queen's proceedings are (as you know) that such things must be put up again.

Said I, I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.

No, said Thomas Austen, you will not know the queen's proceedings.

Yes, said I, I refuse not to know them.

Then, said Richard, You are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.

Goodman Austen, said I, if I so said, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.

Masters all, said Richard Austen, bear record of these words, and went his way.

Said Thomas Austen, Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.

No, said I, not so soon.

Tell us, said he, what devilishness is in the mass?

I have often preached it unto you, said I, and you have not believed it, nor borne it away, neither will you now, though I should tell you.

Thou (said he) hast told us always like an heretic as thou art. Now you lie, goodman Austen, said I, by your leave. Marry, said he, thou liest. And I said, And you lie, for I have taught you Christ and his truth.

Said he, Thou art an heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy: for thou canst say nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven, and you will say (I hope) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly.

Said he, thou hast taught us like an heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.

Well, said I, lie on; methinks you can say little truth.



truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at last he said, You pulled down the altar, will you build it again? No, said I, except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, said he, then will I. For I am churchwarden.

I charge you, said I, that you do not, except you have authority. I will not, said he, be hindered by your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee an heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, said I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have peached.

Yes, said he, and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.

No, Mr. Austen, I will not run away.

Marry, said he, I cannot tell; thou art as like as not; with many more words we came out of the church, and so departed.

When Sunday came I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning prayer I said to the clerk, Why do you not ring? You forget that we shall have a sermon to-day. No, said he, Mr. Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said, his master hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come. That day I preached a sermon in his stead. Now have they slandered me, that I prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie. For some said, I had them at Adesham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lie. Others said, I had them from Canterbury and Adesham. Others said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed, the other should not. God forgive them all. Now upon these two matters they boast that they sent two bills of complaint to the council. Wherefore by the advice of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by Mr. Wiseman.

*The BEHAVIOUR of Mr. JOHN BLAND, Parson of ADESHAM, in the COUNTY of KENT, on Sunday the 3d Day of December last, containing the WORDS which he spake there unto the PEOPLE.*

**W**HEREAS upon certain communication had between the said parson and Richard Austen, and Thomas Austen, in the presence of all the parish of Adesham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Austen then declared, That the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour, divers persons resorted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach; but it was reported to the parson that the preacher appointed, had urgent business and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the same parson perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, Forasmuch as you are willingly come to hear some good advertisement of the preacher, who cannot be now present, I think it not convenient to let you depart without some exhortation for your edification. And further declaring that he had no licence to preach, said, That he would not meddle with any matter in controversy. And then he began the epistle for the day, desiring the audience to mark three or four places in the said epistle, which touched of quietness and love to one another: and there briefly reading the epistle, he noted the same places, and so making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

Witnesses, the undernamed, with divers others,  
EDMUND MORES, WILLIAM FORSTALL,  
RICHARD RANDAL, THOMAS GOODING.  
JOHN HILLS,

*Another MATTER of TROUBLE wrought against Mr. JOHN BLAND, as appeareth by his own Narration.*

**U**PON Innocents day, being the 28th of December, they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say mass: he had nigh made an end of mattins ere I came; and when he had ended them, he said to me, Mr. Parson, your neighbours have desired me to say mattins and mass; I hope you will not be against the queen's proceedings. No (said I) I will offend none of her majesty's laws, God willing. What say you? quoth he, and made as though he had not heard. Then I spake the same words to him again with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the rest in the chancel heard: I spoke so loud the third time, that all the church might hear, That I would not offend the queen's laws, and then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk unto me, with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little, I have something to say to the people; and the clerk did so.

And the priest came down into the stall where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God always shewed unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors have; and among other benefits I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had briefly declared the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass book, saying, Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation. So that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament, and shewed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and in the mass one only eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship: and after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare who made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put on the mass; but before I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the constable his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, Thou heretic; some, Thou traitor; some, Thou rebel; and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was somewhat past, Be quiet, good neighbours, said I, and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled me, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, Peace masters, no more till mass be done, and they ceased. Then I said to the churchwarden and constable, each holding me by the arm: Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done. No, said the churchwarden, thou shalt tarry here till mass be done. I will not, said I, but against my will. And they said, Thou shalt tarry, for if thou go out thou wilt run away. Then I said to the constable, lay me in the stocks, and then you will be sure of me, and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the constable and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door on me, and there they made me tarry till mass was ended. When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden, after many brabblings that they made with me, Thou keepst a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's. You lye, Goodman Austen, said I, it is not against God's law, nor as I suppose, against the queen's. Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me



me without pity or mercy; but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, Come on, firrah, you are of his opinion, and took his dagger from him, and said, he should go with him. I am content, said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. By this time John Gray of Wingham, servant to John Smith, came in at the church stile, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, How now Ramsey, have you offended the queen's laws? No, said he. Then there is no transgression. Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, You are one of their opinions, you shall go with them for company, and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very shame they let him go again. But they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, guarded by eighteen persons. A sheet of paper would not contain the talk that we had that night with Mr. Hardes, justice, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Spilman, and Mr. Tutsam.

The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman, and Bartholomew Joyes, were bound in twenty pounds each of them for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for before the queen's majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hokeking, and Simon Barrat.

Now on the 23d or 24th of February Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Mr. Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Mr. Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyles's order, as they said, where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury: but after, they changed it to be at Ashford on Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the spiritual court.

*The First EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN BLAND in the Spiritual Court, before Dr. HARPSFIELD, ARCHDEACON of CANTERBURY, and Mr. COLLINS, COMMISSARY.*

THE 18th day of May, Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, obliged the mayor's serjeant to bring me before him and Mr. Collins, commissary, into Christ's church, and they took me into a chamber in the suffragan of Dover's house.

Then the archdeacon said, Art thou a priest? And I said, I was one. And he said, Art thou a graduate of any university? and I said, Yea. What degree, said he, hast thou taken? The degree, said I, of Master of Arts. The more pity, replied he, that thou shouldst behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common-licensed preacher, hast thou not? and I said, I have been so. Mary, said he, so I understand.

*Harpsfield.* What hast thou preached?

*Bland.* God's word, to the edifying of his people.

*Harpsfield.* No; no, to the destruction both of thy soul and their's too, if the mercy of God be not speedily extended towards you. I pray thee tell me what thou hast preached?

*Bland.* I told you already what I have preached.

*Harpsfield.* Nay, but tell me what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?

*Bland.* I will tell you no particular matter: for I perceive you would have some matter against me.

*Harpsfield.* No, by my faith, I only desire to win thee from the heresies thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal. For thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the real body and blood of Christ after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thy opinion?

*Bland.* Sir, I perceive, as I said before, that you seek

some matter against me. But seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words, and also both mine authority to preach, and my living taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an answer.

*Collins.* Mr. Bland, do you not remember, that Sr. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?

*Bland.* I know that, and I am content so to answer as that text biddeth: but I know that Mr. Archdeacon did not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they said, No, you shall not be troubled for any thing that you say here.

*Bland.* I am content for knowledge sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise. And so they fell to reasoning for the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At last Mr. Collins said, Mr. Bland, will you come and take in hand to answer such matters on Monday next as shall be laid to you?

*Bland.* Sir, you said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake. And they said, You shall not, but it is for other matters.

*Bland.* Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford, I am in doubt whether I can or no: yet have I purposed to be there, and so to go to London to Mr. Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive some money to pay my debts withal. Then said Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. Wiseman, that you shall sustain no loss.

*Bland.* That shall not need: for I can sustain no great loss if I go not. But I pray you let me have a longer day. No, said he.

*Bland.* Sir, I cannot well come on Monday.

*Harpsfield.* Wilt thou not come when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

*Bland.* I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day.

*Harpsfield.* Thou shalt have no other day: I charge thee to come on Monday.

*Bland.* Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you, or Mr. Collins, for God's sake, to confer scriptures privately with me in this manner, seeing you say you would so gladly win me.

*Harpsfield.* With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my lord of Dover's library, to have what book thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17th of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for that purpose, but was bound to appear at the sessions held at Cranbroke the third of July.

*Another APPEARANCE of Mr. BLAND, before the ARCHDEACON and his FELLOWS:*

ON the 21st of May I appeared in the chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for by me, and Mr. Archdeacon said thus to me: You are come here according as you were appointed; and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching; which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad: and I for my part shall be right glad to shew you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because you then refused to satisfy again the people that you had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought hellward by thee. What sayest thou?

*Bland.* I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither



neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And where your mastership faith, That I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus prove: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation, as you have here offered, should be this day between you and me. Whereat I much marvelled, and said to him, that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute: And Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Oxendon, Mr. Seth, of Overland, and Mr. Uxden can witness to this; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it.

*Harpsfield.* Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee, whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is.

*Bland.* I know not why you should ask me a reason of my faith, more than any other man in this open audience.

*Harpsfield.* Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a christian belief, thou needest not be ashamed of it.

*Bland.* I am not ashamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c. with all the other articles of the creed; and I do believe all the holy scriptures of God to be most certain and true.

*Harpsfield.* Wilt thou declare no more than this?

*Bland.* No.

*Harpsfield.* Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were since the apostles time. Lo, herupon ground I my faith; with many more words which I do not well remember.

And when he could get no other answer from me, than what I had said before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, By what law and authority will you proceed against me? Mr. Collins said, By the canon law.

*Bland.* I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law.

*Harpsfield.* Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee; and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?

*Bland.* Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, you said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that you would be content at my desire, to confer scriptures with me, to see if you could win me; and you said, you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would; and now you require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise before any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me in trouble, than to win me.

*Harpsfield.* I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I hope to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins, to hear us.

*Bland.* No, you shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness. But when we agree, set to our hands. Here the people made a great noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here we had many more words than I can rehearse. But at last I said, Sir, will you give me leave to ask you one question? And he said,

Yea, with all my heart. For in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won.

*Bland.* Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the virgin Mary to salute her, and said, "Hail, full of grace," &c. came any substance from God our Father into the virgin's womb to become man? Whereat Mr. Archdeacon, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins were silent. But my lord spake first, and said, The Holy Ghost came to her; and ere he had brought out his sentence, Mr. Syriac Peters said, "The power of the Most High overshadowed her." Truth, said Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God sent by the Holy Ghost. They had forgot, that He was begotten of the substance of his Father; or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it, by what words I cannot tell. But I said, Sir, shall I ask one other? And he said, Yea. Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?

*Harpsfield.* Hark, said Mr. Archdeacon, hear you this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the qualities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament. But it is no absurdity: for even that natural body that was born of the virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive you not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question.

*Bland.* If you be so much disconcerted with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that you say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament after the consecration.

*Harpsfield.* I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born of the virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament? And while he spake many other words, I said to Mr. Petit, That the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Mr. Petit partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

*Harpsfield.* Thou hast no learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act? And yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified; for when he was born of the virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?

Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, When Christ was in mount Tabor, he was there glorified in the sight of his apostles.

*Harpsfield.* You say truth, my lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles.

*Bland.* This methinks is new doctrine.

*Harpsfield.* Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove these matters against him. And thereupon the Archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put up against me at Christmas, and about that we had a little talk. And then Mr. Archdeacon rose up, and said, See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him. Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, I pray you let us be no more troubled with him, and then spake John Austen, and Heath a one-eyed man, and began to accuse me; but I gave them no other answer, but do to me what ye can by law, and I will answer it. Then said Thomas Austen, Bland, you were once abjured. You say not truly, Goodman Austen, said I, I was never abjured. Either, said he, you were abjured, or else you had the king's pardon. Neither of both, said I; you speak this of mere malice, with many other babbling words. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. Collins to command me to appear the next day. However, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Mr. Commissary, desiring him to respite the



the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would contentedly submit myself to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June I came to Mr. Commissary to let him know of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before Mr. Cocks of Surry, and Marks the apparitor; but Mr. Commissary gently said, that he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after. In the mean time a sessions was held at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, for I expected no other, did appear the third day of July.

Then said Sir John Baker, Bland, we hear that you are a Scot; where was you born and brought up? I said, I was born in England. And he said, Where? I replied, In Sedber, and brought up by one Dr. Lupton, provost of Eaton college. Well, said he, I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.

Then said Sir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a stiff-necked fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called. Then said Sir John Baker, Mr. Sheriff take him to your ward: and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word; and so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts: and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize held there, where we were two days among the prisoners: and when we were called, and the judges asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Mr. Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person.

Then the judges of assize remanded us to Maidstone again, ordering us to be brought to the next sessions that should be held at the town of Malden: however the sheriff never sent for us; so we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions held at Greenwich, the 18th and 19th of February. I and others being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailor and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and two others whom I knew not.

#### Another EXAMINATION of Mr. BLAND.

*Baker.* **B**LAND, wherefore were you cast into prison?

*Bland.* I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in.

*Baker.* Yea, but for what were you in before that time?

*Bland.* For an unjust complaint against me.

*Baker.* What was the complaint?

*Bland.* I told him as truly and as briefly as I could.

*Baker.* Let me see thy book?—And I gave him a Latin testament.

*Baker.* Will you go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?

*Bland.* I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man ought to do.

*Baker.* Will you do as I said?

*Bland.* Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?

*Baker.* Yes.

*Bland.* Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?

*Baker.* Away, away; and threw down the book, and said, it is no testament. And I said, Yes.

*Baker.* Yea, sayest thou so? by St. Mary, and hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee, ere thou should be unburned: hence, knave, hence. And so were we returned into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge ordered the jailor to deliver us to the ordinary. And if, said the judge, they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us

again, and they shall have judgment and execution. And one of our company said, My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever.

#### Another APPEARANCE of Mr. BLAND in the SPIRITUAL COURT.

**T**HEN we came to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second day of March, on which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Cree-church, where were sitting the suffragan of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, Mr. Milles, with others, and then went to them Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Harges, justices. And when I was called, Mr. Webb said, Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy.

*Bland.* Mr. Webb, you have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, what is the reason that I have been kept so long in prison?

*Webb.* Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge.

*Bland.* I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy.

*Webb.* Yes; you denied to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.

Then stood up Mr. Petit, and said, You were cast into prison, because you fled away from your ordinary.

*Bland.* Then have I had wrong: for I never fled nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. If I did, let them now speak; but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, Mr. Commissary, have you been the cause of this my imprisonment? No, says he; you know that when you went from me, you were appointed to appear the Friday after the sessions. Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were presented, and then we were sent to Westgate into prison, and were put into several close holds, so that we could not speak to one another, neither was any man permitted to come to us. We appeared four times in this manner: but one they dispatched, by what means I cannot tell, whose name was Cornwall, a tanner.

#### The ANSWER of Mr. BLAND at his Appearance before the COMMISSARY, and others in the Spiritual Court.

**M**R. Collins said: Mr. Bland, you know that you are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say you, be you contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?

*Bland.* I deny that I am justly suspected of heresy.

*Collins.* You were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge.

*Bland.* That matter was done and said a whole year ago, for I have been in prison this year and more. If you have any thing against me by law, I desire that you let me know the law and matter, and I will answer according to the law.

Then said my lord suffragan; But that I am one of the judges I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol.

*Bland.* You, my lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, That in your conscience you had abhorred the mass three years.

*Collins.* Thou liest: this is but a drift. You had better answer now, else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if you answer not then directly, you shall be condemned as an heretic, and that will be worse for you.

*Bland.* Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer any thing that you can lay to my charge by law: wherefore I trust you will let me have the benefit of the law.

*Collins.* Well, on Monday at nine of the clock



you shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you.

Then they espied Mr. Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and said, Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by law to answer: and he said as they had said.

After some conversation, my lord of Dover cried, No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away, and bring in another.

The Monday after we were brought to the same place again; but as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which they said before I should see.

Then they brought forth a decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that those whom they so examined must needs answer. But I said that it meant such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid.

*Collins.* Are you willing to confer with some? It will be better for you; now we offer it, because you would not desire it.

*Bland.* As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the scriptures: and therefore I expected Dr. Faucer would have come to me without desiring, if any profit to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

*Collins.* Will you come to his chamber in the afternoon?

*Bland.* Sir, I am a prisoner, it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and so departed. At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the Tuesday seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier.

*Here followeth a certain CONFUTATION of Mr. BLAND, against false and manifest Absurdities granted by Mr. MILLES, Priest of Christ-church in Canterbury.*

**MILLES.** We say that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly, and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure.

*Bland.* This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say, the matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. And God by his power worketh no miracles with "This my body," so as to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure.

*Milles.* We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity. And we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament; and the body that we so receive hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not visible after a gross sort, and the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ: for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood.

*Bland.* I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament; it may chance to bring you to the truth in time to come. And you say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which you deny not.

And a greater truth you confess than you did think, when you said, If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood; for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood.

If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that you receive, you say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead; and the flesh that you receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it.

This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: you imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body; as you do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.

*Milles.* If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the consecration, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance, but accidents without substance to a true believer.

*Bland.* You grant three absurdities, that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, you have brought in two inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it; and if that fail, you seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest diminisheth not the sacrament.

*Milles.* The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly. For although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally; as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh.

*Bland.* You make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. You say he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation: Therefore, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. You say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much, as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as you say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the mouse will live with consecrated bread, and then you must grant this absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents.

*Milles.* Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed, to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and we deny that by the sacramental eating any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body.

*Bland.* Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated; you cannot avoid that: but then you turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But you say, men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and then must you needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made



made substance in man. For by them our bodies are nourished, or else is all that is the nutriment in man accidents, and no substance.

*Mills.* If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms ingendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again.

*Bland.* Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a greater absurdity than the other, that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again; for no word in all the whole bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your heart, if it be his will and pleasure, to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings.

*The Last APPEARANCE and EXAMINATION of Mr. BLAND.*

MR. Bland was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, Monday the 13th day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton. The commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal by his letters patent had substituted his agent, before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great many were cruelly treated and barbarously slain at Canterbury, amongst whom Mr. Bland was the first; who, being brought before the first bishop, and colleagues, viz. John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, and William Cocker, were examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commissary, Whether he believed, that Christ is really in the sacrament, or not, &c. To this he answered and said, that he believed, that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies; so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

He was bid to appear again on Wednesday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the twentieth of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. Which day and place he appearing as before, was required to speak his mind plainly and fully to the aforesaid articles, being again repeated to him.

His answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. And on the 25th day of the said month of June he appeared again in the chapter-house, and there boldly and firmly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon he was condemned and committed to the secular power.

*The HISTORY of JOHN FRANKESH, HUMPHREY MIDDLETON, and NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.*

HAVING now passed over the examination of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellow prisoners, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction. The names of whom were, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury, the 25th day of June, the year above expressed. Whose examinations I need not long dwell upon, forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed. Sheterden's first examination was with Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield, and Mr. Collins, the commissary. The commissary, after many impious declarations, was at length compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but he said, they had power so to do.

*My First ANSWERING after their LAW was established.*

HAVING been called before the suffragan, and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles, I required to see their commission. They shewed it to me, and said, there it is, and the king and queen's letters also. Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles; Whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament, and whether the church of England be Christ's catholic church?

To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and, as I thought, wrongfully; reason would therefore that I should answer to those things for which I was imprisoned.

The suffragan said, his commission was, that I must answer directly, yes or no.

This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion.

He said, I was suspected, and presented to him.

*Sheterden.* Prove your suspicion, or shew what cause you have to suspect.

*Suffragan.* Thou wert cast into prison for that cause.

*Sheterden.* Because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and realm, I must now for amends be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law that hindered me from speaking as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more suspected than you, who preached the same yourself not long before.

*Suffragan.* That was no matter to thee what I preached.

*Sheterden.* Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly: and therefore I require as a subject, that you do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspected, more than yourself.

*Suffragan.* Well, I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

*Sheterden.* But your commission doth not serve you so to do without cause of suspicion. It is not meet for you to be my accuser and my judge also, for that is too much for one man.

*Mills.* If you were a christian man, you would not be ashamed of your faith being required.

*Sheterden.* I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you.

*Mills.* If you will not, then will we certify the king's council.

*Sheterden.* I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters of a year wrongfully in prison, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprisonment; and then I will not refuse to answer your articles, though they were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not.

They then said, it was obstinacy in him that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was naught, seeing he was ashamed to utter it: and that he should answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion.

*Sheterden.* I am content with that, yet all men shall know, that as you suspect and can prove no cause, so shall you condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know you seek my blood, and no justice.

*Suffragan.* No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion.

*Sheterden.* That we shall see. For then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and by that I shall know whether you seek blood or no.

At last stept up one Lovels, a lawyer, who would prove



prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry, &c. but at last he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said it was no wrong.

To this Mr. Sheterden said, if he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then under that hide the first wrong, then he said true, or else not.

*His EXAMINATION before the BISHOP of WINCHESTER, then LORD CHANCELLOR.*

**I** WAS called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others. He stood by the table, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed and drew near.

Then said he, I have sent for you because I hear you are indicted of heresy; and being called before the commissioners, you will not answer nor submit yourself.

I said, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer that I had been in prison a long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged of that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment, neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I have not been abroad since the law was made.

Then said the bishop of Winchester, Well, yet if such a suspicion be of you, if you be a christian, you will declare that it is not true, and so clear yourself.

*Sheterden.* I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, &c. trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

*Winchester.* If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment, &c.

*Sheterden.* I have no mind to sue now, but require right justice: but to make a promise, I will not; and if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it might be that my conscience was not persuaded, nor would be, in prison: seeing these things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by the authority of the realm. And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament; I said that against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

*Winchester.* By no law, and that was not able to consider, that all that while God preserved that, so that no law could pass against it.

*Sheterden.* I said their law did not only persuade me, but this most; when they preached unto us, they took pains to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we may read and judge whether they say true or no, but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a great persuasion.

*Winchester.* It was not a few that could be your guides in understanding, but the doctors and the whole church; now whom wouldst thou believe? either the few or the many?

*Sheterden.* I did not believe for the few or for the many, but only for him that bringeth the word, and shewed it to me to be so, according to the process thereof.

*Winchester.* Well, then, if an Arian come to thee with scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he shew this next, "My Father is greater than I."

*Sheterden.* No, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, "My Father and I are one."

*Winchester.* Yea, that is by charity, as we are one with him.

*Sheterden.* That gloss will not stand with the rest of the scripture, where he said, "I am the very same that I say to you;" he said the truth, and the truth was God, with more such like. And here he made many words, but very gently, of the sacrament. Likewise Christ said, said he, it was his body; yea, that is to say, a figure of his body; and how men did not consider that the Word was God, and God the Word,

and so provoked me with such temptation; but I let him alone, and said nothing. So after many words, he came to the church's faith, and comely order of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments.

*Winchester.* That was done that no false things should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat because she killed mice.

*Sheterden.* It is plain that the law forbids not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likenesses.

*Winchester.* Where find you that?

*Sheterden.* Forsooth, in the law where God gave them the commandments: for he said, "Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only:" and added a reason why; "lest they should after make images and marr themselves;" so that God would not shew his shape, because they should have no image of him who was the true God, &c.

*Winchester.* You have made a goodly interpretation.

*Sheterden.* No, it is the text. A Latin bible was then brought.

*Winchester.* Why, can you read no Latin?

*Sheterden.* No. Then was the English bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud: and then he said, Lo here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish, (the place was Deut. iv.) I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, this is an image of God.

*Winchester.* Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may, that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost, and the Father appeared to Daniel like an old man.

*Sheterden.* That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment; for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities; and therefore when I saw the dove, which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, &c. and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my lesson, and asked who taught me, with many words; and he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c. At last I said, My lord, although I were able to make ever so good a gloss upon the commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents, and much ado we had. At last he said, he saw what it was, and that he had sent for me for charity sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said, my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself. I said that was easy for me to do, for I had not offended.

*Winchester.* He said I could not escape so, there I was deceived.

*Sheterden.* Well, then, I am under the law, &c.

The archdeacon was then called in, and he said, that I behaved myself before him with such arrogancy and stoutness, as never was heard: whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, &c. and many other lies he laid to me, that I was sent home till another time, and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with such an outcry as was notable.

*Sheterden.* I declare that herein he falsely reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation, that none of her subjects should be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearsed the same in the court for me, and I did use him then, said I, as I use your grace now, and no otherwise.

*Winchester.* He said that I did not use myself very well now.

*Sheterden.* I said I had so offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them when and where they would.

*Winchester.* He said I should not confer, but be obedient. I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither: and when offended, let them punish me, and so departed.





*The Burning of M<sup>RS</sup> MARGERY POLLEY.  
at Tunbridge, in Kent.*



*The Martyrdom of M<sup>R</sup> DIRICK CARVER.  
at Lewes, in Sussex.*



*The Burning of M<sup>R</sup> THOMAS IVESON.  
at Chichester, in Sussex.*



*The Burning of M<sup>R</sup> JOHN DENLEY.  
at Uxbridge, in Middlesex.*



*The last* EXAMINATION, *with the* CONDEMNATION of Mr. JOHN BLAND, J. FRANKESH, N. SHETERDEN, and H. MIDDLETON.

AND thus much touching the particular and several examinations of Mr. Sheterden and Mr. Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, who were examined the same time, and suffered together with them, to wit, Humphry Middleton, of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvynden, in the diocese of Kent, above-mentioned; here first should be declared the articles, which publicly in their last examinations were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the aforesaid Thornton, bishop of Dover; but forasmuch as these articles being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the story of Mr. Bland, it is not therefore needful to make any new rehearsals thereof.

The seven articles being propounded to the persons above-named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphry Middleton, and one Thacker; John Frankesh first answered somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself, which was granted. Mr. Bland answered flatly and roundly, as you heard before. Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the catholic church after a sort they granted. To the fourth, fifth, and sixth, concerning the real presence, and the sacrament to be administered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they utterly refused to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto, before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, My living God, and no dead god, &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four upon these answers were condemned by the bishop of Dover the 25th day of June, 1555.

And being delivered to the secular power, they were all four burnt together at Canterbury the 12th of July, at two several stakes, but in one fire, where they in sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

Mr. SHETERDEN's PRAYER before his DEATH.

**O** LORD my God and Saviour, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands; Lord God, look upon me and other thy people, who at this time are oppressed by the worldly-minded for thy law's sake; yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and conveniences of this life, and do chuse to suffer adversity, and to be banished, yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake, that is in store. O Father, I do not presume to come unto thee trusting in mine own righteousness, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour: and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen.

Sheterden, some few days before he suffered, wrote an affectionate letter to his wife, two to his mother, wishing her increase of grace, and godly wisdom, and two to his brother, Walter Sheterden, expatiating on the true faith and doctrine of Christ. In the prayer which he offered up to the throne of grace before his death, he evinced consummate meekness, exemplary resignation, and a lively hope in God's mercy!

The next day after the condemnation of these aforesaid, which was the 26th day of July, W. Coker, W. Hopper, of Crambrooke, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright, of Ashford, and W. Stere, of Ashford, were likewise condemned for the same articles. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not

to this month, more shall be said of them when we come to the following month of August.

*A brief Account of* NICHOLAS HALL and CHRISTOPHER WAID.

**T**HE same month of July, Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Waid, of Dartford, suffered death, who were condemned by Maurice bishop of Rochester about the last day of June. The six articles administered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the other articles above specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

1. First, That they were christian men and professed the catholic determinations of our holy mother church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.

4. That they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

5. That they have been, and be amongst the people of that jurisdiction vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted, &c.

To these articles they answered as follows: First, Granting themselves christian men, and acknowledging the determination of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ; save that Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word Mother in the scriptures.

To the second they granted. To the third article as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance, they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, That whereas before he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now he said, that there is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution, &c. And concerning the mass in the fourth article, to be abominable, Christopher Waid, with the other, answered, that as they had confessed before, so they would not now go from what they had said. To the fifth article, for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor sticking to granting the same.

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men. Which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all the other servants of Christ, so the same being exemplified before, needeth not here to be repeated. Nicholas Hall was burnt at Rochester about the 19th day of July.

Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Waid, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol, of Rochester, and Margery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here followeth an account.

*The* CONDEMNATION of MARGERY POLLEY, Widow and Martyr.

**M**argery Polley, widow, sometime wife of Richard Polley of Pepingbery, was accused and brought before the said Maurice bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June. Which bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair of his majesty, in the high swelling stile after his ordinary manner to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words:



"We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepingbery, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," &c.

Thus the oath being first administered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Waid before, she so framed her answers again, especially answering to the third and fourth article, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For which sentence was read against her about the beginning of June, and she condemned for the same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the transaction thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Waid before mentioned.

*The MARTYRDOM of CHRISTOPHER WAID,  
Linen Weaver, of DARTFORD.*

**C**hristopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned, by Maurice bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burnt at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was carried out of town betimes in the morning in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of town, called the Brimth, into a gravel pit thereby, the common place for the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of broom faggots, with other faggots and tall wood. Unto which place the people of the country resorted in great numbers, and there waited his coming; insomuch that divers fruiterers came thither with horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten o'clock the sheriff came riding with a great many other gentlemen and retinue, appointed to assist him therein, and with them Christopher Waid, Margery Polley, of Tunbridge, riding pinioned by him, both singing of a psalm; which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where they should suffer, waiting their coming, she said unto Waid very loud and cheerfully, You may rejoice, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

And so passing by the place, which joined to the highway, they were straightway carried down to the town, where she was kept till the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being made ready, and stripped off his cloaths in an inn, a fair long white shirt was brought unto him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforesaid place. When he was come to the stake, he took it in his arms, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beacon, being hard by; then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he spake with a cheerful and loud voice the last verse of the 86th Psalm; "Shew some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me." Near to the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were set up four staves, quadrangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into which place as Waid was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days. While he was thus speaking to the people, the sheriff interrupted him, saying, Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently. I am quiet, said he, I thank God, Mr. Sheriff, and so trust to die.

All this while the friar stood still looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Waid mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he was amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being set about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which his tormentors perceiving, they cast faggots at the same hole; but notwithstanding he still, as he could, put them off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, Lord Jesus receive my soul; without any token or sign of impatience in the fire, till at length after the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding up his hands together over his head towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted, as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them.

This sign did God shew upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, shewed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And thus was the order of this godly martyr's execution, this was his end. Whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

*The APPREHENSION, EXAMINATION, CON-  
DEMNATION, and BURNING of DIRICK  
CARVER, Beer-Brewer of BRIGHTHELMSTONE, and  
JOHN LAUNDER, Husbandman of GODSTONE,  
SURRY, who suffered MARTYRDOM for the Testi-  
mony of the Gospel.*

**T**HE 22d day of July, Dirick Carver, late of the parish of Brightelmstone in the county of Suffex, was burnt at Lewes in the said county. And the day following John Launder, late of Godstone in the county of Surry, was burnt at Stening. These two men were, with others, about the latter end of the month of October, in the year 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayers in the dwelling-house of the said Dirick, and by him were sent up to the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester, now lord treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison on the 8th of June next after into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing with their own hands: which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly their answers thereunto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confession.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. To whom Launder said, I will never go from these answers as long as I live. The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory at St. Paul's the tenth day of the same month. Which articles and confession, with the forementioned letter, do here ensue.

A L E T T E R

*From the Marquis of WINCHESTER, Lord Treasurer, to BONNER, Bishop of LONDON, touching the Examination of the said Prisoners.*

**A**FTER my commendations to your good lordship, I shall not forget your livery of black against this time; no more I shall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote to make the



the sermon, who must now assuredly do it: for my lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent: and your lordship must command the sextons of your church to be in readines for ringing in the time of service. And if you be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it may be taken of the queen's stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

And you have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man convicted of heresy before you: but as I perceive you have not sent me a Significavit, and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him, and that shall I do, as soon as I am answered by you.

There be divers like prisoners that came from Suffex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, who must be examined by you, since they be come to London, and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I shall do, thanking your lordship heartily for my conies, trusting to recompense your lordship again shortly with twice as many. From my house this seventh of June, 1555.

Your loving friend,  
WINCHESTER.

#### The CONFESSION of DIRICK CARVER.

**D**IRICK CARVER, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Suffex, where he hath dwelt about eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson by Stockom, in the land of Luke, about forty years of age, and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Alhallows-day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, faith, that he hath and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church of England, he believeth, that there is no sacrifice in the mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a christian man, except it should be said in the mother tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he faith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a christian man.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, That he hath believed, and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel: but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a christian man's salvation. And further he faith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he faith, that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were lately burnt, were good christian men, and preached the true doctrine of Christ, as he believeth; and faith, that they shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he faith and believeth.

And further being examined, he faith, That since the queen's coronation, he hath had the bible and psalter read in his house at Brighthelmstone divers times, and likewise since his coming to Newgate: but the keeper hearing thereof, took them away; and also said, that about a twelvemonth ago, he had the English profection said in his house, with other English prayers. And further said, That Thomas Iveson, John Laun-

der, and William Vefie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examine in his house at Brighthelmstone, as they were hearing the gospel then read in English, a little before Alhallows-day last, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate.

#### The CONFESSION of JOHN LAUNDER.

**J**OHAN LAUNDER, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surry, husbandman, aged 25 years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, doth confesse and say, That about two days before last Alhallows-tide, this examine and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vefie, with divers other persons, to the number of twelve, (being altogether at their prayers, saying the service in English, set forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in the house of the said Dirick Carver, situated at Brighthelmstone in Suffex) were apprehended by one Mr. Gage, and by him sent up to London to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he and his said fellows have ever since remained.

And further being examined, he doth confesse and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmstone, was upon some business there to be done for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examine did resort to his house and company, whom before that time he did never see or know, and by reason of that his resort he was apprehended as before. And further doth confesse and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, namely, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord. And whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe, that all the service, sacrifices and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

Also he doth confesse and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, to wit, That when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in a remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none otherways as he believeth.

And moreover he doth confesse, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he faith, that albeit the *Gloria in excelsis*, the creed, *Sanctus Pater-noster*, *Agnus*, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used among other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also, as he believeth.

Also he doth believe and confesse, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to confesse his sins only to God, and also that no man hath any authority to absolve any one from his sins; and also believeth, that the right and true way (according to the scripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any



any auricular confession of them to the priest, or to take absolution of them at the priest's hands.

On Monday, June 10, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory, at one o'clock in the afternoon, where the bishop first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession to be openly read unto him, asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would: for your doctrine, said he, is poison and forcery.

The bishop seeing his constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries; nor yet his cruel threatenings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing on Dirick Carver and John Launder, severally; therefore they were both delivered to the sheriffs, who were there present, and afterwards conveyed to the places above-named, where they most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire.

*An Account of THOMAS IVESON, JOHN ALEWORTH, JAMES ABBES, JOHN DENLEY, JOHN NEWMAN, and PATRICK PACKINGHAM.*

THOMAS IVESON, of Godstone in the county of Surry, carpenter, was burnt about the same month at Chichester; whose apprehension, examination, constancy, and condemnation, was at the same time, and in the same form with Dirick Carver's and John Launder's.

In the latter end of the month of July, John Aleworth died in prison at the town of Reading; being there in bonds for the testimony of the gospel. Whom although the catholic prelates (according to their usual solemnity) excluded him from catholic burial, yet we see no cause to exclude him from the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

Among many that endeavoured in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man who was forced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehension. At length he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before Dr. Hopkins, bishop of Norwich: who examining him of his religion; and charging him therewith both with threats and fair speeches, at last James Abbes did yield to their persuasions.

When he was dismissed, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, which when James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and he went immediately to the bishop again, threw him his money; and said, he repented that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions. Hereupon the bishop with his chaplains laboured afresh to win him again, but in vain; for he would not yield to their persuasions, but stood manfully in his master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire in the consuming of his body to ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the second of August, 1555.

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, among the cruel murderers of God's saints, there was one Edmund Tyrel, Esq; at that time a justice of the peace within the county of Essex, who as he came from the burning of some pious martyrs, met with John Denley, gentleman, and John Newman, (both of Maidstone in Kent) travelling upon the way, and going to visit some of their friends in the said county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, as he bragged, apprehended them upon suspicion, and searched them; and finding the confession of their faith about them in writing, sent them up with a letter unto the queen's commissioners. These commissioners dispatched them to bishop Bonner, who June 28 caused Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, there examining them upon their confessions, to which they all answered in effect one thing: thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth day of July then next coming.

ARTICLES objected by EDMUND BONNER, BISHOP of LONDON, against JOHN DENLEY, JOHN NEWMAN, and PATRICK PACKINGHAM, jointly and severally, the 28th of June, 1555.

FIRST, That the said Denley now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

Secondly, That the said Denley hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth.

Thirdly, That the said Denley hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church.

Fourthly, That the said Denley hath believed and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word, and therefore he, the said Denley, hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Fifthly, That the said Denley hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession now used in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Sixthly, That the said Denley hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

Seventhly, That the said Denley hath believed, and doth so believe, that christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of mattins and even-song, anointing of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

Eighthly, That the said Denley hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

Ninthly, That the said Denley hath believed, and doth so believe; that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

Tenthly, That thou Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at least, being within the house of the bishop of London at St. Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said 23d day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the time of mass; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the hands of the priest, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

#### ANSWERS to the foregoing ARTICLES.

TO the first article I answer, It is very true.

To the second article, I answer; That it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; which holy church is the congregation of faithful people dispersed through the whole world, which church doth truly preach God's holy word; and doth also administer the two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to the blessed word.

To the third article I answer, That I do believe that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of Antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof: for it is plain, that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people; as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, Matth. vi. and also it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. for he saith, that "He that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation."



Also he saith, "Even so likewise when you speak with tongues, except you speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for you shall but speak in the air, that is as much as to say, in vain."

To the fourth article I answer, and I do believe (as I said before), That the mass now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ in his holy supper instituted the sacrament of bread and wine to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them."

To the fifth article I answer, That I do believe that auricular confession is not good as it is now used. Touching my sins wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof; for our Saviour saith, in the 11th of St. Matt. "Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will ease you," &c. The prodigal son, Luke xv. saith, "I will arise and go to my Father, and I will say unto him, Father I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son," &c. Psal. xxxi.

To the sixth article, I the said John Denley have answered in the fifth.

To the seventh article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also who came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matth. iii. Mark i. Luke iii. and Acts viii. the chamberlain said, See here is the water, what hindereth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said, Here is water. We do not read, that he asked for any cream, oil, or spittle, or conjured water, or conjured wax, or crosom, or salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him: for he would as well have asked for them as for water: and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before.

To the eighth article I answer shortly, That there be no more sacraments than two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; except you will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but what hath a promise annexed to it.

To the ninth article I answer you, That you have my mind written already; for it was found about me when I was taken: and you also know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed, concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other places of scripture which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end.

By me, JOHN DENLEY.

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's, where Bonner proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers, and then tempting them sometimes with fair promises, at other times with threatenings, which indeed were generally his chief arguments and reasons. In the end, seeing their unmoveable constancy, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and delivered them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them till they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; and accordingly Mr. Denley was sent to Uxbridge, where he was burned on the 8th

day of August; and being set in the fire, with the burning flames about him, he sung a psalm.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of August; Mr. Patrick Packingham also suffered at the same town, about the 28th of the said month. This Packingham was charged by Bonner, (as you heard before in the tenth article) for his behaviour in the bishop's chapel; who at the mass time there standing, would not pull off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. Packingham being much persuaded by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop; That the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it; &c.

Furthermore as concerning the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, at Maidstone in Kent, he was burnt the last day of August, at Saffron-walden, in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly persecuted and burnt, here followeth.

#### The EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN NEWMAN.

JOHN NEWMAN, when apprehended, was first examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, at Tenterden. From thence he was carried to Bonner, and there condemned with Denley and Packingham. But because his examinations and answers came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should be utterly suppressed.

First one of the doctors began, whose name John Newman doth not express, asking in this wise.

*Doctor.* How say you to this? "This is my body which is given for you?"

*Newman.* It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, "I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c." Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?

*Doctor.* This is no figurative speech. For he saith, "This is my body which is given for you," and he saith not so of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech.

*Newman.* Christ saith, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." If you will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup.

*Doctor.* Nay, that is not so meant: for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves: we say to our friend, drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup.

*Newman.* Why, if you will have the one so understood, you must so understand the other.

*Doctor.* Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say you of the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there that was born of the virgin Mary?

*Newman.* No, I do not so believe; neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth.

*Doctor.* Why, how then doth it feed?

*Newman.* I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ.

*Collins.* Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

*Newman.* I grant it to be true: but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you, what did Judas receive at the supper?

*Collins.* Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

*Newman.* Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had the devil and Christ in him at one time.

*Collins.* Nay, the devil did enter into him afterwards.



*Newman.* Yea, and before too: what, do you think he had but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end.

*Collins.* We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

*Newman.* Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil.

*Thornton.* Why, will you not believe that Christ was in hell? and you will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him.

*Newman.* Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, who sought him at his grave, and did love him intirely; much less will he suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

*Thornton.* Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, He is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?

*Newman.* Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places.

*Thornton.* No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?

*Newman.* I do believe that God is almighty.

*Thornton.* Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do.

*Newman.* I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled.

*Thornton.* What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth.

*Newman.* Why, will you have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?

*Thornton.* Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him.

*Newman.* I promise you, that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet you say, that where-soever the Deity is, there is also the humanity; and so you will make him nobody, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed.

*Thornton.* Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the Deity.

*Newman.* I promise you, that seemeth to me as great an heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man, and that were against all the scriptures.

*Thornton.* Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?

*Newman.* I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe he came through the stone.

*Thornton.* Well, let us not stand any longer about this. Back again to the real presence. How say you, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?

*Newman.* I have answered you already.

*Thornton.* Well, do you not believe that it is there really?

*Newman.* No, I believe it not.

*Thornton.* Well, will you stand to it?

*Newman.* I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth.

*Thornton.* Nay, you will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion.

*Newman.* Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witness, but only to the scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the scriptures.

Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away: but as I do understand, these are chief: as for taunts foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gift, and God increase in us strength.

John Newman and Richard Hook suffered martyrdom about the same time at Chichester.

*The* EXAMINATIONS, ANSWERS, and CONDEMNATION of WILLIAM COKER, WILLIAM HOPPER, HENRY LAURENCE, RICHARD COLLIAR, RICHARD WRIGHT, and WILLIAM STERE, before the BISHOP of DOVER, and Dr. HARPSFIELD, ARCHDEACON of CANTERBURY.

**M**ENTION was made a little before in the story of Mr. Bland, and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish-men, who being the same time with them called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins: yet notwithstanding because the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August; coming therefore now to the time of suffering, we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and answers as we find them in the registers. The names of these were W. Coker, W. Hopper, H. Laurence, R. Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to Mr. Bland and them were, you heard before. To which articles they severally answered for themselves in effect as followeth.

First, William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have a longer respite of six days more, he refused to take it; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the 11th of July.

William Hopper seemed first to grant to the faith and determination of the Roman church, but calling himself better to mind, constantly stuck to the truth, and was condemned the next week after, the 16th of July.

Henry Laurence, examined the said 16th of July, and partly deferred to the 2d of August, answered to the articles objected against him; first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had, nor would receive the sacrament, because, faith he, the order of the holy scripture is changed in the order of the sacrament.

Moreover, this said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did no reverence to the same: the said Laurence answered in these words, What? you shall not need to put off your cap: for it is not so holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to the disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion, and contrary he knoweth not. At last being required to subscribe his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, "You are all of Antichrist, and him you fol—and here his hand was hindered from writing any further: belike he would have written out [follow], &c. And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the 2d of August.

Richard Colliar, of Ashford above-mentioned, having the 16th of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this, sentence was read against him, and he condemned the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sung a psalm. Wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright, the same place and day above-mentioned, appearing, and being required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

William



William Stere, of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said 16th day of August, where he in the chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, That he should command his dog, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment; and asked, where was his authority? who then shewed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Stere denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick also said, he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alledging that the archbishop of Canterbury (who was then in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to shew his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not, he said, in the scripture, and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar with reverence, and putting off his cap, William Stere told him, that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge, that he was a bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; and after the sentence was read, he said, that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witnesses to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Faucet, were burnt all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes in one fire, about the latter end of August.

#### *The HISTORY of ELIZABETH WARNE, Widow, Burnt at STRATFORD-BOW.*

**E**LIZABETH WARNE, widow, was burnt in the month of August, at Stratford-Bow, near London: she was late wife of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who was also burnt the latter end of the May before, as in his story is recorded.

This Elizabeth Warne had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow-church-yard, in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter, where she remained till the 11th day of June: at which time she was brought to Newgate, and was confined there till the 2d day of July. Then was she sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner, bishop of London, who on the 6th day of the said month caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon sundry articles. She was condemned as an heretic, the 12th day of the same month of July, and so delivered to the secular power, to be by them put to death, which was done in the same month.

#### *An ACCOUNT of GEORGE TANKERFIELD, MARTYR.*

**G**EORGE TANKERFIELD, of London, cook, born in York, about the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, was in the days of king Edward a papist, till the time queen Mary came in, and then perceiving the great cruelty which the papists used, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began in his heart to abhor them. His tenets being discovered, he was brought to Newgate about the last day of February, 1555, by Mr. Beard, yeoman of the guards, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the west, sent in by Roger Chomley, knight, and Dr. Martin.

At length he was examined (with the others before mentioned) by bishop Bonner, who having endeavoured in vain, to dissuade him from his professed opinion of the idolatry and abominations of the mass; pronounced condemnation, and gave him over to the secular power.

This good man was accordingly taken, August 26, to St. Alban's to be burnt: while the faggots were set about him, there came a priest, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he would be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, I defy the whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol: good people, do not believe him. And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people to pray for him; the most part did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain.

#### *The HISTORY and EXAMINATION of ROBERT SMITH, MARTYR.*

**R**OBERT SMITH was brought to Newgate the 5th of November, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard of the queen's side, by the command of the council. Robert Smith first gave himself to service in the house of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pounds a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which many times rather for his mind's sake, than for any gain, he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preaching of Mr. Turner, of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming in of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors; and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner.

#### *The First EXAMINATION of ROBERT SMITH before BISHOP BONNER. Written by HIMSELF.*

*Bonner.* **H**OW long is it since you were confessed to any priest?

*Smith.* Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded by God to come to shew my faults to any of that sinful number whom you call priests.

*Bonner.* Thou shewest thyself even at thy first speech to be a rank heretic. How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?

*Smith.* I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance.

*Bonner.* What say you to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?

*Smith.* Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, is built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner stone: which church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am by grace made a member.

*Bonner.* You shall understand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your church



be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?

*Smith.* It is written in the Acts of the apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were faine to assemble in houses and secret places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God: and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?

*Bonner.* Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known church; but your's is not known.

*Smith.* Then could you not persecute it as you do: but as you say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which you persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth nor conversation.

*Bonner.* Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when St. Paul writ unto them, and so will I put in writing, shall I?

*Smith.* I do greatly marvel, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.

Well, friend, said Dr. Harpsfield, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

*Smith.* By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Well, said Bonner, laughing, tell me, how sayest thou of the church?

*Smith.* I told you whereon the true church is built, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also in *omnem terram*; as it is writen, "Their sound is gone forth into all lands," and this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more which also communicate in that Holy Spirit.

*Bonner.* What call you catholic, and what call you church?

*Smith.* Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like talk, it was laid to my charge that my fellow and I spake one thing. For which I praised God, and was sent again to the garden. Where, after a while, as I and brother Harwood had been together, came one of my lord's chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were a prisoner.

*Smith.* I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and your's; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus.

*Doctor.* I do much desire to talk to you lovingly, because you are a man that I much lament.

To which I answered, *Sub melle latet venenum*. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught.

*Doctor.* What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spit in his face?

*Smith.* If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall have a most plenteous salvation.

Then the doctor started away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between the soul of man and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?

*Smith.* Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming as you have to prove he came through the door. For that almighty God who brought the disciples out of prison, which yet when search was made was found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose.

At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he went from me, and we were carried into my lord's hall, where we were baited by my lord's band of servants almost all the day, until our keeper seeing their rudeness, shut us all up in a handsome chamber, while my lord went into his synagogue to condemn Mr. Denley and John Newman.

Then they brought my lord mayor up into the chamber where my lord intended to sup, to hear the matter; and I was the first that was called; where my lord mayor being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was flowing on every side, whilst I stood before them like a mute; which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But after my lord had well drank, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I did say as was written?

*Smith.* That I have said, I have said, and what I have said I do mean.

*Bonner.* Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard in some measure, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless, forasmuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me bloody Bonner, whereas God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have kept him from the consistory this day, whither I could have brought him justly; I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of his trouble; and this I profess before your lordship and all this audience.

*Smith.* Why, my lord, do you put on this fair vizard before my lord mayor, to make him believe that you seek not my blood, to cloak your murders, through my stoutness, as you call it? Have you not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you burned most cruelly, you burned also his body, and not only him, but a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints you have shewed so little mercy, shall it seem to my lord and this audience that you shew me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if you mean as you say, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to answer you?

*Bonner.* Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ; flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the virgin?

*Smith.* I have answered that it is none of God's order nor a sacrament, but man's own vain invention, and shewed him the Lord's institution. But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc est corpus meum* to lay in my dish; I proved before the audience that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life. At which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, saying,

*Harpsfield.* I will prove by the scriptures, that you blasphemous God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things shewed, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul; and therefore the bread is his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding.

*Smith.*



*Smith.* You falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the shewing of his passion, but the bread also. For our Saviour saith, "So often as you do this, do it in remembrance of me." And St. Paul saith, "So oft as you eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall shew the Lord's death till he come." And here is as much reverence given to the one as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well you make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread.

Then my lord rose up, and went to the table, where the lord mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried.

On which I was carried into the garden, and there abode till the rest of my friends were examined, and then were we sent away to Newgate with many foul farewells, my lord bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

*Second EXAMINATION of ROBERT SMITH,  
before BISHOP BONNER.*

**U**PON Saturday, at eight o'clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined by him as followeth.

*Bonner.* Thou Robert Smith, &c. sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth.

*Smith.* You have heard me both speak the contrary, and you have writing as a witness of the same.

*Bonner.* Yes, but I must ask this question: how sayest thou?

*Smith.* Must you of necessity begin with a lie? It maketh manifest that you determine to the end with the same. But there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if you will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus.

*Bonner.* Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church? and wilt thou not be confessed by the priest?

*Smith.* It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's pockets; and such pick-pocket matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all that you maintain is but money-matters.

*Bonner.* Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-pocket matter? Art thou not ashamed to say so?

*Smith.* I speak by experience: for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For first it hath been, we see, a betrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged from their sins, have given great sums of money to priests to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls' health.

And for example, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was when a child, waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, which being bound in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great quantity of his goods, and forgave unto one Mr. Gresham a large sum of money, and to another as much. The priest for his part had a good share, and the house had an annuity to keep him: which thing when his brother heard, he came to London, and after a declaration made to the council, how by the subtilty of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Mr. Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house could not be recovered. This story I began to tell; but when my lord saw it favoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of my mind, thou shouldst not come to talk before any man, but shouldst be put in a sack, with a dog in the same, and be thrown into a river.

*Smith.* I know you speak by practice, as much as by

speculation, for both you and your predecessors have sought all possible means to kill Christ secretly; witness Mr. Hunne, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and gave it out that the said Hunne hanged himself: and also a good brother of your's, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom, because he could not overcome by scripture, he caused to be privately strangled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers; and bringing him before the people, said, the rats had eaten him. Thus according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

*Bonner.* Ah, you are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

*Smith.* Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification, and this is no lie.

Then Bonner made his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such fums as he imagined. At the end of this fir John Mordaunt came in, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my lord, How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be of God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of, &c.

*Smith.* I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them.

*Bonner.* Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?

*Smith.* First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

*Bonner.* By the mass, this is the most unshame-faced heretic that ever I heard speak.

*Smith.* Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

*Bonner.* Well, Mr. Controller, you catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

By my troth, my lord, said fir John Mordaunt, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no christian man will deny.

*Smith.* That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle mangle in baptizing young infants.

*Bonner.* I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned.

*Smith.* You shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, shew me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?

*Bonner.* By both.

*Smith.* Then the water died for our sins: and so must you say, that the water hath life, and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

*Bonner.* Why, how understandest thou the scriptures? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

And again, "Suffer (saith our Saviour) these children to come unto me:" and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou hindereest them to come unto Christ.

*Smith.* Where you alledge St. John, "Except a man be born," &c. and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, who asketh of the Galatians, "Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith? and there concludeth that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of



of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now if baptism preacheth to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher and not a Saviour. And where you say, I hinder the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words that you hinder them to come, that will not suffer them to come unto him without the necessity of water. For he saith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto the water; and therefore if you condemn them, you condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, "Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And so I brought out many other examples, to make manifest that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in examples out of the scriptures for the same.

*Bonner.* Then thou makest the water of none effect, then put away water.

*Smith.* "It is not (saith St. Peter) the washing away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God." And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii. that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at nought the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

*Mordaunt.* By our lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

*Bonner.* Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Mr. Mordaunt.

*Smith.* Well, my lord, such catholic, such salvation!

*Bonner.* Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?

*Smith.* You may call it the sacrament of mis-orders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, poling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not so disfigure yourself as you do.

*Bonner.* Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself to anger thee withal; and so he sent for his barber, who immediately came: and before my face at the door of the next chamber, he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these articles.

*Bonner.* What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?

*Smith.* I say they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in, and therefore they may go among the refuse. Then Mr. Mordaunt went away, and my lord went to be shaved, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do, by whom I was baited for half an hour; of whom I also asked this question, Where were you all the days of king Edward, that you spake not that which you speak now?

*Doctors.* We were in England.

*Smith.* Yea, but then you had the faces of men, but now you put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John, "Ye shew yourselves as full of malice, as ye may be." For you have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another king Edward should arise, you would then say, Down with the pope, for he is Antichrist, and so are all his angels.

Then I was reviled and sent away, and brought in again before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession?

*Smith.* Look in mine articles, and they shall shew you what I allow.

*Doctor.* Your articles confess that you allow not auricular confession.

*Smith.* I allow it not, because the word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

*Doctor.* Why, it is written, thou shalt not hide thy sins, and offences.

*Smith.* No more do I when I confess them to Almighty God.

*Doctor.* Why you cannot say that you can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

*Smith.* You have made a good answer, then the priest must confess himself to me, as well as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if you confess to the priest and not unto God, you shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and presently went and hanged himself; and so many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them.

*Doctor.* What did they that came to John to be baptized?

*Smith.* They came and confessed their sins to Almighty God.

*Doctor.* And not unto John?

*Smith.* If it were unto John, as you are not able to prove, yet it was to God, before John and the whole congregation.

*Doctor.* Why, John was alone in the wilderness.

*Smith.* Why, and yet the scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many pharisees and sadducees came to his baptism. Here the scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as you say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confession, you never heard it allowed by the word. For the prophet David made his confession unto God, and saith, "I will confess my sins unto the Lord." Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee." Knock, ask, seek, with such like; and this is the word of God: now bring somewhat of the word to help yourself withal. Then they raged, and called me dog, and said I was damned.

*Smith.* Nay, you are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, "I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men." For here I have been baited these two days, of my lord, and his great bulls of Basan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band. With this came my lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him.

*Smith.* Forsooth, you are even so wise as you were before you were shaven.

*Bonner.* How standeth it, Mr. Doctors, have you done any good?

*Doctor.* No, by my troth, my lord, we can do no good.

*Smith.* Then it is fulfilled which is written, "How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

*Bonner.* Nay, naughty fellow, I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ.

*Smith.* Such gentlemen, such Christs! and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ.

*Bonner.* Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

*Smith.* Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.

*Bonner.* Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.

*Smith.* And you shall burn in hell, if you repent not: but, my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not with your doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass. Then after many railing sentences I was sent away.

And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it: that you may see how the Lord hath according to his promise given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in

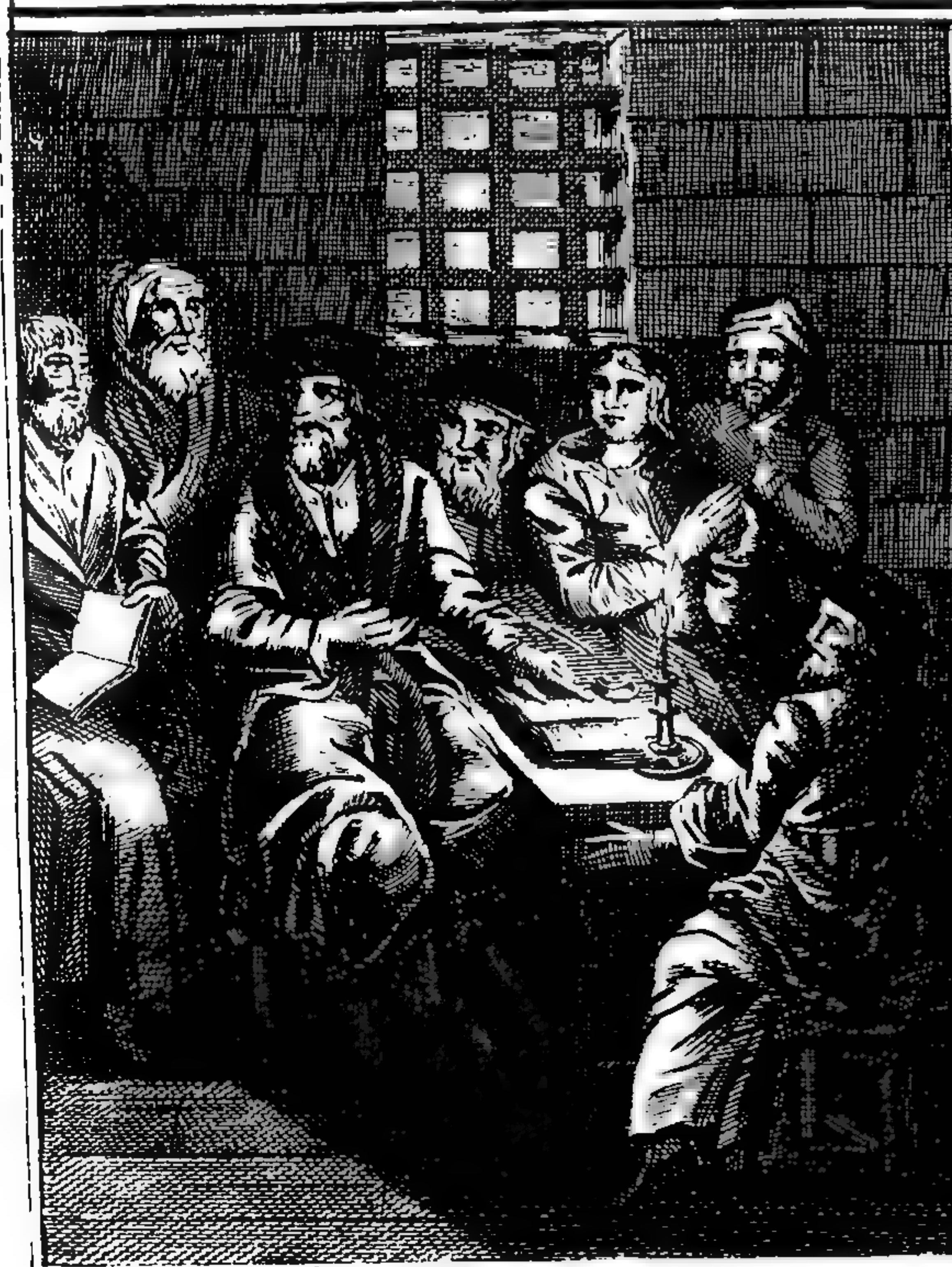




*The Examination of Mr. William Hale.  
before Bishop Bonner.*



*G. King, I. Wade, T. Leves, and W. Andrews,  
in the Stocks, at Lollards Tower.*



*R. Smith, G. Tankerfield, & their fellow Prisoners,  
conversing together — in Newgate.*



*A Popish Priest having taken away the Glory of  
Office of Christ, fell down suddenly & Died.*



in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard.

*The Last EXAMINATION of Mr. SMITH.*

**T**HE 12th of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and sheriffs, with all the assistants; to which I answered, as followeth.

*Bonner.* By my faith, my lord mayor, I have shewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company.

At this word, which was coupled with an oath, Mr. Smith came in, and said to the bishop, My lord, it is written, "You must not swear."

*Bonner.* Ah, Mr. Controller, are you come? Lo, my lord mayor, this is Mr. Speaker, pointing to my brother Tankerfield; and this is Mr. Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came to my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he had heard of the same before. To which he answered, No. To whom I said:

*Smith.* My lord mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and told it, and then you shall hear the truth? For this tale that my lord hath told is untrue.

*Bonner.* How say you, good Mr. Mordaunt, spake he not this here as it is written? Were you not by?

*Mordaunt.* Yes, my lord, that it is: I heard him say it.

*Smith.* How heard you me say it, and were not present when I spake it? It is manifestly proved what the prophet saith: "Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again." And then my jailor was brought out for proof thereof, who there openly professed that neither Mr. Mordaunt, nor the doctors before-mentioned, were present when I spake it.

At which Mr. Mordaunt, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the same; which also was not true. Then my lord proceeded with the rest of my articles, demanding of me if I said not as was written. To which I answered, No. And turning to my lord mayor, I said, I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here before your presence answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said, or will say, be proved (as my lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever you shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witnesses to the same.

*Lord Mayor.* Why, Smith, thou canst not deny but this thou saidst.

*Smith.* Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from the same: but what I have spoken I will never deny.

*Lord Mayor.* Why thou speakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar.

*Smith.* I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my lord or any of his doctors be able to prove either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error. Then spake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of things which they call heresy. To which the bishop answered, By my troth, Mr. Speaker, you shall preach at a stake.

*Smith.* Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

*Bonner.* Well, Mr. Controller, I am no faint.

*Smith.* No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are you not ashamed to sit in judgment and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?

*Bonner.* Well, Mr. Controller, you are faultless.

*Smith.* My lord mayor, I require you in God's name,

that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many innocents wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if you do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light. Then the lord mayor hanging down his head, said nothing, but the bishop told me, I should preach at the stake, and so the sheriff cried with the bishop, away with me.

Then I came in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: and at length my friends required the same with one voice, and could not have it; so we had sentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it separately. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you would leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.

*Bonner.* Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath with great disdain refused it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee into the right way?

*Smith.* My lord, if your chancellor will do me any good, and take any pains, as you say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that you have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon.

Then began the sentence, "In the name of God," &c. To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in scripture to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience sake. To which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned to the mayor, and said, Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and you that are the sheriffs, that you have left the straight way of the Lord, but you must condemn Christ causeless?

*Bonner.* Well, Mr. Controller, now you cannot say, but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now, I pray thee, call me Bloody Bishop, and say I seek thy blood.

*Smith.* Well, my lord, if neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden.

*Bonner.* Away with him, away with him.

*Woodrofe.* Away with him, take him away.

*Smith.* Well, good friends, you have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as you have here exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all men according to right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have judgment, to your great confusion, except you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then I was with the rest of my brethren carried away to Newgate.

While he was in prison, he wrote several letters to his friends, some in verse, and others in prose. A specimen of which follows.



## LETTER I.

**T**HE God that giveth life and light,  
 And leadeth into rest:  
 That breaketh bonds, and bringeth out  
 The poor that are opprest:  
 And keepeth mercy for the meek,  
 His treasure and his store:  
 Increase thy life in perfect love,  
 Both now and evermore.  
 That as thou hast begun to ground  
 In faith and fervent love,  
 Thou may'st be made a mighty mount,  
 That never may remove.  
 That thine ensample may be shew'd,  
 Among all thine increase;  
 That they may live and learn the like,  
 And pass their time in peace.  
 Thy salutations that were sent,  
 I heartily retain;  
 And send thee seventy times as much,  
 To thee and thine again.  
 And now because I know the gaol  
 That thou dost most desire;  
 I send thee here a paper full,  
 As fired in the fire.  
 In hope thou wilt accept it well,  
 Although it be but small;  
 Because I have no other good,  
 To make amends withal.  
 For all thy free and friendly facts,  
 Which thy good will hath wrought,  
 I send thee surely for a shift  
 The thing that cost me nought.  
 Abstain from all ungodliness,  
 In dread direct your days:  
 Possess not sin in any wise;  
 Beware of wicked ways.  
 Hold fast your faith unfeignedly;  
 Build as you have begun:  
 And arm yourself in perfect faith,  
 To do as ye have done:  
 Lest that the wicked make a mock  
 At what ye take in hand,  
 In leaving of the perfect rock,  
 To build upon the sand.  
 Beware of filthy pharisees,  
 Their building is in blood:  
 Eat not with them in any wise,  
 Their leaven is not good.  
 Their salt is all unsavory:  
 And under good intents  
 They maintain all their knavery,  
 And murder innocents.  
 They seek to sit in Christ his seat,  
 And put him out of place:  
 And make all means that may be made,  
 His doings to deface.  
 They keep him down with bills and bats,  
 That made the blind to see:  
 They make a god for mice and rats,  
 And say the same is he.  
 They look like sheep, and act like wolves,  
 Their baits be all for blood:  
 They kill and slay the simple souls,  
 And rob them of their good:  
 The dark illusions of the devil  
 Have dimmed so their eyes,  
 That they cannot abide the truth  
 To stir in any wise.  
 And if ye keep the perfect path,  
 (As I have hope you do)  
 Ye shall be sure to have such shame  
 As they may put you to.  
 For all that lead a godly life,  
 Shall surely suffer loss:  
 Likewise the world will seek their shame,  
 And make them kiss the cross.

Ye shall be killed all, faith Christ:  
 Your sorrows shall not cease:  
 And yet in your afflictions  
 I am your perfect peace.  
 For in the world ye shall have woe,  
 Because ye are unknown:  
 Also because ye hate the world,  
 The world will love his own.  
 Be fervent therefore to the death,  
 Against all their decrees:  
 And God shall surely fight for thee,  
 Against thine enemies.  
 Commit your cause unto the Lord,  
 Revenge not any ill;  
 And thou shalt see the wicked want,  
 When thou shalt have thy will.  
 For all afflictions that may fall,  
 That they can say or do:  
 They are not sure of all the wealth,  
 That we attain unto.  
 For I have seen the sinners spread  
 Their branches like a bay;  
 And yet ere one could turn his head,  
 Were wither'd clean away.  
 Beware that money make you not  
 In riches to arise!  
 Against the goodness of the Lord,  
 Among the worldly wise.  
 For many mischiefs it hath made,  
 That may not be express'd:  
 And many ills it hath begun,  
 Which may not be redress'd.  
 For money maketh many a one  
 In riches to rebel,  
 And he that maketh gold a god,  
 He hath a soul to sell.  
 It maketh kings to kill and slay,  
 And waste their wits in war;  
 In leaving of the wolf at home,  
 To hunt the fox afar.  
 And where they should see justice done,  
 And set their realm in rest;  
 By money they be made a means  
 To see the poor opprest.  
 It maketh lords obey the laws,  
 That they do ill and naught;  
 It maketh bishops suck the blood,  
 That God hath dearly bought.  
 And where they should be faithful friends,  
 And fathers to their flock,  
 By money they do turn about,  
 Ev'n like a weather-cock.  
 The priest doth make a money mean,  
 To have again his whores,  
 To put away his wedded wife,  
 And children out of doors.  
 It holdeth back the husbandman,  
 Which may not be forboren;  
 And will not suffer him to sow,  
 And cast abroad his corn.  
 In like case it doth let again,  
 When that the seed they sow;  
 It choaketh up the corn again,  
 So that it cannot grow.  
 The husband he would have a wife,  
 With nobles new and old:  
 The wife would have the husband hang'd,  
 That she might have his gold.  
 It maketh murd'ers many a one,  
 And beareth much with blood:  
 The child would see the parents slain,  
 To seize upon their good.  
 And though it be a blessed thing  
 Created in the kind;  
 It is a necessary ill  
 Annexed to the mind.  
 For whoso playeth with the pitch,  
 His fingers are defil'd;



And he that maketh gold a god,  
 Shall surely be beguil'd.  
 Be friendly to the fatherless,  
 And all that are oppress'd:  
 Assist them always out of hand,  
 And see them set at rest.  
 In all your doings and your deeds,  
 Let mercy still remain;  
 For with the measure that you mete,  
 Shall ye be met again.  
 Be always lowly in your life;  
 Let love enjoy her own:  
 The highest trees are seldom sure,  
 And soonest overthrown.  
 The lions lack and suffer sore,  
 In hunger and in thirst:  
 And they that do oppress the poor  
 Continue still accurst.  
 The bee is but a little beast  
 In body or in fight,  
 And yet she bringeth more increase  
 Than either crow or kite.  
 Therefore beware in any wise  
 Keep well your watch alway:  
 Be sure of oil within your lamp;  
 Let not your light decay.  
 For death despiseth them that lack,  
 And hateth them that have;  
 And treadeth down the rich and poor  
 Together in the grave.  
 Exhort your children to be chaste,  
 Rebuke them for their ill,  
 And let them not in any wise  
 Be wedded to their will.  
 Laugh not with them, but keep them low  
 Shew them no merry cheer,  
 Lest thou do weep with them also;  
 But bring them up in fear.  
 And let your light and living shine,  
 That ye be not suspected  
 To have the same within yourself,  
 For which they are corrected.  
 Be meek and modest, in a mean  
 Let all your deeds be done,  
 That they which are without the law  
 May see how right ye run.  
 Keep well the member in your mouth,  
 Your tongue see that ye tame;  
 For out of little sparks of fire  
 Proceedeth forth a flame.  
 And as the poison doth express  
 The nature of the toad;  
 Ev'n so the tongue do manifest  
 The heart that feareth God.  
 For therewith blest we God above,  
 And therewith curse we men;  
 And thereby murders do arise,  
 Through women now and then.  
 And seeing God hath given a tongue,  
 And put it under power,  
 The surest way it is, to set  
 A hatch before the door.  
 For God hath set you in a seat  
 Of double low degree;  
 First unto God, and then to man,  
 A subject for to be.  
 I write not that I see in you  
 These things to be suspected,  
 But only set before your face,  
 How sin should be corrected.  
 For flesh and blood I know ye are,  
 As other women be;  
 And if ye dwell in flesh and blood,  
 There is infirmity.  
 Receive a warning willingly,  
 That to thy teeth is told:  
 Account the gift of greater price  
 Than if he gave thee gold.

A wise man will, saith Solomon;  
 A warning soon embrace:  
 A fool will sooner (as he saith),  
 Be smitten on the face.  
 And as your members must be dead  
 From all things that are vain;  
 Ev'n so by baptism ye are born  
 To live with Christ again.  
 Thus farewell free and faithful friend;  
 The Lord that is above  
 Increase in thee a perfect faith,  
 And lead thee in his love.  
 And as I pray with perfect love,  
 And pour out bitter tears  
 For you and all that are at large  
 Abroad among the briers;  
 Ev'n so I pray thee to prefer  
 My person and my bands,  
 Unto the everlasting God  
 That hath me in his hands.  
 That I may pass out of this pond,  
 Wherein I am oppress'd,  
 Inclosed in a clod of clay,  
 That here can have no rest.  
 That as he hath begun in me—  
 His mercies many one,  
 I may attain to overtake  
 My brethren that are gone.  
 That when the death shall do his worst,  
 Where he shall point a place,  
 I may be able like a man  
 To look him in the face.  
 For though he catch away my cloak,  
 My body unto dust:  
 Yet am I sure to have a soul,  
 When death hath done his worst.  
 And though I leave a little dust  
 Dissolved without blood;  
 I shall receive it safe again,  
 When God shall see it good.  
 For my Redeemer I am sure  
 Doth live for evermore,  
 And sitteth high upon the heavens,  
 For whom I hunger sore.  
 Ev'n as the dear with deadly wounds  
 Escaped from the spoil,  
 Doth haste by all the means he may  
 To seek unto the soil.  
 Of whom I hope to have a crown,  
 That always shall remain;  
 And to enjoy a perfect peace,  
 For all my woe and pain.  
 The God that giveth all increase,  
 And seeketh still to save,  
 Abound in thee that perfect peace,  
 Which I do hope to have.  
 And I beseech the living God  
 To hold thee in his hands,  
 And wish thee ev'n with all my heart,  
 The blessing of my bands;  
 Which I esteem of higher price  
 Than pearl or precious stone;  
 And shall endure for evermore,  
 When earthly things are gone.

Letter II. is a poetical exhortation to his children:  
 and Letter III. another to his brother, respecting the  
 education of his daughter.

#### L E T T E R IV.

*To all who love GOD unfeignedly, and intend to lead a  
 GODLY LIFE according to his GOSPEL.*

**G**RACE and peace from God the Father, and from  
 our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.  
 Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour  
 Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein by  
 3 W the



the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up the kingdom of anti-christ: against whom see that you be strong in faith, to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake, knowing that thereunto you be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. O how happy are you that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ! Quiet therefore yourselves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom you suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wise. Be not afraid of bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that in the sight of the lord precious is the death of his saints. Watch therefore and pray, that you be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now shall it appear whether you have built upon the fleeting sand, or upon the immoveable rock Christ, which is the foundation of the apostles and prophets: whereon every house that is built, groweth into an holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that you shew yourselves the valient soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that you may stand fast against the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your captain, and you be his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to which he willingly humbled himself even unto death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now he triumpheth over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body.

It behoveth, therefore, every one that would be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross and follow him, as you have him for example: and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, you have his promise in Matth. xxviii. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality, and you brethren are his fellowship, whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way that you may be able to bear it.

Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when you shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you: for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth, which was sent from the heavens to teach us: he shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us: what is he then that shall be able to confound us? Nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell-fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, and a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to nought. He shall take them in their own net. He shall destroy them in their own inventions.

Acquit yourselves like men against the enemies of God in all humility of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting and sufficient sacrifice for the

remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever. Who now sitteth at the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupieth the blessed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be enclosed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious Majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour. And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not, and his bodily shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions, except sin.

And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There were they two coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven very man, but only mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold therefore, to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing and not by deserving. To this do the law and prophets witness.

This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel then can ye have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readiest way of life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now hinder you from going forward as ye have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and so run, that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves; and in respect of that heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile in comparison of everlasting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing, who is forsaken of his carnal father and mother, when he is received of God the Father, to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, immortal for mortal,

permanent



permanent for transitory, is infinite gain for a christian conscience.

Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren; mistrust not God; be of good comfort; rejoice in the Lord; hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your crosses, and follow him who is your leader, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments at the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting!

Be strong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you be none but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men, hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison, proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts, teaching us thereby to understand, that their natural inclination is, to deceive, poison, and destroy (as much as in them lieth) the faithful and elect of God; but the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, who have conspired against him: he hath numbered all the hairs of his children's head, so that one of them shall not perish without his fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme, let them curse, betray, whip, scourge, hang and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheepskins. For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ; even so is the persecutor of him known to be a member of Antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a means the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannically treat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon: where, when the people of God were in most extreme thraldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, he will cast them into the fire; this shall be their final reward. In the mean while our duty is, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies; for which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means he seeketh his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way he useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for those Balaamites who now molest us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let those belly-gods prate. For he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his, then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, who with their pretended holiness deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up

their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's highness, to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they be no longer suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's highness, and this her church and her realm from the proud prelates, who are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of conies.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word, which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work always that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are both body and soul. Whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word; God will not be mocked, nay, they that dissemble with him deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood; such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such, with their partakers, shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

ROBERT SMITH.

## LETTER V.

From Mr. ROBERT SMITH to his WIFE.

THE God and Father eternal, who brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, Amen; thy parents, and all thy friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that you left me in, rather better than worse, looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be partaker. I give God most hearty thanks therefore, desiring thee of all things to stand in that faith which thou hast received; and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands on everlasting life which shall ever abide, when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble which is momentary and light, and as St. Paul saith, not worthy to be compared with those things which God hath prepared for us; that we patiently carrying our crosses, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, who will (I trust) find a means for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our parting, that as God hath found us, and also elected us as worthy to suffer for him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and especially to your parents, keeping your sentiments close in any wise. Give most hearty thanks to my friend, who is come to Windsor only for our cause. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep yourself clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most intirely desire you to send me word if you lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and your's, Amen. From Newgate, April 15.

By your husband here and in heaven,

ROBERT SMITH,

The said Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, being thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner their bishop on the 12th day of July; and suffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of August; who as he had been before a comfortable instrument of God to all them that were in prison with him; so now also being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people, there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life. And, said he, I doubt not but God will shew you some token thereof. At length he being well nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.



## LETTER VI.

*From Mr. SMITH to his WIFE.*

**S**EEK first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour. Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

In hearing of good things, join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but especially with your conscience; for it will not be easily intreated.

Love all people, but especially your enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that you may be a child of God.

Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look at your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of what he himself is guilty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself.

Beware of riches and worldly honour; for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare; and also poverty, all which are like to a consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not be burnt.

Shew mercy to the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners visit your own soul, for it is inclosed in a perilous prison.

If you will love God, hate evil, and you shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you, have me in your prayer whilst I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and your's in the fear of God, and then I shall not fail to receive you together, in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your husband,

ROBERT SMITH.

If you will meet with me again,  
Forfake not Christ for any pain.

## LETTER VII.

*From the SAME to the SAME.*

**T**HE grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and establish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, you may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good example to our posterity.

I have received your letter, and I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by Peter, the keeper, there might have risen great trouble upon the same. For you well know, George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the council would surely have seen it. But Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth, let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane end, to my sister Tankerfield, and she may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very straitly kept, I praise God for his mercy. Nevertheless, Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you what you wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveson sendeth you a penny, I pray you give him thanks for the same, and Dirick also. I have sent you of that little that I have, two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed. In any case keep yourself close, I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and desire them with you, to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his sword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the epistle and exhortation. I have written all this fortnight for my lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the prison. The Holy Ghost keep you. I wish you could make a means for your money, to send a cheese to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. You shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Farewel most heartily.

I have not yet, tell my brother, spoke with the person. There is come a strict commandment, that no man must come to us,

because Tooley cursed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

Your's, and ever your's,

ROBERT SMITH.

## LETTER VIII.

*From the SAME to the SAME.*

**G**RACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, Amen, and prevent your ways through his holy Spirit, that you may eschew evil, to his honour, and your salvation; that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do the like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly, Amen.

I sent you by Mr. Alexander a purse with money. I have certain tokens for you, sent by my fellow-prisoners to you, that is, from Mr. Haukes, 12d. from Mr. Simpson, 12d. from his wife 4d. from Mr. Watts, five new groats; from Mr. Ardeley, 12d. from Mr. Bradford, 12d. which men are all gone to death, except Mr. Bradford, who still remaineth. There is also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, and William Bamford. There is also condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vassay is reprieved. Pray God to have mercy on his people; and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him bide at home. Commend me heartily to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katharine in mind. Commend me to all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but like a good matron keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God remain with you for ever, Amen.

My brother Iveson sendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katharine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish money. Father Herault, a six penny piece. William Andrews sendeth a race of ginger; and I send your mother one, and a nutmeg. I send Katharine comfits, for a token to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

Your husband,

ROBERT SMITH.

## LETTER IX.

*From Mr. SMITH to his FRIEND.*

**T**HE eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations to you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well-doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Christ, that you may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart not only to hear that he so doth, but also teacheth others that it is no crime to go to all abominations, which now stand in the idols temples: nevertheless, dear friend, be you not moved to follow sinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Christ. But look that by going into the idol temple, you defile not the temple of God: for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look, what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to church were without persecution, they would not learn you that lesson. But all things that are sweet to the flesh, are allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; and he that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give you his holy Spirit, Amen.

I have sent thee an epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace and insure it. Fear God, love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

Thy friend, and all men's, in Christ Jesus,  
Scribbled in much haste from  
Newgate, May 12. ROBERT SMITH.

ROBERT SMITH to all the faithful SERVANTS of  
CHRIST, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution.

**C**ONTENT thyself with patience,  
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,  
Which can and will thee recompense,  
A thousand fold with joys again.

Let nothing cause thy heart to quail,  
Launch out thy boat, haul up thy sail,

Put from the shore:

And be thou sure thou shalt attain,  
Unto the port that shall remain

For evermore.



*The MARTYRDOM of STEPHEN HARWOOD,  
and THOMAS FUST.*

**A**BOUT this time also died these two martyrs of God, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware. Who, as they were burnt much about the same time (though not at the same place) with the aforesaid Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, so were they likewise examined and openly condemned together with them; and as the proceedings against them all were alike, I thought it needless to repeat the same; only there is one thing more to be added concerning Thomas Fust, who at his last appearance on the 12th of July, being moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, answered thus: No, my lord, for no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies: you condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can you find any anointing or greasing in God's book? I speak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I speak. This answer of Thomas Fust only, I find noted by the register; and how unfaithful these registers have been, (I mean in omitting those things that were most worthy of note, in order to render the martyrs ridiculous to the people) is very evident in many places of this history. But to be short, when they had made their answers, both he and Stephen Harwood were, for their faithful perseverance, condemned together by the bishop in his accustomed pity, to be burnt as heretics, and so (as you have heard before) they finished their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August, and year aforesaid.

*The MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM HALE, at  
BARNET.*

**O**F the same company with those ten before recorded, who were sent to bishop Bonner by sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale, of Thorp, in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest, the 12th of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on: Ah, good people, said he, beware of this idolater, and this Antichrist (pointing to the bishop of London); and so he was delivered to the sheriffs to be burnt as an heretic, who sent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of August he most constantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul to the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

*An ACCOUNT of GEORGE KING, THOMAS  
LEYES, who died, and were buried in the Fields.*

**M**ention was made before of ten persons sent out of Newgate by Mr. Hare and other commissioners, to be examined by Bonner, bishop of London: of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been shewed; whose names were Elizabeth Warn, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. The other three, namely, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, falling sick in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there died, and were thrown out into the fields, and there buried in the night by some of the faithful brethren, when none in the day time durst do it, *Propter metum Judaeorum*. The last that remained of this company aforesaid was Joan Laysh, or Layshford, the daughter-in-law of John Warn, and Elizabeth Warn, martyrs: but because she was reprieved to another time, her story and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

*An ACCOUNT of WILLIAM ANDREW.*

**T**HE like catholic charity was also shewed upon William Andrew, of Horsley, in the county of

Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, 1555, by John Motham, constable of Malden in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the lord Rich, who sent him first to prison. Also sir Richard Southwell, knight, was another great enemy to him, as appeareth by a letter written by him to Bonner, which here followeth.

## A L E T T E R

*From Sir RICHARD SOUTHWELL to BONNER,  
BISHOP of LONDON.*

**M**AY it please your lordship to understand, that the lord Rich did about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew, of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him to Newgate, where he remaineth; and as I am informed, hath infected a number in that prison with his heresy. Your lordship shall do very well if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordship, but by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait on you with these few lines. And so referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your lordship's to command, June 12, 1555.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL.

This William Andrew being twice examined before bishop Bonner, there manfully stood in defence of his religion. At length, by the severe usage he met with in Newgate prison, he there lost his life, which otherwise would have been taken away by fire: and so after the popish manner he was cast out into a field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

*The MARTYRDOM of ROBERT SAMUEL,  
MINISTER of BARFOLD, in SUFFOLK.*

**M**R. Foster, a justice, dwelling at Cobdock, near Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, his constant study night and day was how to bring those into thralldom and captivity, that were honest and piously inclined to religion; but also whatsoever they were that once came into his claws, could not easily escape without clog of conscience or loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in king Edward's days, a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he industriously and successfully taught the flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At last being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice, (as many other good pastors were) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly do so. At which time order was given by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had been married in king Edward's days, should put away their wives from them, and be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree Mr. Samuel would not stand to, because he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but determining with himself, that God's laws were not to be broke for man's traditions, still kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last Mr. Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those parts, spared no time nor diligence, but quickly sent his spies abroad, laying close wait for Mr. Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.



In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they brought word to the officer, who came to the house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night-season, because they durst not do it in the day-time for fear of trouble and tumult, although good Mr. Samuel did not withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their hands of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he patiently spent his time among his pious brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked sort) to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, bishop of that diocese, and Dr. Dunning, his chancellor, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for cruel tormenting the bodies of the martyrs among all the rest; and especially through the procuring of Dunning. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation, yet would they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any besides these, who so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Mr. Samuel, as he had done with the others before, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-up-right to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed him two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to farther torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart, though it had been made of adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature! How often would he have drunk his own water; but his body was so dried up with his long emptiness, that he was not able to make one drop.

At last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, there were several that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment: to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, which administered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which came to pass accordingly, for soon after he was burned; and from that time till he suffered, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this he declared, to the end as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many other matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I wish he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his servants, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy scriptures already.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers, he saw in his sleep set up towards heaven; of which there

was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and from the death of two honest women, who were brought forth and suffered in the same town not long after.

As this pious martyr was going to the stake, a certain maid came to him, and took him about the neck and kissed him, which being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: however, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God; so there were two other honest women that fell into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new husband, Christ.

With these two this maid aforesaid was very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time giving counsel to one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's proceedings; had this answer at her hands again: I know well, saith she, that it is well enough to fly away, which remedy you may use if you please. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to an husband, and have besides young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter.

And so the next day after Mr. Samuel suffered, these two pious wives, the one named Anne Potten, the other Joan Trunchfield, wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker of Ipswich, were apprehended, and both had to prison together. Who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison, and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. So at length they both suffered after Samuel, Feb. 19, 1556, as shall be by God's grace declared hereafter. And these, no doubt were those two ladders, which being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the 31st of August, 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine as bright and white as new tried silver in the eyes of them that stood by, as I am informed by some that were there, and did behold the sight.

#### LETTER I.

From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, exhorting to the patient Suffering of Affliction for the Cause of Christ.

A Man knoweth not his time; but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with a snare, so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezekiel vii. Better it were to die (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas, for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, which seeth me, and seeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing, and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesites, now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messiah, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us from



from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his word, the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

O perilous abundance of goods, too much saturity of meats, wealth and quietness, which destroyed with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God, and without reprehension; but brought once to wealth and a prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolator. And what made the covetous young man so loth to follow Christ, when he was bidden to forsake the worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto these false allusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the highways of confusion and perpetual perdition.

We might now worthily, dear christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance: yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these our turbulent, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that God hath reserved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings; cast and dashed against all peril and dangers, as the very dross and out-casts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one; he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but "He will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits; which are his," as Saint Paul saith, 1 Cor. vi. For he hath made all, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith; "With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever."

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy both your souls and bodies? Think you to be more sure than under your captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable and brainless souls; which would for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their god, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which by God's promise and mercy in Christ shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, and Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnal people, delight in things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: "Yet shall they once (as the kingly prophet saith) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect," but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

Let us therefore follow those things that do pertain to the Spirit, and are celestial. "We must be here (saith St. Paul) not as inhabitants, and home-dealers, but as strangers;" not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our governor, to fight against the governor of darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and fappy tree? And what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy, speaking in the person of God, saith, "In the city wherein my name is invoked, will I begin to punish:" but as for you (meaning the wicked), shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? Nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us say with Ezechias, "Play the men and shrink not: let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us, our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is (saith he) with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you: and again, when you forsake him, he will forsake you."

Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort: not to be sad, but merry, not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood unto his glory,

the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (St. Paul meaning the body) be destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ, esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather, with Nabal and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with Christ and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. "But an unwise man," saith the Psalmist, "comprehendeth them not, neither doth the foolish understand them;" that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down and cast into the fire for ever. For as Job saith, "their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye," and death shall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance, (as St. Mark saith) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

Let us therefore (good christians) be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity; yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and good will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood, shed for the gospel, shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, who sit in the chair of perverse pestilent scorers. To whom, as to the wise gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling stone, whereat they now being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

These are the days of vengeance, saith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long and obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hosts, who so many times and so many ways have been provoked with the unpeackable riches of his goodness, his patience, and long-suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless contemned the same; and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's Majesty to anger.

Now, therefore, saith God by the mouth of his prophet, "I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee:" upon thee, I say, O England, and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals. For thou wast once enlightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas! O England, thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst not do it; thou must therefore, saith he, suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and on the coals that thou hast kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, saith the Lord, namely, that thou shalt sleep in sorrow and in bitterness. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable justice of the ever-living God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning confirmeth the same. The joy of our heart, saith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen: alas! that ever we sinned so fore!

Let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish furies, and clean without hope of God's accounting day, who know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They must, as St. John saith, needs abide and perish with their sins in death and in eternal damnation. But we be the children of saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them who change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice therefore, ye christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weather-cocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, "My sheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no strangers, and I give them everlasting life; for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands:" no nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and stout brags can once move them out of the way of eternal



eternal life. What consolation and comfort can we have more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smareth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away or diminishing from his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so neither can it hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore with an earnest faith lay fast hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be separated from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us: it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness that is laid up in store for us against the last day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seats with him, as he ascended and sitteth on the throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then with Christ be glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we shall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty, satiation of the pleasant presence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst; celestial joys in the company of angels, for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal for bodily death. O happy precious souls! O precious death and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God; to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then (as saith Isaiah) "The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord, and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: and they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished." Yea, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

## LETTER II.

From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, to the CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION, wherein he declareth the CONFESSION of his FAITH.

CONSIDERING with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word, these urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to acknowledge and confess my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience, that when they back-bite you as evil-doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ."

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same; seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, to be sufficient and absolutely necessary to instruct and teach me, and all the holy church, of our duty towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

First, and principally, I do assuredly believe, without doubting, that there is one Deity, or Divine Essence, and Infinite Substance; which is both called, and is indeed, God Everlasting, unbodily, unpartable, unmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, as well visible as invisible; and yet there be three distinct persons, all of one Godhead, or Divine Being, and all of one power, coequal, consubstantial, coeternal, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as holy scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation, who hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ, who hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesus; in him, as it is said, we live, we move,

and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

And in Jesus Christ our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin Mary: so that there be in him two natures, a divine nature and an human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable, conjoined in one Christ, truly God, and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God, wherein the will of God the Father apparently shineth, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God the Father.

Born of the virgin Mary; truly suffering his passion, crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for the actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Jesus Christ.

The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, &c.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all power of sin. Which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true pastor Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.

I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us of God, that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all, and for ever, for them that be sanctified.

I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly establish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of our Saviour, and the first fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our head is risen, we being his body and members must follow the head. Death, hell, and sin, cannot separate or pluck us from him. For as the Son cannot be divided nor separated from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, and eating and drinking, &c. We look (saith St. Paul) for Christ Jesus our Saviour, who shall change our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body by the same power and virtue, whereby he is able to subdue all things; even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrified and brought, as it were, to nothing, yet after that it springeth up afresh with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty, than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in glory.

Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, saith Christ, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life. It is Christ that once died for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die: it is he that swalloweth up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing else, but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity and joys eternal.

As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which are two in number, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord; I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirmation of our acceptance into the grace and favour of God, for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is our's, given us of God, and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his, whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we are born



to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness, Rom. vi.

The other sacrament, which is the supper of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a means to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe, Rom. x. so this sacrament is a means to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when as Christ shall appear, which is now in heaven, and no where else as concerning his human body.

Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoke and pronounced by the mouth of the minister: "This is my body which is given for you:" when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth; I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be wrapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth, John vi. but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, an hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind do fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles, my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and desires no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung, dross, and vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Jesus, my Lord and Saviour.

Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; for through faith in Christ, and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind and fellowship, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. John xvii. Thus I am assured and fully persuaded, and on this rock have I built, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into godly and perpetual concord, Amen.

Thus do I believe, and thus is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

#### An ACCOUNT of WILLIAM ALLEN, MARTYR.

NOW after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen was burnt in Walsingham, a labouring man, sometime servant to John Houghton, of Somerton. He being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, That he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go in procession.

Then being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church; he answered, That he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, That if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For which sentence of condemnation was given against him the 12th of August, to be burnt at Walsingham about the beginning of Sept. who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit

with the justices, by reason of his well-tryed conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to his suffering, and there being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

#### The MARTYRDOM of ROGER COO, first Examined by the BISHOP of NORWICH, and by him Condemned, August 12, 1555.

ROGER COO, being brought before the bishop, was first asked by him, why he was imprisoned?

Coo. At the justice's commandment.

Bishop. There was some cause why.

Coo. Here is my accuser, let him declare.

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament.

Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law.

But Coo answered, that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, What he said to the law that then was?

Coo answered, That he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, said his accuser, nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament.

When Coo heard him say so, he said, I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself.

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, Coo, why will you not receive?

He answered him, That the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same.

Bishop. How prove you that?

Coo. Our Saviour said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;" and the bread and wine doth not so.

Bishop. Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and break it, and said, "This is my body?"

Yes, said he; and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop. You have said the truth.

Then Coo replied further, and said, Christ commanded to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him; neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said.

Bishop. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in Acts ii.

Then the bishop's chaplain said it was true.

The bishop asked him if he could say his creed.

He answered yea, and so said part of the creed; and then after, he said he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bishop. Is not the holy church to be believed also?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

Coo. Have you so, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me?

Bishop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered; "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary. I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.

Bishop.



*Bishop.* Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

*Coo.* If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God.

*Bishop.* These two and twenty years we have been governed by such kings.

*Coo.* My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

*Bishop.* I durst not for fear of death. And thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I recollected, and wrote down my railing (as they called it) that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and for ever, Amen.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, in the month of September, 1555.

#### *An ACCOUNT of THOMAS COB, of HAVERHILL, BUTCHER, and MARTYR.*

**T**HOMAS COB, of Haverhill, butcher, was condemned on the 12th day of August, and executed in the month of September. Being brought and examined by Michael Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, That the body of Christ, born of the virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of the faith, or no; he answered, That his body should be at the king and queen's commandment so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, he being condemned, was burnt in the town of Thetford, in September, 1555.

#### *An ACCOUNT of the MARTYRDOM of GEORGE CATMER, ROBERT STREATER, ANTHONY BURWARD, GEORGE BRODBRIDGE, and JAMES TUTTY.*

**N**OW to return to Norfolk and Suffolk, in the diocese of Canterbury, where we shall treat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September, was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel, the names of whom are as follow:

George Catmer, of Hith; Robert Streater, of Hith; Anthony Burward, of Calote; George Brodbridge, of Bromfield; James Tutty, of Brenchley.

These upon the third day of August were brought before Dr. Thornton, the aforesaid bishop of Dover, and his accomplices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and other such like.

To which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer in this wise: Christ, said he, sitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father, and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar; but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him Robert Streater was called forth, who being also asked, Whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said, that he did not so believe; for you do maintain heresy and idolatry (says he) in that you teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant of the church: for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God.

The like objection was likewise made against Anthony Burward, who also said that their sacrament was made an idol.

After him it was demanded of George Brodbridge what he said to those articles. Who answered, that he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is no real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do (says he) utterly deny them.

And last of all, James Tutty made and confirmed the foregoing answers.

And therefore they were all five condemned as heretics, and were all five burned at Canterbury in one fire, about the 6th day of September then next following.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithstanding, few parts of the realm were free from this fatal storm, but in almost all places some were put to death for the same righteous cause. And now to begin with the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, where we shall just mention two persons, namely, Thomas Hayward, and John Goreway, who were both condemned as heretics, and were burnt at Litchfield about the middle of September.

#### *The HISTORY of ROBERT GLOVER, Gentleman, and Mr. JOHN GLOVER, in the Diocese of LITCHFIELD.*

**R**OBERT GLOVER, gentleman, was likewise apprehended, and put to death in the month of September, in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry. Of whose apprehension and troubles I cannot well treat, without mentioning some things relating to John Glover, his brother, because the commission was chiefly sent down for John, and not for Robert, (although it pleased God that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended) therefore I thought it necessary to comprehend them both in one story. In describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life, I shall first begin with John the eldest brother; who, being a gentleman, and heir to his father in the town of Mancetor, was endowed with fair possessions and worldly goods, but much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace, and inward virtues: which grace so wrought in him, that he with his other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their lives and conversation followed the same.

John Glover was a man of a very tender conscience, and seemed to have a deeper taste and contemplation of heavenly things, and more mortified from worldly cares than the others were. His spiritual conflicts were very extraordinary, and because the consideration of them both is worthy of memory, and the example may work experience to the comfort of the godly, it may not be amiss to rehearse some part of them. It pleased God so to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon him, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brothers and other martyrs did; yet if we consider what he suffered inwardly, and that for a long time, he may well be counted a martyr with his brother Robert, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily dispatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what, and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell he inwardly felt, no tongue is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived





*The Burning of those pious MARTYRS, Geo. Catmer, Robt Sheater, Antho-  
ny Burward, & Geo. Broadridge, at Canterbury, in Kent: July 12. 1555.*



*Twenty two PROTESTANTS taken into Custody on account of their Religion,  
and brought in one Band with Cords round their Arms, from Colchester  
to London: by order of Bloody Queen Mary.*



*The MARTYRDOM of the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Bradford, and John Leaf an Apprentice  
Smithfield London June 10. 1557*



ceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that he could hardly digest any meat; enjoy the quietness of sleep, or pleasure of life; yea, and almost no kind of senses were left in him. And truly I have often greatly wondered at the miraculous operation of Christ shewed upon him, who unless he had relieved in time his poor wretched servant so far worn, with some seasonable consolation now and then, it could not be possible for him to subsist under such intolerable agonies. And yet the occasion thereof was of no great moment neither. But nothing is more common amongst the holiest and best of men, by how much the more devout and watchful there are, (having the fear of God before their eyes) so much the more they mistrust and suspect themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that they are often so terrified and perplexed with small matters (in comparison) as though they were huge mountains; whereas, on the contrary, others there be whom the blackest and most heinous crimes will nothing touch or move.

The occasion of this was, that he being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wonderful, sweet, and feeling sense of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in the 6th chapter to the Hebrews; "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." Upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost; even so much, that had he been in hell, he could hardly despair much more of his salvation. Every good man may readily judge, by himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions, turmoiled in the mean time in his woful breast; although it be hard for any man to judge of the misery thereof, but he who hath by experience felt the like.

Now in comparing the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you, what pains, punishment, and flames would he not willingly have suffered, to have had some small ease and refreshment? Being under such intolerable agonies of mind, that he could have no enjoyment of his food, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, on purpose to defer the time of his damnation as long as he could, thinking with himself, that he must needs be thrown into hell, as soon as the breath went out of his body. However, he thought Christ pitied his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened," &c.

And this I mention not to open his wound and expose his misfortunes, but to encourage all good men by his example to glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, he doth not only alleviate, that we may bear it, but also turneth it more to our advantage than we can imagine; which manifestly appeared in this good servant of God, and in no man more. And although (as we have said) he suffered many years these sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, did not only at last rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like probably hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead to this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all prophane doings. Neither was his talk anything different from the fruits of his life, never throwing out an idle, vile, or vain word. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby he might the more

quietly give himself up to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued in the time of king Edward VI.

After this in the persecuting days of queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard of his fame; and of his being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, he immediately wrote a letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as possible. But by the good providence of God, it happened otherwise: for God disposeth all things after his own secret pleasure; who seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would he commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years: God therefore, of his divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother being both stronger in body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge) should sustain that conflict, and even so it came to pass.

For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he forthwith sent private notice to the said John to convey himself away: who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's order.

But when the person they sought for could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found there Robert the other brother lying on his bed, who had been long sick; and was by him immediately brought before the sheriff. Which sheriff, notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying, that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet nevertheless, being terrified with the threats of the officer, contending with him to have him detained till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him against his will, and so laid him fast till the bishop came. And thus much by way of preamble, concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. John Glover.

Now to enter upon the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover; as the whole narration was sent in a letter of his own writing to his wife, concerning the manner of his being handled; therefore it seemeth best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit his own letter, the contents of which are as follow.

#### L E T T E R

From Mr. ROBERT GLOVER to his WIFE, containing the whole DESCRIPTION of his TROUBLES.

THE peace of conscience with passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

I thank you heartily (most loving wife) for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice; with tears (I say) for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a voluntary submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall



be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, who set more by their own pleasure and self in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others. My prayer shall be whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, establish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together shew forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly, Amen.

So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they ever so many. And because God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do, or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God, and that, as Christ saith, "The word of God that he hath spoken, shall judge in the last day;" let your prayer be to this end especially, That God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart, the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living to express the fruits thereof.

And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you, endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth; look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous mass, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, The church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, "My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples." Their church repelleth God's words, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change his blessed testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the scripture saith) with their own inventions, to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they

in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues ever so excellent.

Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, "Search the scriptures." But this church taketh away from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.

By these and such like manifest probations, they declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them, that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you to bear with the world for a season as they do. There is no dallying with God's matters: "It is a fearful thing (as St. Paul saith) to fall into the hands of the living God." Remember the prophet Elias. "Why halt ye on both sides?" Remember what Christ saith, "He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me." And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the fore front, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause. Set always before your eyes the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. "Be afraid in nothing (saith St. Paul) of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of eternal salvation." Christ commandeth the same, saying, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the example of him which asketh time first to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God ever so much. We do not read that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers or friends pleasure. But the scripture saith, "They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ." Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now-a-days are like Esop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley corn. So ignorant are they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they chuse rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, are less in value than a barley-corn.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the leaving of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children



dren, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

But these and such like, I thank my heavenly Father, (who of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son's sake, my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permission of God fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed; yet before I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming to me, What matter have you, Mr. Sheriff, to charge me withal? He answered, You shall know when you come before the masters; and so taking we with him, I expected to have been carried before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, my belly-full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel's sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart; O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder thee to chuse where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

Not long after Mr. W. Brasbridge, Mr. C. Phineas, and Mr. N. Hopkins, came unto me, persuading with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal; if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds as with them.

Secondly, If I shall enter bonds, covenant and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They used many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture if I brake my promise. I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Mr. Hopkins, That liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Mr. Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Afterwards debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conscience (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to shew themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I

shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath encouraged others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and persuaded all that profess God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish Antichrist; so the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish Antichrist should do against me, and the rather, because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences would then be sharply assaulted. So I remained prisoner in Coventry for the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer by the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the sumner; who being examined, denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and ordered the chief jailor to carry me to the bishop. I said to Mr. Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion did) to be refreshed by them whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

When I came before the bishop in Mr. Denton's house, he began with this protestation, That he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

I said to him, I am not come to accuse myself, what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me, whether I was learned? I answered, Smally learned.

Mr. Chancellor standing by, said I was a master of arts.

Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been in his diocese for a long season, neither was any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding, I answered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had, nor would come to their church, as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred



hundred lives. I desired him to shew me one jot or tittle in the scriptures for the proof and defence of the same.

He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

*Bishop.* Who shall judge the word?

*Glover.* Christ was willing that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the scriptures, and so was Paul; methinks you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content that the primitive church next to the apostles' time, should judge between the bishop and him. But the bishop refused that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

*Glover.* If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed bishop Latimer, bishop Ridley, and bishop Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?

*Bishop.* Because they were heretics.

*Glover.* And may not you err as well as they? I expected my lord to use some learned arguments to persuade me, but instead of that, he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before king Edward's time?

I desired him to shew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward shew it had in Christ's time.

*Bishop.* Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.

*Glover.* You be not able to shew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time.

My lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common jail, saying, he would at the end of the visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaseth you, said I to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common jail again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners the same day to Litchfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure. Which tidings at first somewhat discouraged me, fearing lest I should by means of my great sickness, through hard usage, (which I expected) have died in prison before I should come to answer: but immediately with God's word, I rebuked this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own distrust in the following manner. What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his power extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshach, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not to the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, in sickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, bishops, or the devil himself, much less one of his ministers shall be able to prevail against us. With such meditations I grew chearful, of good consolation and comfort: so that hearing one say that they could not provide horses enough for us, I said, Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they please, I am willing for my part.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Mr. Mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things

as should be laid to my charge; the contents of which were to this purpose.

"I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the jail, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been for the space of seven years and more, so that it is not like that I should be removed without great peril and danger of life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of persons."

But receiving no answers to my letters, I conjectured, that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, they moved them rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me dispatched privily in prison, than to bring me openly to my answer; as did in some measure appear by the treatment I met with at my first coming to prison.

Certain serjeants and constables of Coventry being appointed to have the conveying of us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to be on horseback about eleven or twelve o'clock on Friday, being a market day, that we might be the more gazed at: and to set the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and annulling of all such books as truly expound and interpret the scriptures. We came to Litchfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves for suppertime. We put up at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

After supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we intreated that upon former sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He seemed willing at first, but afterwards (whether by persuasion, but I rather suppose out of policy, till he could gather a multitude to stare and gaze upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease ourselves withal) he revoked his promise, and so by consent we were carried to prison, in the sight of a great multitude of people. I desired Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him, that they should have judgment without mercy, that shewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next the dungeon, where was small room, strong building, and very cold, with little light; and there he allowed me a bundle of straw instead of my bed, without chairs, form, or any thing else to ease myself withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: but Jephcot, and one Persey, the bishop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, This is a great extremity, God send us patience, and no more.

Then they were content that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, ink, or books, except my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Mr. Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and to the church. He wished no more hurt to my soul than he did to his own; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered Mr. Chancellor to



to his exhortation, That I refused not to be ruled by that church, that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

*Chancellor.* How know you the word of God, but by the church?

*Glover.* The church sheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God: this is no good reason in learning, said I to Mr. Chancellor. For it is like unto this; John shewed the people who was Christ; Therefore John was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king, am I therefore above the king?

Mr. Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. And I remained for the space of eight days without any further conference with any man, until the bishop's coming: in which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever.

The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, for his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God hath chosen from the beginning to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and the rest, "who gave first unto him," as Paul saith. And also speaking to every man, "What hast thou, that thou receivedst not?" Likewise John, "All have received of his fulness:" they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is, and will be still, the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of persons, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him: to all that call upon him in truth." God is near, he is at hand, he is with all, with all I say, and refuseth none; excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in a more bountiful manner, than he can well wish, or dare desire. His word cannot lie, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me."

I answered the enemy also on this manner; I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? As Christ himself beareth witness, "He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him also will I be ashamed before my Father and all his angels." I might also, for the like reason, neglect obedience to any of God's commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray: and so in like manner of all the commandments,

I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, or murdering, because I am not worthy to keep any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continual prayer, and with the word of God applied according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

At the bishop's first coming to Litchfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a bye chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment; I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for your church (said he to me), it was not known but lately in Edward's time.

I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone, and so alledged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And the church hath been from the beginning (said I), tho' it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction; contemned, despised, and persecuted. My lord contended on the other side, that they were the church.

So cried all the clergy (said I) against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, "The church of the Lord, the church of the Lord." And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, Hold thy peace, I command thee by the virtue of thy obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I desired my lord to lay something to my charge in particular, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point till he said I should go to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church?

The sacrament of baptism, said I, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.

No more? said he.

Then said I, To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust and confidence in the death of Christ, to such ministers, (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the authority of God's word, the remission of sins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because the matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession?

I answered, No.

Then the bishop would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

I answered, That their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because (said I) you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him in his own hand-writing, concerning the manner of his usage in prison, and also of his disputes with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had (no doubt) with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which he would also have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted.



permitted him to finish what he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, want of time did neither serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examination, wheresoever they are become.

Only this which I could learn by the relation of one Augustine Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report; that the said Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being heavy, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness or willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this Augustine, his friend above-mentioned, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the said Augustine answering again, desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation; whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure; and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he would shew some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same, and so departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was come within sight of the stake, (although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none) suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands, to Austin, and saying these words, "Austin, he is come, he is come," &c. and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty and life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

#### *An ACCOUNT of CORNELIUS BUNGEY, FELLOW-MARTYR with Mr. ROBERT GLOVER.*

**I**N the same fire with Mr. Glover, Cornelius Bungey, of Coventry, was likewise burnt, who was condemned by the said bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. As concerning the articles which were objected to him, the effect thereof was this.

First, It was objected against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Litchfield, and places thereabout, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

Secondly, That by baptism sins are not washed away, because he said that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

Thirdly, that there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism, and the Lord's supper.

Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and

notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, &c.

To which articles he answered again:

To the first he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

To the second he granted first, after revoked the same.

To the third also he granted, adding withal, that in scripture there is no more contained.

To the fourth touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewise.

Also to the sixth he granted; and likewise to the seventh.

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph, the bishop, read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of Mr. Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this aforesaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before-mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the christian martyr, Mr. Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th of September.

#### *The HISTORY of JOHN GLOVER, and WILLIAM GLOVER, who were excommunicated after their Death, and buried in the FIELDS.*

**J**OHNS and William Glover, the two brothers of Robert Glover, the martyr, ought not to be omitted in this history, although they were not called to finish their course in fire, as their brother, and other martyrs were; yet they were cast out of the church, and excommunicated even after they were dead, and denied christian burial.

And first concerning Mr. John Glover, the elder brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, you have partly heard before described: now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared. Whose rage and malice, although God restrained, that they could little prevail against him so long as life endured, yet after his decease, having power upon him, what they did you shall now understand.

Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house, where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the chamber where John Glover was, who being within, and holding the latch softly in his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by, (whose voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, saying, they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being carried to Litchfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon not long after, he left this life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, you have heard. Now what befel after the time of his death, both to him and his brother William, is worthy to be remembered. After he was dead and buried in the church-yard, without priest, or clerk, Dr. Dracott, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it happened that he was there buried. The parson answered, that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and



to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the high-way: the parson again answered, that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled, that none were able to endure it. Well, quoth Dr. Dracor, then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones, (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the wall, that the carts and horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the parson of the town, who told the same to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Fynden, in Derbyshire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother, whom, after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the well-disposed people of the town of Weme, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body into the parish church, intending to have it there buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church, in order to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop named Ralph Baine, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time, the body lying there a whole day, in the night-time one Richard Morice, a taylor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Weme, with some others, of Weme, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary examples of good Tobit; for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man's religion consists in not burying the dead; so that after he had lain there two days and one night, the aforesaid Bernard, the curate, came with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter being copied out word for word, here follow.

*A COPY of the BISHOP's LETTER written to the PARISH of WEME.*

**U**NDERSTANDING that one Glover an heretic is dead in the parish of Weme, which Glover hath, all the time of my being in this country, been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his spiritual father, but died without the rites belonging to a christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Weme, that he should not be honoured with christian burial, but also will and command all the parish of Weme, that no man procure help, nor speak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the church-wardens of Weme in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending and hindering, and procuring that he be not buried in the church, or within the walls of the church-yard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At Ecclesch, this sixth of September, 1555.

By your Ordinary, RADULPH,  
COVENTRY and LITCHFIELD.

By virtue of this aforesaid letter, so it fell out, that they who brought the corpse thither, were obliged to carry it back again at their own charges. But as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strong that no man could well come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholic churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Esq. who in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church, (which was St. Chad's, in

Shrewsbury) so that no mass-monger should be present thereat. Which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereupon one of the friends of the deceased, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, That God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then said the priest, Judge God or devil, the body shall not come there. And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burnt in Hartford-west, sir John Yonge being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the last year of king Henry the eighth. Whose name, as it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield.

*The MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM WOLSEY, and ROBERT PYGOT, PAINTER.*

**W**ILLIAM Wolsey and Robert Pygot, both inhabitants of the town of Wisbich, were the next condemned after the suffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey. These two blessed martyrs were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxtone, his suffragan, Robert Stewart, dean of Ely, John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. The said William Wolsey, who was then a constable, through the means of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who cruelly treated the said William Wolsey, was caused to put in sureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next general sessions held within the Isle of Ely. Being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at length he refused to do, and so was committed to jail, at the assize held at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Yong, came to confer with him, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was not of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the scriptures, than it did become such a lay-man as he was, to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasure, at last he answered in this wise; Good Mr. Doctor, What did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words written in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, "Woe be unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in."

Yea, saith Dr. Fuller, you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees.

Nay, Mr. Doctor, Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all others such as you be.

Away, Mr. Doctor, said Christopherson, for you can do no good with this man. Yet, saith Dr. Fuller, I will leave thee a book to read, I promise thee of a learned man's doing, that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing (who was then bishop of Lincoln).

Wolsey receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller resorting again to the prison to confer with the said Wolsey, asked him how he liked the said book, (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same) who answered him and said, Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it. Wherefore the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind,



mind, the book rased with a pen by the said Wolsey. Which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, O this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book.

Then the assizes to be held at Wisbich drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolsey, and spake unto him on this manner: Thou dost much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it.

Mr. Doctor, said Wolsey, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the sessions before named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbich, he and all his friends thinking, that he should have suffered there at that present time, but it proved otherwise.

Then Robert Pygot, the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil disposed persons (sworn men as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before sir Clement Hygham, being judge, who said unto him; Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance you came not to the church? Sir, quoth the painter, I am not out of the church, I trust in God.

No, sir, said the judge, this is no church, this is a hall. Yea, sir, said Pygot, I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but in the church of God.

Ah, sirrah, said the judge, you are too high learned for me to talk with, wherefore I will send you to them that are better learned than I, straightway commanding him to the jail where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broke up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely to prison, where they both remained till the day of their death.

In the mean time some of their neighbours of Wisbich being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came hither also a chaplain of bishop Goodrick's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said to the said Wolsey and Pygot: My brethren, according to my office I am come to talk with you, for I have been amanner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you, I promise you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word, and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself (my brethren) how soon I shall be at the same point that you are. These with many other like words he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks, contrary to the expectation they all had of him. God be praised therefore.

Then within a short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the 9th of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherfon, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, That the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not present really in the sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, perfectly believing the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would stand. Then the doctors said, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, said Wolsey, are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good

upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quier and indifferent, (as far as I perceive) and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any ill opinion I find in him.

Then Christopherfon called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following: I Robert Pygot do believe, that after the word of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the virgin Mary; and reading it to the painter, he said thus, Dost thou believe all this according as it is written?

No, sir, said the painter, that is your faith, and not mine.

*Christopherfon.* Lo, Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go, he is as much an heretic as the other. And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to prison, where they lay till the day of their death. On which day, one Peacock, a batchelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. v. of one that had lived inordinately by abusing his father's wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the scriptures.

So his sermon being ended, the aforesaid Pygot and Wolsey were brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain; thither came one Richard Collinson, a priest, at that time destitute of any abiding place or settled benefice, who said unto Wolsey, Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the holy scripture; wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you do declare in what place of the scripture you do err and find fault.

*Wolsey.* I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other christians to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report of me, God forgive them therefore. With that came one to the fire with a great sheer full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. O, said Wolsey, give me one of them, and Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the 106th Psalm, desiring all the people to say, Amen, and so received the fire most thankfully.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover from the university of Cambridge, by a credible person, and my faithful friend William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not improper to be notified to the reader, in order and form as followeth.

There were two godly martyrs burnt at Ely, the one named Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appeared a different disposition of spirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the scripture. Wolsey was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having the fulness of the Spirit, and detested all their doing, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderfully jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the same day that they were burnt, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderfully sore tormented in the prison with the tooth-ach, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hobilo, brewer, in Ely. To him he delivered certain



certain money to be distributed (as he appointed) part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings and eight-pence, to be delivered to one Richard Denton, a smith, dwelling at Wells, in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him the book of scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth, desiring him to make haste after as fast as he could.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the same sum of money to one Mr. Lawrence, a preacher, in Essex, (who then resorted often to his house) to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place.

And when his six shillings and eight-pence was delivered to Richard Denton, with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this, I confess it is true, but alas! I cannot burn. This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burnt. But he that could not burn for the cause of Christ, was afterwards burnt against his will, even after Christ had given peace to his church. For on Tuesday, the 18th of April, 1564, his house was set on fire, and he endeavouring to save his goods, perished in the flames, with two others that were in the same house.

Witnessed by

THO. HODILO, and WILL. FULKE.

Not much unlike this, was the example of Mr. West, chaplain to bishop Ridley, who refusing to die in the cause of Christ, with his master, said mass against his conscience, and died soon after.

## C H A P. XII.

HISTORY of the MARTYRDOM of BISHOP RIDLEY and BISHOP LATIMER. CHARACTER of STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP of WINCHESTER.—Further ACCOUNT of the EXAMINATIONS, &c. of many PIOUS and GODLY MEN and WOMEN.

The HISTORY of Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, and Mr. HUGH LATIMER, both BISHOPS.

ON the 17th of October, 1555, (the day on which William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot suffered at Ely) those two famous and singular captains, the principal pillars of Christ's church, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, and Mr. Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, were cruelly burnt in one fire at Oxford. Men, ever memorable for their piety, learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace.

Dr. Ridley was born in the county of Northumberland; when a child, he learned his grammar in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in a short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness he was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to king Henry the eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester, and from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in king Edward's days.

Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, was one of the first that hands were laid on, and committed to prison, as before hath been sufficiently declared: first in the Tower, and from thence translated with the archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Latimer to Oxford, and with them inclosed in the common prison of Boccardo; but at length being separated from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he was committed till the day of his martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till Oct. 16, 1555.

Dr. RIDLEY's Answers in Company with Mr. LATIMER, in Prison, upon the Objections of ANTONIAN, meaning by that Name some Popish Persecutor, as WINCHESTER, alluding thereby to the Story of VICTOR. lib. 3. De Persecut. Aphri.

*Objection 1.* ALL men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing much esteemed of all men, yea, of the queen herself.

*Ridley.* Because no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us incorrupt, Gal. ii. And also, If I build against the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser. This is likewise another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is

contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-block unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and be cast into the midst of the sea.

*Objection 2.* What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once to hear or see it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have you not used in times past to say mass yourself?

*Ridley.* I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at St. Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it ignorantly. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse those things which be most clear, and seem most manifestly to repugn against God's word, and they be these: The strange tongue, the want of the shewing of the Lord's death, the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, soasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins; to be short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fooleries which are in the mass, and about the same.

*Latimer.* Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it will be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: We have a law, and by our law we ought to die. Be you steadfast and immoveable, faith St. Paul: and again, Stand fast: and how oft is this repeated, If you abide, &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men.

*Objection 3.* But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism, or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called [Cathari], that they would not communicate with the church.



*Ridley.* I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same is necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and the institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novitians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separate themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not alledge that the sacraments were unduly administered, but turning their eyes from themselves, wherewith, according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they always reprov'd something, for which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing.

*Objection 4.* But admit there be in the mass, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault; if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do not you know both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?

*Ridley.* If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church which doth not edify the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled, if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church, instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel.

*Objection 5.* Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. You know this saying well enough. He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, (saith St. Augustine) be the life ever so well spent, none shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

*Ridley.* The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of truth; this church I believe according to the creed. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. In times past, (saith Chrysostom) there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by administering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. To that which they say, That the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer; The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers of one bread. But in the mass, the Lord's institution is not observed; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

*Objection 6.* That church which you have described to me is invisible, but Christ's coming is visible and known. For else why should Christ have said, Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto his church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

*Ridley.* The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; but either if our eyes be so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the church, that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.

*Objection 7.* The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God, in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kinds of fishes; this church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of truth; that is it for which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the greater part of the same alloweth it.

*Ridley.* I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the scripture. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them who profess the name of Christ, of which they are also named Christians. But as St. Paul saith of the Jews, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. neither yet all that be of Israel are counted the seed; even so, not every one that is a christian outwardly is a christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only on living stones, and true christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forasmuch as this church, (which is the second taking of the church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church (which St. Augustine calleth the mingled church) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree to the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of which although there be seldom mention in the scriptures, in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest sway. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called Synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church that which cannot be truly understood, but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm, that Universal doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, (at such time as the people would have stoned him) of Elias, of Jeremiah, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles, in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix, bishop of Rome, succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The church (saith he) doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For princes and popes



popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth.

*Objection 8.* General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ; Where two or three be gathered together in my name; there am I in the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude. &c. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used.

*Ridley.* Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whosoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock to everlasting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the christian flock, do indeed represent the christian church; and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such an one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, betwixt Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in spirit and truth, never can agree together. But you will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there are two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, (for as much as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

*Objection 9.* If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the greater number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by which controversies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

*Ridley.* Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he willeth in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

*Objection 10.* If you say that councils have sometimes erred; or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? since councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church.

*Ridley.* From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument: but from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometimes erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council? and all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) Hœmœusians. Was not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well

learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and institutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much dislike? But here peradventure one man will say unto me, We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, so much as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time. Here if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Austin, which, in my judgment, may suffice in this matter instead of many. Who knoweth not (saith he) that the holy scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be re-proved by other men's words, and by councils, and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of things, either what was shut up, is opened, or that which was hid, is known. Thus much out of St. Austin. But I will plead upon our Antonian, upon matter confessed. Here with us as when popey reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called, The bishop's book, made in the time of king Henry the eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err.

*Objection 11.* St. Austin saith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good. You will not say (I suppose) that in our congregations all be evil.

*Ridley.* I speak nothing of the goodness or badness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition wall that made the strife shall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Austin, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressed in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example.

*Objection 12.* It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto which the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are clean contrary: therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet notwithstanding we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, Paul after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew, that either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law.

*Ridley.* I grant the former part of your argument; and to the second part I say, that although it contain



many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles; and of the temple being frequented by Christ and his apostles; yet notwithstanding the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved. For you ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophets ceased not to accuse the true prophets of God: therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, can you understand what St. Paul alledgeth, when he saith, What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? Or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said: I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them (saith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing; so will I receive you, and be a Father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord God Almighty.

*Objection 13.* Seeing you are obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ? Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then the strange tongue doth not hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how you were baptized. Or whether will you, (as the anabaptists do) that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?

*Ridley.* Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake, which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who by reason of their age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, whatsoever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be given to them that are at years of maturity. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so baptized, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the christian faith, when they come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a christian man.

*Objection 14.* Forasmuch as you are so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations can call you home to a better mind, you must be hampered by the laws, and be compelled to obey whether you will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know, that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war?

*Ridley.* I grant it to be reasonable, that he who by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that which is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, He that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws.

It is true that is commonly said, He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law. But these things ought to take place against him, who refuseth to do that which is right and just according to true godliness, not against him who cannot quietly bear superstitions; but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which you say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws.

But this is the readiest way (you say) to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For so hath he by his minister always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered: did not the scribes and pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar's friend? Did they not, at last, cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend?" The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? "We have found this man, saith he, a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world," &c. But, I pray you, were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul and the prophets? God forbid. But they were by false men falsely accused. Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c. he answered with a mild spirit: We are taught (saith he) to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God; but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion.

Hitherto you see (good father) how I have in word only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look for, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what manner I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to accustom myself to armour, and to try how I can go armed. In Tindal, where I was born, not far from the borders of Scotland, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, and their spears in their hands, especially when they had any private warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like valiant men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny were loved by all the country the better for their father's sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith and the christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed? Always looking when our adversary (which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the devil, saith St. James, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain Christ, who by his own blood

hath



hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and inviteth us, that after these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen, Amen.

Good Father, forsomuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into thy bosom, here, methinks, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking to me, with these or like words, Trust not, my son, (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honor of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and beloved of you); trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord: "Do not imagine beforehand, what and how you will speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such a boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, "I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, &c. but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy." I beseech you, pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I being not overcome, through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him till that day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this harness a little better. For you know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God, that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing (I think) to join with you as with us youngsters. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book: spare not to blot my paper: I give you good leave.

*Latimer.* Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out, for it is not only solid armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayers you shall not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. many things make confusion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind; for the law shall be their sheet-anchor stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy (namely, now when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roast) but patience. Better is it to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore (my good lord) be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what you will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they

lift. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they lift, but as God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. It will be but in vain to use many words with them, now they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for you. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else, you know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies: you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true: therefore St. Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious you should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death doth mostly persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled; if we be separated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare his obedience to his will when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

When that number is fulfilled, which I suppose will be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, Peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament to redress all things that are amiss. But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play the bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread; but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists, and to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves and one another with these words.

Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to fulfil your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me I say, pray for me. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare you well.

What belief is to be given to papists may appear by their racking, writing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of forgetfulness. Fare you well once again, and be you steadfast and unmoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellously well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, "Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel;" and again, "Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," saith the Lord.

This pious man employed all his leisure time in devout meditation and writing. Several of his letters are preserved, but our confined limits can only admit a selection.

In Letter I. he addresseth Mr. Bradford and his fellow preachers; wherein he says, "We shall by God's grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come. For before that day come, I fear the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be trodden under foot: righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away,



whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truly the truth."

In Letter II. to his cousin he laments the then superstitious idolatry. Letters III. IV. and V. are to Mr. Bradford and his fellow prisoners, hoping he and his company will patiently bear the cross of Christ.

### LETTER VI.

*To the BRETHREN remaining in CAPTIVITY, and dispersed abroad in sundry PRISONS, but knit together in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion, in the Bowels of the LORD JESUS.*

**G**RACE, peace, and mercy, be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you my brethren, namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; you remain yet still immoveable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh the very stars out of heaven, while he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and sheweth to others the pleasant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent that they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast, and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to get drunk with the wine of her fornication; yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can condemn as well all the allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought; who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so stedfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of Antichrist, be they ever so terrible or plausible, you will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

In this faith stand you fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For you know, brethren, how our Saviour warned us beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue you faithful and constant, and be of good comfort, and remember that our great captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth us, that for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the mean season abide you and endure with patience as you have begun: endure I say, and reserve yourselves unto better times, as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to shew yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travelling faith of the gospel.

You have need of patience, that after you have done the will of God you may receive the promises. "For yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry; and the just shall live by faith: but if any withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him (saith the Lord). But we are not they which do

withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul." Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body, the rest you know. For I write not unto you, as men which are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth, and to this end only, that we agreeing together in one faith, may comfort one another, and be more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better, or more just cause either to condemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, or can we receive any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness (my brethren), let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that be called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods, and many lords, yet unto us there be but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. "This is life eternal, (saith St. John) that they know thee to be the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us fly from, and hold him accursed.

Brethren, you are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtilties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play you the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And although your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be you not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your captain Christ, trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God therefore) most plainly, evidently and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only you should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when you are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed for ever: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.

On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they else do unto you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villainy against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage ever so fiercely against us, yet let us not with evil unto them again, knowing that while for Christ's cause they vex and persecute us, they are like mad men, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather with well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he should drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and with us confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son



Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and truth, Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ, Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

In Letter VII. he comforts his afflicted and persecuted brethren as in Letter VI. Letter VIII. answers an epistle from Mr. West, formerly his chaplain, declaring his willingness to die for the truth.

Mr. Grindal (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) being in the time of exile in the city of Francfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then prisoner, a certain epistle, wherein first he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant. Secondly, He certifieth him of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the magistrates and rulers there towards them. Thirdly, He writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of other treatises and his disputations. Whereunto bishop Ridley answered him as follows.

### L E T T E R IX.

*From Dr. RIDLEY, in Answer to Mr. GRINDAL.*

**B**LESSED be God our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again which hath heard your request, and brought your letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly beloved brother Grindal, I say to you and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the others my reverend fathers and fellow-prisoners (which undoubtedly are Gloria Christi) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits, even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know you, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not, nor doth he cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us; and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will do so for Christ our master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find favour and grace in your exile, with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Tigury, Francfort, and other places, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do love Christ and his true word. I do assure you it warmed my heart, to hear you by chance name some, as Scory, Cox, &c. O that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, Turner, Leaver, Sampson, and Chambers, but I trust in God they be all well. And fir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home (as we look daily for no other, but when it shall please God to say, Come) you, blessed be God, are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lanthorn of his word in England. As concerning the copies you say you have with you, I wonder how they ever did or could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except you have that which I gathered myself after the disputation was done, I cannot think you have it truly. If you have that, then you have therewithal the whole manner after which I was used in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English against transubstantiation, I cannot think it worth translating into Latin, nor would I have you translate any other of my writing,

till you are certain how the Lord will dispose of me: And thus much concerning your letters. Now although I suppose you know a good part of our condition here, (for we are forth coming, even as when you departed; &c.) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and after that had granted to me, without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in prison again.

The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Bradford, and I, were put all together in one prison, where we remained until almost Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following were our disputations at Oxford, after which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, &c. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had a strange man put to him, and each of us were appointed to be kept in separate places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We expected long ago to have been dispatched, for we were all three on one day condemned as heretics by Dr. Weston, (he being the head commissioner) within a day or two of our disputations, and ever since we remain here as we were by him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I doubt not but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our eternal salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved, above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is also condemned, and is already delivered to the secular power, and writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have valiantly suffered, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, no, not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these; Farrar, bishop of St. David's; Hooper, bishop of Worcester; Roger, your fellow-prebend; Dr. Taylor, of Hadley; Mr. Sanders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now this last day, Mr. Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield, in London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

West, your old companion, and sometime my officer, (alas!) hath relented, (as I have heard) but the Lord hath shortened his days, for soon after he died, and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again; but I fear he escaped not without bowing his knee to Baal.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head, in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.

Of all us three prisoners in Oxford, I am kept most strict, and with least liberty; either because the man in whose house I am a prisoner is governed by his wife, who is a morose, superstitious old woman, and thinks she shall merit by having me very closely confined; for the man himself, whose name is Irish, is civil enough to all, but too much ruled by his wife. Though I never had a wife, yet from this daily usage I begin to understand how great and intolerable a burthen it is to have a bad



one. The wise man says rightly, A good wife is the gift of God: and again, Blessed is the man who hath a good wife. Or else I say the reason is, (for I know not from which) that he is so commanded from the higher powers, which is what he pleads, when I complain of my hard usage.

At Cambridge, (as I hear say) all the reformati- ons of students and statutes which were lately made, are now undone; and all things are reduced to their ancient confusion and popish superstition. All the heads of colleges who preached the sincere word of God, or fa- voured it, are turned out, and others of the popish fac- tion put in their places; insomuch that I hear no one can be admitted a fellow of a college, that will not bow the knee to Baal. Nor do I wonder, since it is so throughout the whole realm of England, among arch- bishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, and the whole body of the clergy. And to tell you much naughty matter in few words, Popery every where reigns among us in its full and ancient force.

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours, alas! we did not serve him, nor render thanks unto him according to the same. We pastors, many of us were too cold, and bore too much with the wicked world: our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places were unruly and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed may he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his sacred majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

My daily prayer is (as God do h know) and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things, than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I use to make to God for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of Anti- christ, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you agree brotherly in the truth of the same, that there arise no root of bitterness among you, that may affect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already, and finally that your life may be so pure and so honest, ac- cording to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for honesty and virtue's sake, and so both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly viriue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

Several of our magistrates, viz. the chancellor of Winchester, earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, are am- bassadors with cardinal Poole, beyond the seas, to make peace (as it is said) between the emperor, our realm, and the king of France. After whose return, and the delivery of the queen, which we daily expect, and have long expected, and which God, for the glory of his name, grant to be a safe and happy one, then shall we expect from the old enemy of our profession, soon to receive triumphant crowns in the Lord.

I humbly with my whole heart commend me to all your prayers, and first to your's, O most dear brother in Christ, and my most beloved Grindal, to your's most dear, and together with my beloved in the Lord, Cheek, Cox, Turner, Lever, Sampson, Chambers, and all our brethren and fellow-countrymen who live amongst you, and love our Lord Jesus Christ in truth. I commend also to you the reverend fathers in God, and my fellow captives in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer,

worthy of the name of a true great pastor

and archbishop; and that old soldier of Christ, and true apostle of our English nation, Hugh Latimer. I here give myself the greater length in this letter, most dear brother, because after this I am persuaded they will be too short to trouble you.

Oxford.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

## LETTER X.

From Dr. RIDLEY to AUGUSTINE BERNHER.

**B**ROTHER AUGUSTINE, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Christ, especially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleaseth him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord to set in the fore-front of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause and for his gospel's sake to lose their lives. And evermore and without end, blessed be even the same our heavenly Father, for our dear and in- tirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for; for I believe he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he (for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously) hath helped those which have gone before in their journey, that is, hath ani- mated them to keep the highway, and so to run, that at length they may receive the reward. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time proto- martyr Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher in London. And now because Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him) I trust to God it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well, I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write.

N. RIDLEY.

*The LIFE of BISHOP LATIMER, a famous PREACHER and worthy MARTYR of CHRIST.*

**N**OW consequently after the life of bishop Ridley, followeth the life of that valiant champion, and old disciplined soldier of Christ, bishop Hugh Latimer, who was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman in good repute, with whom he was brought up till he was about four years old: at which time his parents, (having him as then left for their only son, with six daughters) seeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition and knowledge of good literature; where- in he so profited in the common schools of his own country, that at fourteen years of age he was sent to the university of Cambridge: where, after some continuance in the exercise of other things, he gave himself up to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age would suffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and there- with so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an obser- ver of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover, that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar, with divers of such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration made, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, against Melanc- thon, and also his other works did plainly declare. But especially



especially in those days his popish zeal could in no case abide good Mr. Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge, most spitefully railing against him, and persuading the youth of Cambridge in nowise to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by which he thought utterly to have defaced the professors of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was at length himself by a member of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Mr. Thomas Bilney being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtilties, and a secret overthrower of Antichrist's kingdom, seeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal in his way, (although not according to knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and began to consider by what means he might win this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Mr. Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession, which he willingly did; and by hearing thereof, he was, by the good Spirit of God, so touched that thereupon he forsook the study of the school-doctors, and other such sopperies, and became an earnest student in true divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with bishop Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Pater-Noster, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Mr. Bilney and others, and came also to Mr. Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After his own conversion, he was not satisfied without endeavouring that of others, and like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a terrible shaker thereof, he raised up his impious imps to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons that Mr. Latimer made about Christmas, 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to inveigh against him, for that Mr. Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hercof, he wished the scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learn their duty, as well to God as to their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied by him, that it not only declared the wit and dexterity of the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas day; on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day, "Who art thou?" &c. In delivering which cards (as is aforesaid) he made the heart to be Triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praise of that Triumph, that though it were ever so small, yet it would take up the best court card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord

would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering shew of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c. so that all these either were needless, where the other is present; or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other. The tenor and effect of these his sermons, so far as they could come to our hands, here followeth.

*The Tenor and Effect of certain SERMONS, made by Mr. LATIMER in CAMBRIDGE, about the Year of our Lord 1529.*

**T**U quis es? Which words are as much as to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done by their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much at his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, "Who art thou?" Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ. Now here is to be noted the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ, and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, "He is in the midst of you and amongst you, whom ye know not, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the praise of his master Christ, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid [Who art thou?] shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, Who art thou? This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of thyself? Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes to thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer to it: which must be made in this wise; I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the anger and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's grace favoureth,



not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising this fidelity thereunto; it chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will be but content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms, and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, only by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by the good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his said town of Calais. Then he being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh strict search and inquiry by whom this treason was conspired; by this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly; the said captain cannot deny himself but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise: so likewise it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given only to him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody: he nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, that is, the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he broke his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him prohibited.

Now then, the king seeing this great treason in his captain, dispossessed him of the thousand pounds of lands, that is to say, from everlasting life and glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again we lost the same.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father in the thousand pounds possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now in being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possessions of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy and claim of ourselves, to be true inheritors of hell? For he that

committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanness and most variable nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended; insomuch that this evil nature is so much diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our father Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, Who art thou?

And now the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second Person in the Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so at the Father's will Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind, and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the gospels, the sacraments, the commandments, &c. which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, [Who art thou?] than we did before: for before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man or a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman; but after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a christian man, a christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a christian man, what shall be the answer of this question, Who art thou?

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a christian man, a christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and indebted unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be christian men, christian women, I pray you, what doth Christ require of a christian man, or of a christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule. For likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas; I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend by God's grace to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule.



rule. The game that we will play at, shall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win, and the standers by and lookers on shall do the same; inso-much that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners and no losers.

Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the Triumph; you must mark also that the Triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then take you this first card which must appear and be shewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law, saith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Racha, that is to say, Brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of a council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms how they be spoken, and to what purpose: let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: The first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law are bound to observe and keep, and is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions to the first part of this commandment: for in very effect of all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, "Thou shalt not kill." Yet nevertheless, the three last parts do shew unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour, contrary to this commandment: yet for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt the Jews understood Christ well enough when he spoke to them the three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we in like manner may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin with the first part of this card, and then after with the other three parts: you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge not to kill with any material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbour, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

Now as concerning the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: 1. To be angry with your neighbour. 2. To call your neighbour brainless, or any such word of disdain. 3. Or to call your neighbour fool: whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother, anger or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, and although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his anger by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he of-

fendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with anger against his neighbour, and in his anger calleth his neighbour brainless, or some other like word of displeasure; as a man might say in a fury, I shall handle thee well enough, which words and countenances do more represent and declare anger to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word, nor shewed any countenance to declare his anger: wherefore as he that so declareth his anger either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth what in him is to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him to anger, wherein he is faulty himself, and so this man is in danger of a council.

Now to the third offence, and last of the three: That man that called his neighbour fool, doth more declare his angry mind towards him, than he that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such word moving anger; but to call a man a fool, that word representeth more envy in a man, than brainless doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his anger, and so he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you must understand now these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of the man than the other.

Now peradventure there will be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater fault of anger, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man brainless, and to call his neighbour fool: truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to anger, or to killing in anger. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of anger: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, &c. into more blasphemous names, which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire; these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences. Judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance. Council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such word that declareth his anger and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour fool, by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of anger. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it, that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard, that to these divers offences of ire and killing, punishments are appointed according to their degrees: for observe, as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain shall be accordingly: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoke of, that there be no more in hell: no doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there are as many pains as there are offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with each other: yet I would satisfy your minds farther in these three terms,



terms, judgment, council and hell-fire. Where you might say, what was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms than by any other terms? I told you before that he knew well to whom he spake them; these terms were natural, and well known among the Jews and the Pharisees. Wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine; and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of inquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution day: sessions of inquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of inquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon. Execution day is to be compared to hell-fire: for the Jews had a place of execution amongst themselves named Hell-fire: and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms. The evil disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine to thrust down these Turks, and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a christian man to be bound and subject to a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards who shall have the better; let us play therefore on this card. Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary to our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, Who art thou? The answer is, I am a christian man. Then further we must say to ourselves, What requireth Christ of a christian man? Now turn up your trump, your heart, (heart is trump, as I said before) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a christian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor otherwise by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play: but, alas, for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by the false Turks, and strong castle faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is, by reason that christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christians is decayed: which murder and killing one of another is increased, especially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt as the child shall take disposition natural of his father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames; if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices do join therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not only kill themselves, but all their's, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of christian lineage murdered and spoiled. The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of christian men slain; which is on this fashion: although the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well disposed to live after the law of God, yet they may kill their children and

servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use correction according to their offences; the master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour, than the king's laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him, or he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour, than he himself would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering. Wherefore I exhort all true christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend: every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not only giving good example, but teaching according to it, rebuke and punish vice, not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God: you ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy days, not to lose their time in idleness; if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof: and so you may perceive that there be many that break this card, "Thou shalt not kill," and play therewith oftentimes, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers; but who be those now-a-days that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own children unto their own damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent therefore.

Wherefore considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast ourselves down with Mary Magdalen, and the more we bow down with her towards Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin: and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven, and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven, as appeareth by the following example.

When Christ was in the world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking with himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner: Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner, there happened to come into the house a great sinner named Mary Magdalen. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him. Christ understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said to him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee: say what you please (quoth the Pharisee). Then, said Christ, I pray thee tell me this: if there be a man to whom there is owing twenty pounds to one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both. Which of these two debtors ought to love this man most? The Pharisee said, That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him. Likewise, said Christ, it is by this woman. She hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me; and thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins; therefore because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven. So this proud Pharisee had an answer to allay his pride: and think you not but there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, who will perk and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman



Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with an high disdainful and solemn countenance; and being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit here than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the boord and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that these Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin, and offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, Who art thou? To which we might answer, that we be true christian men and women: and then, I say, you shall understand and know how you ought to play at this card, "Thou shalt not kill," without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks, and so triumph at the last by winning everlasting life in glory, Amen.

It would require a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge upon this preaching of Mr. Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

First came out the prior of Black Friars, called Buckneham, who thinking to make a great hand against Mr. Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when Mr. Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience Cinque and Quarter, meaning by the Cinque five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the Quarter; by which his Cinque and Quarter he would prove that it was not expedient for the scriptures to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might aptly be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some convenience: as for example:

The ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel: "No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God;" might peradventure hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he hears that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may perchance leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so fill the world with beggars. These, with some others, this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Mr. Latimer hearing this sermon of Dr. Buckneham, came again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckneham the aforesaid friar, prior of the Black-Friars, with his black friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Then Mr. Latimer first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the friar, so answered to his objections, so dallied with his bald reason of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, that there was no such fear nor danger for the scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least requiring this, that the scriptures might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that either the ploughman durst not look back,

or the baker should leave his bread unleavened: And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the scriptures; which phrases he said were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the scriptures, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly used and known: and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech (saith he) hath it's like metaphors and figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and on houses.

As for example (saith he, looking towards the friar that sat over against him) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter; which is to point out unto us, what hypocrisy, crafts, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friar's cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, friar Buckneham was so dashed with this sermon, that he durst never after peep out of the pulpit against Mr. Latimer.

Besides this Buckneham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a gray friar and a doctor, an outlandish man, named Dr. Venetus, who likewise in his brawling sermon railed and raged against Mr. Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Mr. Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Matt. v. Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, Whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Racha, (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainless) shall be in danger of council: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious or unseemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (saith he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of council: words of spite, or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell-fire.

Thus Mr. Latimer in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words, and the explaining of the same, he had sufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wisdom. Out of which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this world, commonly are scorned and reviled by the proud enemies of God's word, which account them here as mad-men, fools, brainless, and drunken: so did they (saith he) in the scripture call them which most purely preached, and set forth the glory of God's word. But (saith he) what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? We mad men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves, &c. And that will be their end except they repent. And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the university.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching and likewise barking against him? Amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's college, whose scholar Latimer had been before, Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall, Dr. Philo, master of Michael-house, Dr. Metcalfe, master of St. John's, Dr. Blithe, of the King's-hall, Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's college, Dr. Cliffe, of Clement-house, Dr. Donnes, of Jesus college, Dr. Pfalms, master of St. Nicholas Hostel, Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelors of divinity, all three of St.



John's college; also Brickenden, bachelor of divinity, of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. In short, almost as many as were heads of houses, so many enemies did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Mr. Latimer at Barwell-abbey, forbade him within the churches of that university to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the next church, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel that Dr. Barnes preached, being Sunday, and Christmas Eve. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him by Mr. Tirell, fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal.

Thus Mr. Latimer (as you have heard) being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge preaching for the space of three years together, with favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same.

So Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney, after this, continued in Cambridge for some time, where they so frequently conferred together, that the field wherein they usually walked, was for a long time after called, The heretics' hill.

The society of these two, as it was much noted by many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow them, both in visiting the prisoners, relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry. Mr. Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge, between them both and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here worthy to be mentioned. The story is this: It so happened, that after Mr. Latimer had been so acquainted with the aforesaid Mr. Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners, there was a woman who was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A child of her's had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption: which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her at the burial, but all were abroad in the harvest, whereby she was enforced with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child for the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble; and Mr. Latimer, by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after he was called to preach before king Henry the eighth at Windsor, where after his sermon the king's majesty sent for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which time Mr. Latimer, finding an opportunity, kneeled down, opened the whole matter to the king, and desired her pardon, which the king most graciously granted, and gave it to him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was Mr. Latimer, and Mrs. Cheek godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she expected to suffer, and Mr. Latimer came as he was wont, to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought she must be damned if she died without purification.

Then Mr. Bilney being with Mr. Latimer, both told her, that that law was made for the Jews, and not for us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and political law, for natural honesty's sake, than they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, &c. So they thus argued with this woman till they had better instructed her, and at length shewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act, among many others about that time, happened in Cambridge by Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney. But this was not all, for many more like matters were wrought by them. Among his adversaries was Dr. Redman, a man favouring more of superstition than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or hurtful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also liberal in well-doing, that few poor scholars were in that university who fared not better by his purse. Dr. Redman was a man of great authority in the university of Cambridge, and perceiving the bold enterprize of Mr. Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time, or much about the same, he wrote to him, seeking by persuasion to revoke Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching: but Mr. Latimer in his answer said, Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's.

After Mr. Latimer had thus laboured in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of some of the said university, where he was content to subscribe and grant to such articles as they then propounded.

After that he returned to the university again, where shortly after, by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice in Wiltshire offered by the king, at the suit of the lord Cromwel and Dr. Buts, he accepted the same and instructed his flock with much diligence. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so powerful, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like sort he could not escape without enemies.

His chief enemies and molesters, besides country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson, sometime of Cambridge, Mr. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom some preached and some wrote against him.

#### ARTICLES devised by the BISHOPS for MR. LATIMER to subscribe unto.

**I** Believe that there is a purgatory to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living.

That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

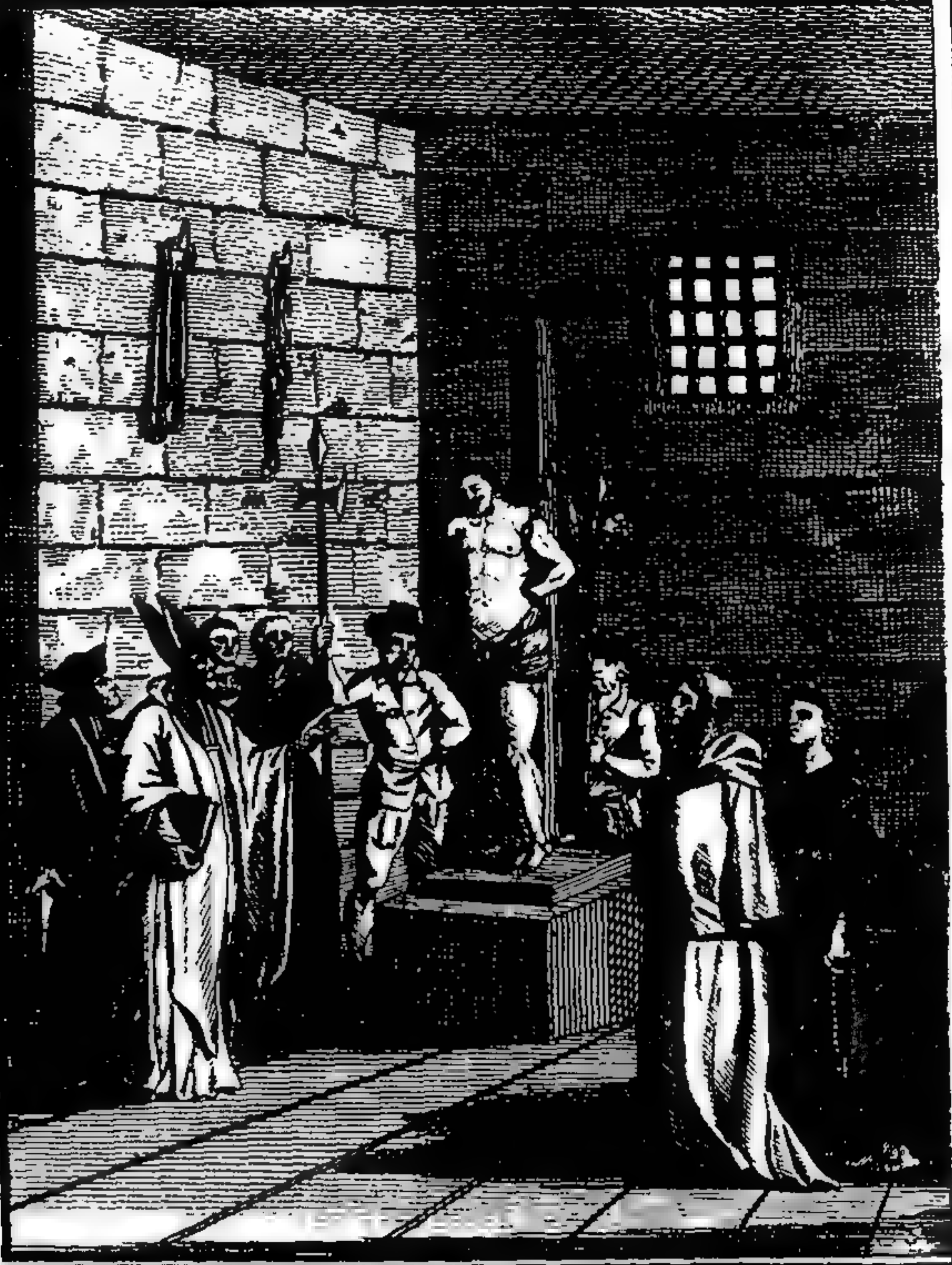
That the keys of binding and loosing, delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome his successors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means, nor at any time, committed to laymen.

That men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden by the bishop to preach, as suspected persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

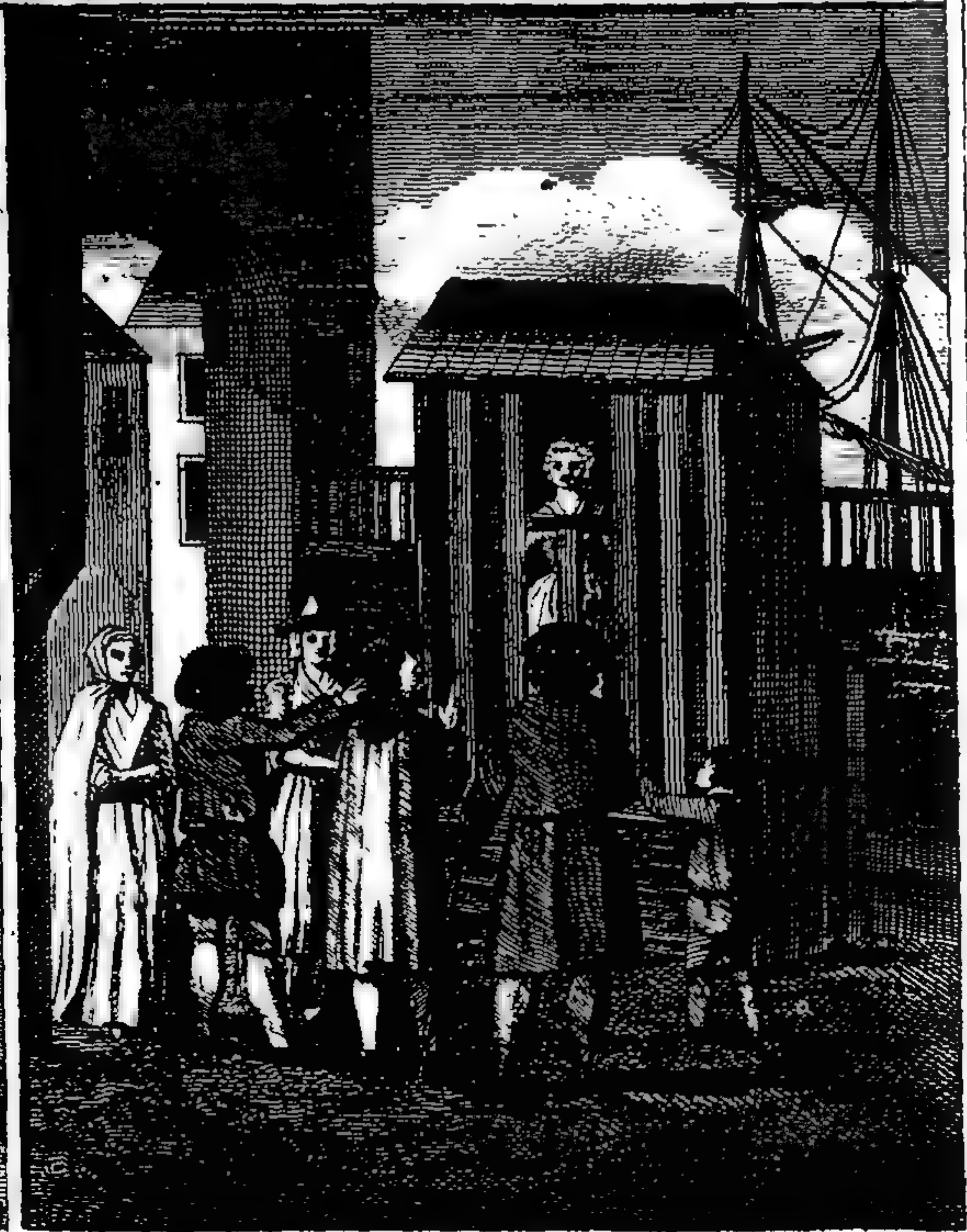
That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts pre-





**BISHOP LATIMER**  
*before the* **PAPAL TRIBUNAL** *at Oxford.*

*The Cruel TORTURING of*  
**MR ROBERT SAMUEL.**



*The horrid* **MASSACRE** *of the Protestants.*  
*at the bridge over the river Ban, in* **IRELAND.**  
*in the Year 1641*

*A* **PROTESTANT WOMAN** *confined & expos-*  
*ed by the Papists on account of her Religion in*  
*the Cage upon* **London Bridge.**



prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the christians, (except necessity otherwise require) are to be observed and kept.

That God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

That consecrations, sanctifyings and blessings, by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the said saints.

Whether he was compelled by the bishops to sign these articles cannot here be ascertained; but in a letter to the bishop, he avows his detestation of the propositions, and declares himself averse from subscribing, "lest I be the author of my own damnation."

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so it is likewise to be observed, that the same good Spirit of God that assisted and comforted him in preaching the gospel, did also enable him to sortel all those kinds of plagues, which afterwards ensued; if England ever had a prophet, he seemed to have been one. As touching himself, he ever affirmed, that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, and was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove. After the death of the said pious king Edward, when queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down (by the means, no doubt, of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although Mr. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless, yet he was so far from endeavouring to escape, that he prepared himself for his journey before the said officer came to his house.

Thus Mr. Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, (entering Smithfield, he merrily said, That Smithfield had long groaned for him) was brought before the council, where he patiently endured all the mocks and taunts of scornful papists, and was again sent to the Tower.

Having passed a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence he was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Crammer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as is before mentioned: the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how, and by whom the said Latimer, with his other fellow-prisoners, were condemned after disputations, and so committed again to the prison, and there they continued from the month of April till the month of October, where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit, Mr. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all, in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and amongst other things, these were three principal matters that he prayed for.

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the lady Elizabeth, whom in his prayer he used to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England.

Neither were these things of him desired in vain, for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

First, Concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and pious Dr. Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, with an audible and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength:" and so afterwards shed his blood in the cause of Christ, which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by which things God most graciously granted his request, which was, That he might shed his heart's blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this realm, these present days can bear record.

Again, Concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectually granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For the recovery of God's word, queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment; through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false vizored kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful christians released.

The same God, who at the requests of his holy, faithful saints hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and christian prince, and his subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which we have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him. And thus much concerning the laborious travels of Mr. Latimer. Now after these things thus finished and discoursed, pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend, which he wrote both in English and Latin, want of room at present will not permit; nevertheless some we shall insert, and first concerning the articles above mentioned, for which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at West-Kingston; which he writeth thereof to Mr. Morrice, the copies whereof follow.

ARTICLES *untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably, imputed to me by Dr. POWEL, of SALISBURY.*

First, *That our LADY was a SINNER.*

**O**ccasioned of some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men, who gave so much to our lady of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her. To prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved, I reasoned after this manner: That either she was a sinner or no sinner; there is no mean. If she was a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: if she was no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain authors, said I, as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write, as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said, that certain scriptures stand to the same, unless they be the more warily understood



and taken, (as in Rom. iii. 10, 20.) All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the same chapter, all have sinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And so death passed through into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned. But to these scriptures I said it might be answered, that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or diminish the verity of an universal exposition in scriptures.

And as to the doctors, I said, that others say otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same; and so will I, said I, nor any man that is wise, will the contrary: but to my purpose it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was, &c.

And to that, what need you to speak of this? I answered, great need, what man cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a Saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved. Good authors have written that she was not a sinner: but good authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: it was of the goodness of God that she never sinned: it had come of her own illnes if she had sinned: there was difference between her and Christ. And I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong) rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any thing of his glory; and I am sure that our lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our lady sought his glory here upon earth, she would not defraud him now in heaven: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so irreligiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment to our lady's displeasure.

No doubt our lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout hand-maid of the Lord, endued with singular gifts and graces from above, which through the help of God she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty, so giving example to do likewise, so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God the author of all goodness: the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteously, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man to save both man and woman, did chuse her to be his mother, which love he shewed to her alone, and to no other, of his benign goodness, by which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It would not have availed to her salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father: by him she was his mother, by him she did the will of his Father: she the hand-maiden, he the Lord. The hand-maiden did magnify the Lord, the hand-maiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin; he was then subject to Joseph his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

To say that Peter, and Paul, David, and Mary Magdalen, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved them all that he could have preserved.

For remembrance of that fall and up-rising keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both is of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of heaven as that, and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our lady was a sinner: but it was never said without sin, that our lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I do not go about to make my lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will belie me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our lady no sinner, to prove that, that no man dieth. So that provers, and so cold probations saw you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our lady, but a sin to have our lady no sinner, or to say she was no sinner.

I would be as loth to dishonour our lady as they, I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured: for verily she is worthy to be honoured.

To make a pernicious and damnable lie, to have our lady no sinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleasure to our lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and her.

They should both please and honour our lady much better, to believe their sinful living, and to keep themselves from sinfulness, as our lady did, than so sinfully to lie to make our lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall certainly go to the devil, though they believe ever so surely that our lady was no sinner.

And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely, I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly salutation or greeting of our lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in the holy scripture of St. Luke. But yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater Noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our lady, and to communicate and to shew the will of God towards her, and therefore it is called the Annunciation of our lady, and not to pray to her, or to pray to her properly: shall the Father of heaven pray to our lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the same thing now as it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria; so that we may salute our lady with Hail Mary! as the angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the angel was. Yet though we may so do, we have no plain command for so doing, as the angel had; so that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid, than we be, forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we: but as I deny not, but as we may say the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria together, that to God, this to our lady, so we may say them separately, the Pater Noster by itself, and the Ave by itself; and the Pater Noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; so that it is but a superstition to think that a Pater Noster cannot be well said without an Ave Maria at his heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a Pater Noster to God, he taught them not to say, neither Pater Noster, neither Ave Maria to our lady, nor yet Pater Noster to St. Peter, as Mr. Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to say twenty Ave-Marias for one Pater Noster, is not to speak the word of God as the word of God. And one Ave Maria well said, and devoutly with affection, sense and understanding, is better than twenty-five said superstitiously. And it is not like, but our lady said many times the Pater Noster, forasmuch as her son Christ, whom she loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be said; whether she made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater Noster, I will leave that to learned men, as Hubberdin and Powel, to discuss and determine: she was not saved by often saying of the Ave Maria, but by consenting to the will of him that sent the angel to salute her with Hail Mary: wherefore if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable



ble in the fight of God, yea, though they say the Pater Noster, I doubt not but the salvation of them hath been unpleasant to our lady in her sight, for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her; for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing, but in him, and in that which delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our lady, and so we think to make her our friend and patroness, and then we care not for God; for having our lady on our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure; for we fancy as though the very work and labour of repeating the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not minding how they be said, so that they be said; if the Pater Noster which Christ both made, and commanded us to use, may be used to Christ's displeasure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Christ nor our lady bid us say, may be said to her displeasure: and better never once said, than often so said. I would have difference between well saying and often saying, and between that which Christ bid us say, and that which he bid us not say: and whether Ave Maria be said in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powel? and if it be said always there without a Pater Noster, why may not Pater Noster be said here without Ave Maria; and whether doth our lady say it in heaven or no? Which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it. So that by occasion of false faith and trust that you have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greeting will neither serve nor stand in strength: it is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed, and valued as it is.

We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world: and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: there we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

The angel spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our lady. Be not afraid, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child which shall be called John, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother, &c.

What if a man should say these words every day, between the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria, in the worship of St. Zachary, who I think is a saint in heaven, and was ere ever our lady came there to be honoured, I think he might please and honour St. Zachary, as well some other way, and better too, though they were words sent from God, spoken by an angel, and written by St. Luke in the holy Scripture.

And yet if it were once begun and accustomed, I warrant some men would make it more than sacrilege to leave it off, though the devil should fow ever so much superstition by process of time unto it.

Christ made the Pater Noster for a prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, One God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one Worker and Doer of all things here in this world, saying unto us, After this manner shall ye pray, Our Father, &c. God sent his Son, amongst other things, to teach his people to pray: God sent his angel to greet our lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the angel said to the people, This shall you pray, Ave Maria. When the apostles said to Christ, Teach us to pray; Christ said, When you pray, say, Our Father: he said not when you pray, say, Ave Maria. I suppose Christ could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powel and Mr. Hubberdin. I say that the Ave Maria was before the Pater Noster: Dr. Powel saith, it shall endure after the Pater Noster: I can prove my saying by scripture, which he cannot: yet as it is no good

argument, The Ave Maria was before the Pater Noster: therefore, it is properly a prayer: so it is no good argument, The Ave Maria shall last after the Pater Noster: therefore it is properly a prayer; without the antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a fantastical brain.

Who was ever so mad as to think that words of holy scripture could not be well said: and yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of holy scripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to superstition and idolatry; God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curiosity, but according to his ordinance with all humility.

St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wise to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unsaid that which the angel said without dishonouring him.

It is not necessary to our salvation to make an ordinance of honouring him, with saying as the angel did.

It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him to do, than to leave that undone, and to do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not to do: if the other be presumption, I had rather presume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to presume into the office of an angel without God's bidding.

It is a godly presumption, to presume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither say, that our lady was a sinner, nor yet deny the Ave Maria.

#### SAINTS are not to be HONoured.

I said this word [Saints] is diversly taken by the vulgar people; images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints; so saints are not to be honoured: that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

They can neither help me nor mine ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I shewed the good use of them to be laymen's books as they are called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilt and decked, that the quick image of God, (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done Christ reputeth it done to himself) lack necessities to be unprovided for by that occasion, for then the layman doth abuse his book.

A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiously gilded; and in the day-time a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

Now I say there be two kinds of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession; and I said that these saints, that is to say, images called saints, be mediators neither way.

As touching pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, error, false faith, and hope in the images, must be pared away, before they can be well done, household looked upon, poor christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinances of God discharged, or ever they can be well done. And when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done: they shall never be required of us, though they be never done, and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done; wives must advise with their husbands, and husbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. x. where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Christ; which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry: and expostors add, to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act: which is plain against Mr. Hubberdin, and parson of Christ's church, who



went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

As touching the saints in heaven, I said, They be not our mediators by way of redemption: for so Christ alone is our Mediator and their's both: so that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, &c.

But by way of intercession, so saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do, when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we are not openly required of God in scripture to call upon them, as we are to call upon God, nor yet may we call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all, so that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray to God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without first making suit to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the name of Christ, his Son, the Father will give it us: for saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them; scripture doth set saints that be departed before our eyes for our examples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, &c.

God biddeth us come to him with prayer, and to follow his advice is no presumption, it is rather presuming to leave it undone to do that which he biddeth us not do, &c. We must have saints in reverent memory, and learn of God's goodness towards them, to trust in God, and mark well their faith towards God and his word, their charity towards their neighbour, their patience in all adversity, and pray to God who gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for such like doings we shall have like speedings, they be well honoured when God is well pleased; the saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in him that made them saints: and as they were saints, so we may be saints; yea, there be many saints that never prayed to saints, and yet I deny not, but we may pray to saints, but rather to him who can make us saints who calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise; when we pray faithfully to him, we honour him, not after our own fantastical imagination, but even after his own wise ordinances, whom to honour is not to dishonour saints; therefore they lie that say, that I would not have saints to be honoured, &c.

*There is no FIRE in HELL.*

**I** Never knew a man that said so. I spake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at least way a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporal and natural fire; some have thought diversly before the resurrection without the body, and after with the body; some that the soul without the body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; some both in and of the fire. The scholastic authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they be of spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and corporal quality, so that Athanasius, a Greek author, calleth their pain Tristitiam, a heaviness or anguish; and this opinion is probable enough: some think, though they be always in pain, yet they be not always in fire; but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there; but whether in cold or heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they should be known by the heat of the fire.

I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell but he that is of God's privy

council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostom saith, That to be deprived the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than being in hell: there is fire burning, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without ease, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarrieth and abideth for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

*There is no PURGATORY after this LIFE.*

**N**OT for such liars as will bear me in hand to say that I said not; I shewed the state and condition of them that be in purgatory: then I denied it, not that they have charity in such surety that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur against God, cannot dishonour God, can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God, cannot be dissevered from God, cannot die, nor be in peril of death, cannot be damned, nor be danger of damnation; cannot be but in surety of salvation; they be members of the mystical body of Christ as we be, and in more surety than we be: they love us charitably; charity is not idle, that is, it worketh and sheweth itself, and therefore I say, they wish us well, and pray for us; they need not cry loud to God, they be in Christ, and Christ in them, they be with Christ, and Christ with them, they joy with the Lord Christ always, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them, ever giving thanks to their Lord God, ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth, discontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and sisters to our Saviour Christ, even in God's favour, even have Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son. And we many times for lack of charity, having malice, envy, rancour, and hatred one towards another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adversaries to Christ, hated of God, his angels, and all his saints; they in their state may do us more good with their prayers, than we in this state. And they do us always good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer said in charity is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God, than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us, which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

I had rather be in purgatory than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not. In this I might die spiritually for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not. In this I might be in extreme necessity, in that I could not, if extreme necessity be peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden by precept to help, but them that be in extreme necessity, we see not who needeth in purgatory, but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be in extreme necessity, both in body and soul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be helped ourselves under pain of damnation. Here for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, undo ourselves, which inconveniences shall not follow, if we do our duty to one another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

Therefore, howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thousand pounds to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory,



purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference between that which may be done, and that which ought to be done, and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, mine own devotion moveth me another way, which way should I go? I may by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make a foundation for myself with other men's goods; goods wrongfully gotten must needs come again, must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known, if not, they be poor men's goods: debts must needs be paid, creditors satisfied and content, God's ordinance towards my neighbour here in this world discharged, all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, or say mass till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning God's prohibitions.

He that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all unwillingness to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell or purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poor christians to extreme beggary, replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty.

In Purgatory there is no pain

That can break their charity.  
That can break their patience.  
That can disserve them from Christ.  
That can disserve Christ from them.  
That can cause them to dishonour God.  
That can cause them to displease God.  
That can cause them to be displeased with God.  
That can cause them to be discontent with God.  
That can bring them to peril of death.  
That can bring them to peril of damnation.  
That can bring them to extreme necessity.  
That can bring them from surety of salvation.

And yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit, if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a good part, if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or Scala Coeli of a groat, can dispatch for all together, it is not so greatly to be cared for, I have not leisure to write at large, and I wrote before such things which in this haste come now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the souls in purgatory do pray for us, if they could get as much money for the prayer, that the souls in purgatory say for us, as they have done for that that they have said for them, they would not reclaim: you know the wasp that doth sting them, and make them so swell, they that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this, nor at this following.

Christ's blood is not sufficient without the blood of martyrs.

Magdalen did not know Christ to be God before his resurrection.

There can be no idolatry.

Rome cannot be destroyed.

The pope is lord of all the world.

Whatsoever he doeth is well done.

Pater Noster is to be said to St. Peter.

Pater Noster is but a beggarly prayer.

Ave Maria is infinitely better.

Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater Noster.

It was not necessary for scripture to be written.

He that leaveth father and mother maketh for our pilgrimage.

With many more.

Mr. LATIMER's LETTER to Mr. MORRICE, concerning the ARTICLES written, which were falsely laid against him.

RIGHT worshipful, and mine own good master Morrice, health in Christ Jesus. And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore shewed

unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and abundantly supply mine inability, &c. Mr. Morrice, you would wonder to know how I have been treated at Bristol, I mean by some of the priests, who first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them; when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop's license, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated master mayor's appointment, pretending they were sorry for it, procuring also certain preachers to rail against me, as Hubberdin and Powel, with others, whom when I had brought before the mayor, and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake as they were informed: however no man could be brought forth that could stand to any thing: so that they had place and time to belie me shamefully, but they had no place or time to lay to my charge when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and assuage their malice, that they have against the truth and me, &c.

#### Our LADY was a SINNER.

SO they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both priests and beneficed men, which do give so much to our lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour, both of her, and of all that be, or shall be saved: I did reason after this manner, that either she was a sinner, or no sinner; if a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin, so that without him, neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And to avoid all offence, I shewed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures, which maketh all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostom and Theophylact, which makes her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then will they belie me, to say that thing which they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

#### SAINTS are not to be WORSHIPPED.

SO they lied when I had shewn certain divers significations of this word (Saints) among the vulgar people: First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used when they be applied to the uses for which they were ordained, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them, for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by the way of redemption, (for so Christ alone is a whole Mediator, both for them and for us) yet by the way of intercession.

#### PILGRIMAGE.

AND I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; superstition, idolatry, false faith, and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing; debts must be paid, restitution, made, wife and children must be provided for, duty to our neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not be done, for it is neither under the command of God nor man to be done. And wives must advise with husbands,



husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be done.

### AVE MARIA.

**A**S for Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was an heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and shew unto her the good-will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater Noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bid us to say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Aves or Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Marias also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater Noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without Ave Maria; so that I did not speak against the well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater Noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer.

### No FIRE in HELL.

**W**HO ever could say or think so? However, good authors do make a difference betwixt suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporal quality, and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. And as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is, a living beast, but it is a metaphor, but that is nothing to the purpose; for a fire it is, a worm it is, pain it is, torment it is, anguish it is, a grief, a misery, a sorrow, a heaviness inexplicable, and intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point, who can tell, but he that is of God's privy council? saith St. Austin. God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, which be two effects of extreme pain, rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

### No PURGATORY.

**H**E that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it than in Lollard's Tower, the bishop's prison, for divers reasons.

First, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might die spiritually for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if it be peril of perishing.

Item, In this I might lack charity; there I could not.

Item, In this I might lose my patience; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in danger of death; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might dishonour God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might displease God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be displeased with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be discontented with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a member of the devil; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor of hell; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain; in that I could not.

Item, In this my lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion; from thence they could not.

Therefore, I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called ever so hot, yet if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and Scali Coeli all together, I will never found abbey, college, nor chauntry, for that purpose.

For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation, that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me, I care the less for it. John Chrysostom saith, the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever; which pains the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

Consider, Mr. Morrice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; christian people (whose necessities we see, to whom whatsoever we do Christ reputeth done to himself, to whom we are bound under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourselves) are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance set aside: and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction; so we have trifled away the ordinances of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, dirges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pull pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them? So that they may fleece one with pilgrimage, and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and advantage shall fall away from them, who had rather have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy; I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own, but Christ's glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack in the skultery, who in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but as for his mass, that is as good of another simple priest as of him. As for authority of keys, it is too loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will: and as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the West-country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of the Hailes. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Cavalry for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, but they be clean in life, and in a state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth embolden them to do many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going, what faith they have. For as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their christian brethren, they



they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth quit them for a time.

I read in scripture of two certifications; one to the Romans: "We being justified by faith have peace with God."

If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith, that his blood was shed for me, &c.

Another in the epistle of St. John: We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren." But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of the Hailes. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the self-same blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hailes without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his craftiness, for our trial and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ, when he had taught truly, by and by said, Beware of false prophets, who would bring in error sily. But we be secure and careless as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as if the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware of the bugg, &c.

Lo, sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forgot myself, whenever I write to a trusty friend, who will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

As for Dr. Wilson, I know not what I should say; but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he nor any of his country-men did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions, and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? This is the bile that may not be touched, &c.

A certain friend shewed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country, about Beverly, in Holderness, and from thence he will go a journey through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and from thence to Bristol. What he intendeth by this progress, God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristol, I shall hear, &c.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here Servus Hominum; for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily in my mind they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. However, they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed, &c.

As touching Dr. Powel, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king's person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ's commandment to his prince, and knoweth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. However Mr. Mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did flout him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a

little beholden to him, in favour of which he alledged this text: Whoever leaveth father, house, wife &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's grace to command me to preach before his highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

*A brief DIGRESSION concerning the RAILING of Mr. HUBBERDIN against Mr. LATIMER.*

FORASMUCH as mention hath been made in this letter of Mr. Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm, to deface and impeach the purity of God's holy gospel, something will be added more concerning that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to describe him) seemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisy. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, (although he little deserved to be spared, who never spared to work what villainy he could against the true servants of the Lord) this shall be enough for example's sake, for all christian men necessarily to observe, how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindal, Latimer, and all other like professors, after his hypocritical open alms given out of other men's purses, his long prayers, devout fallings, his mean habit, and other his prodigious demeanor, riding in his long gown down to the horse heels like a pharisee, or rather like a sloven dirted up to the horse's belly, after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leaping, with other player-like toys and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretics; at last riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the church-yard, he suddenly alighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing, came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fit of mirth, to give them a sermon of dancing. In which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Jerome and Gregory, Chrysostom, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindal, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them): at last to shew a perfect harmony of all these doctors together, as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe, first he calleth out Christ and his apostles, then the doctors and ancient seniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together; with pipe up Hubberdin. Now dance Christ, now dance Peter, Paul, now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome; and thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamped and took on I cannot tell, but crash came the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where although he brake not his neck, yet he brake so his leg at the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in the pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the church-wardens were called, and charged for the pulpit not being stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves that they had made their pulpit for preaching and not for dancing, &c. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Amongst many other accusers and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort which did infect this good man



in sermons, some also there were which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who upon the same occasion of preaching of the virgin Mary (or as they thought against the virgin) did invade him with his pen, writing against him in Latin, a long epistle, which Mr. Latimer answered, observing, "I have read your letter through carefully, but it is more worthy of the flames than of my perusal, it abounds so much with slanders. What you have truly said you shall soon see. It is now a great while ago since several persons, who heard the sermon preached at Marchfield, told me, you being present, suffered the person openly, and with authority, to say, that those were unworthy and miserable wretches who saluted the virgin mother of God with the angelic salutation, unless they could raise her up again that she might bear Christ."

### L E T T E R

*From Mr. LATIMER to Sir EDWARD BAYNTON, Knight.*

**R**IGHT worshipful sir, I recommend myself unto you, with hearty thanks for your friendly, charitable, and mindful remembrance of so poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Mr. Bonnam, and perceiving therein who are grieved with me, and what behoveth me to do in case I must needs come up, for which your goodness towards me, whereas I myself am not able to recompense, I shall not cease to pray to my Lord God, who is both able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your mastership, nor of any man else, but in the truth and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all.

In very deed Mr. Chancellor did shew me, that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine ordinary, and that he might and should reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be very loth (now this deep winter) being so weak and so feeble, (not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and stone) to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do. Notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my lord of London pleasure, to my great displeasure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his command, yea, though it should be ever so great a grievance and painful to me. With which answer he was content, saying, he would certify my lord of London thereof, trusting his lordship would be content with the same.

Mr. Chancellor also said, that my lord of London seemed greatly displeased with me, because I contemned his authority at my last being in London. Forsooth, I preached in Abbey-church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his diocese or no, intending nothing less than to contemn his authority; and this I did at the request of honest merchantmen, as they seemed to me, whose names I do not know, for they were not of my acquaintance before; and I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them so, and their good desire to hear godly preaching should turn to their trouble: for they required me very earnestly, and to say the truth, very importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certain: but they shewed not only themselves, but also many others, to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and spiritual doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at last they brought me word, that the parson and curate were not only content, but also desired me: notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's seal to shew for me, but only a license of the university: which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I

should go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had been not only uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth, (as it is) I marvel greatly how my lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

First, He did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertained that to me, who did neither know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely, that the curate would so little have regarded my lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myself, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whom he would; or else (and rather) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my lord himself, or some pertaining to him, appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon; which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake ever so fair and friendly, and also rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be so, I would my lord himself might hear me every sermon I preach. So certain I am, that it is truth which I take in hand to preach. If I had with power in my friends (the curate gainsaying and withstanding me) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the earnest request of a curate; yet I do not hear that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

I marvel not a little how my lord bishop of London, having so large and populous a diocese committed to his charge, can have leisure for preaching and teaching the word of God, opportunely and pressingly, in season and out of season, publicly and privately, to his own flock, in persuading, confuting, exhorting, and admonishing with all mildness and doctrine, have leisure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch; a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure, so intermixing and intermeddling himself with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as some men say my lord doth, gather up riches warily and covetously, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor elsewhere, peradventure he would deny me nothing. In the very deed I did admonish both judges, and ordinaries, to use charitable equity in their judgments towards such as be accused, namely of such accusers, who be as like to hear and betray, as others be to say amiss, and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wrest them in another sense than they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses do evil before God, as St. Jerome saith, upon the 26th chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account those judges well advised, who wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses, much less those who procure such witnesses against any man; nor do I think judges now-a-days so deeply confirmed in grace, or so impeccable, but that it may become preachers to admonish them to do well, as well as other men both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the epistle which I declared, Rom. vi. wherein is this sentence: Ye are not under the law but under grace: ye christian men that believe in Christ, are not under the law. What a saying is this, (says I) if it be not rightly understood, that is, as St. Paul did understand it? for the words sound as though he would go about to occasion christian men to break the law, seeing they be not under the law: and what if pseudo-apostles, adversaries to St. Paul, would have so taken them, and accused St. Paul to my lord of London? If my said lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he should have escaped, and the false apostles put to rebuke; if he would have rigorously followed whatsoever was alledged and proved, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good St. Paul must have borne a faggot at Paul's Cross, my lord of London being his judge. O, it had



have been a godly sight to have seen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Cross, my lord of London, bishop of the same, sitting under the cross. Nay, verily I dare say, my lord would sooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that christian men might break the law, and do whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law: but he did mean, that christian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would, because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfil the law, to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after St. Peter's meaning, is to be weak to satisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do with all, though his adversaries would so take it? But peradventure my lord would say, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwise than they mean therein. Well said; as though St. Paul's words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter of the Romans, where he saith, Our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God, which soundeth to many as though they should be evil, that good should come of it, and by unrighteousness to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So that St. Paul was reported to mean: yet he did mean nothing so, but shewed the inestimable wisdom of God, who can use our naughtiness to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodness; not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose.

Now I think it were no reproach to my lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached, in whatever manner, yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despight, and contempt of his lordship, (which thing no man well advised will attempt) than when the preaching cannot be reprov'd justly, to demand of the preacher austerely, as the pharisees did of Christ, By what authority do you these things, and who gave you this authority? As my authority is good enough, and as good as any my lord can give me, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his lordship to be so good unto me. As for my preaching itself, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot justly blame, nor reprove it; if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it, or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, as the poet Martial said, to one that depraved his book,

To me ('tis true) you say those lines belong,  
But they're your own, whilst you repeat them wrong.

I have thought in times past, that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth; now learning might persuade me otherwise, or else I would marvel why he should suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which is so needful to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death, and by occasion of the same I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick, and diseased: now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, &c. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have helped me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I know that one can help as well as another. And it grieves my heart that my lord, and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it was ere I could forsake such folly, it was so incorporated in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think my lord himself hath

thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now both dare think and say the contrary; and yet this his boldness might have chanced, in pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a faggot. Which thing deeply considered and pondered by my lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remiss towards men, which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance than between God's law, and not God's law.

## L E T T E R

From Sir EDWARD BAYNTON, Knight, in Answer  
to BISHOP LATIMER.

MASTER LATIMER, after hearty recommendations, I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, such as for christian charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it swerve from the truth), or at least in your manner of behaviour, inasmuch as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, to the hindrance of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And forasmuch as your said letter misliketh them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your christian breast, as in my judgment you will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so acknowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pains to note their mind in this letter which I send to you, as the sum of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word: wherein nevertheless, as I trust you will temper your own judgment, and in soberness affirm no truth of yourself, which should divide the unity of the congregation in Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the scripture of God, even so whatsoever you will do therein, (as I think you will not do otherwise than you should do) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this altercation and contention, must rather of good congruence shew myself in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth than your's, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may understand it by faith, but that is through a glass darkly. And there have been those who have had a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. Among whom I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth; it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, considering that to me unlearned, what I take for truth may be otherwise, not having a sense exercised enough, as St. Paul saith, to discern good and evil: and it is shewed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth dissention in a christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epistle, where he saith, All who confess that Christ is come in the flesh, &c. are of God. And like as the word of God hath always caused dissention among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher; so in Christ's congregation, among them that profess Christ's name in one Lord, one baptism, and one faith, they that preach and stir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of christian charity, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into an unity of faith and baptism. But for this point I would pray to



God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls.

EDWARD BAYNTON.

### L E T T E R

*From BISHOP LATIMER, in Answer to SIR EDWARD BAYNTON.*

**R**IGHT worshipful sir, and my singular good master, &c. Whereas you have communicated my last letters to some of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, &c. what I think therein I will not now say; not that there could be any peril or danger in the said letters (well taken) as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribbled, as you might well know both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though no excuse had been made.

But as to my presumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may I not say so, to encourage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and pursue it more studiously? if it be uncertain, why dare I be so bold as to preach it? And if your friends, in whom you trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon, I pray you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they have taught you the truth or no, and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, you know what followeth; if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful and unsure teachers? And you yourself, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour, and so forth of other articles that you are bound to believe? Or whether are you sure or unsure, that civil ordinances are the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if you do them for a good intent? If you are uncertain, take heed he is your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then with what conscience do you doubt, seeing, Whatsoever is not of faith is sin? But contrary say you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and you have it but through a glass darkly; and there are some who have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge: and to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, what you take for truth may be otherwise, not having a sense exercised to discern good and evil, as you reason against me, and so you do best to know surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly here and there, with every wind of doctrine, &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but through a glass darkly: what then? Therefore, it is not certain and sure.

I deny your argument by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as you say, it is more sure, because the certainty of faith is the surest certainty, as Duns and other school-doctors say: that there is a great disagreement between certain knowledge and clear knowledge, for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been (say they) which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is there have been such, and yet are too many to the great hindrance of Christ's glory, which nothing doth more obscure, than a hot zeal

accompanied with great authority without right judgment.

And such manner of arguments might well serve the devil against cowards, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make and serve against such preachers as will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, unless a man had a superlative sense to discern good and evil; as whether, if Adam had not sinned, we should have had stock-fish out of Iceland; how many larks for a penny if every star in the element were a flickering hobby: how many years a man shall lie in purgatory for one sin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to flake the sin with, and so forget hell which cannot be flaked, to provide for purgatory.

Such argumentation (I say) might appear to make well against such preachers, not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, which he hath prepared for us to walk in, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word appointeth; which thing a man may do with soberness, having a sense but indifferently exercised to discern good and evil. For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always an infant in Christ and in infirmity. In reproof of which it was said, Ye have need of milk and not of strong meat. For St. Paul saith not, Be ye humble, that ye be not deceived. For though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above what it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves that we may be sober and modest; yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith. For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you enquire of them whether they may with sobriety and modesty follow St. Paul's advice, where he saith unto us all, Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be ye infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low, but so that we may restore unto him who hath sent abroad his gifts again, with good use of the same, so that we do our part with the same, to the glory of God, Amen.

For my life, I trust in God that I neither (by God's grace) shall, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of myself, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church, consonant to the scripture of God, though it be shewed you ever so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth dissention in a christian congregation is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epistle, where he saith, Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God. First, Not every thing whereupon followeth dissention, causeth dissention, as I would that they shewed you, that would also shew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men; if it be of men, then as Gamaliel said, dissolve it; if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the gospel into the four bond of ceremonies, thought themselves, peradventure, a christian congregation, when St. Paul did write his epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly curates, so that the false apostles might



might have objected to St. Paul, that his apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was a dissention in a christian congregation by occasion thereof, whilst some would renew their opinions by the occasion of the epistle, some would judge, as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and masters the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristened, but christened and high prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the pharisees of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissention with his pen in a christian congregation, inasmuch as many have dissented from him, not only in cloisters (men more than christened men) of high perfection, but also at Paul's Cross, and St. Mary Spittle, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether St. Jerome's writings were of God, which caused dissention in a christian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epistles, which be these: And whilst that you, Eustochium, virgin of Christ, inquire so earnestly of me the truth of the scripture, you seem in some measure to put off my old age, corroded with teeth and bites of the envious, who style me a falsiter and corrupter of scriptures; but I am not affrighted at their envy in such a work, nor will deny the truth of the scriptures to those that require it. I pray you, what were they that called St. Jerome a falsiter and corrupter of scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth; unchristian or christian? What had the unchristian to do with the christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a christian congregation, men of much hotter stomachs than right judgments, of a greater authority than good charity. But St. Jerome would not cease to do good for the evil speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an example to us of the same: and if this dissention were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? From ill to worse.

And I pray you what mean your friends by a christian congregation? All those (think you) that have been baptized? But many of those be in a worse condition, and shall have greater damnation than many unbaptized. For it is not enough to a christian congregation that it is of God, to have been baptized: but it is to be considered what we promise when we are baptized, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps. Which things if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not boast that we profess Christ's name in a christian congregation.

And where they add, in one Lord; I read in Mat. xvii. Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke, the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, Why call ye me Lord, and do not that I bid you? But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chrysostom upon Matt. Hom. xlix. cap. xxiv. to learn to know a christian congregation, if it will please them to learn of him. And where they add, in one faith, St. James saith boldly, Shew me thy faith by thy works. And St. Jerome, if we believe, we shew the truth in working. And the scripture saith, He that believeth God, attendeth to his commandments. And the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friend, from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company.

I do marvel why our christian congregations be so greatly grieved that lay-people would read the scripture, seeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth of the same, which compareth not here the unchristened to the christened, but the lay-people christened to their curates christened, under which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtle trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been awaked, but to their pain, at least to the pain of those that awakened them with the word of God; and it is properly said of St. Jerome to call themselves masters and not servants, meaning that servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their master Christ, to his

glory: Masters teach not Christ's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which matterly curates cannot be quiet, till they have brought the people asleep again: but Christ the very true master saith, Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation.

And where your friends think that I made a lie, when I said, that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends are much better learned than I, yet I am sure that they know not what either I think or have thought better than I, according to that, No man knoweth the things of a man, &c. as though better men than I have not thought so, as Bonifacius Octavus (as I remember) the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, Presbyter Cardinalis in his book where he proveth the pope to be above the council general and special; and where he saith that the pope is king of kings, and lord of lords, and that he is the true lord of the whole world by good right, although in fact he is not so; and that Constantine did but restore his own unto him when he gave unto him Rome; so that, as St. John saith Christ did, He came unto his own, and his own received him not; and yet I hear not that any of our christian congregations have declaimed against him, until now of late dissention began: Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I wish you would desire them to be my good masters, and if they will do me no good, at least do me no harm; and though they can do you more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine own opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in past times a merchant of dispensations, which I suppose would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight and true martyr. As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I shewed to you my mind before my ordinary: and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, you would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saying I cannot interpret your evil doings towards me; and yet neither my ordinary nor you disallowed the thing that I said, and I looked not to escape better than Dr. Crome: but when I have opened my mind ever so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my preaching, by them that have belied it, as he was: I shall have need of great patience to bear the false report of the malignant church.

Sir, I had just made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to transcribe it more correctly, but there came a man of my lord of Farley's, with a citation to appear before my lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose; I doubt whether you can read it as it is. If you can, well be it; if not, I pray you send it me again, and that so do, whether you can read it or not.

*The Ungodly and Erroneous SAYING contained in an ENGLISH WORK, inscribed, An EXPOSITION upon the 7th Chapter of the First EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS.*

**W**HOSOEVER in himself doth not feel this godly thing, this gift of chastity, but doth feel incontinency, to him, I say, a commandment is given that he may be married.

Hereof doth follow, that no person may make a vow, or promise to live chaste or single, and that none are bound to keep any such vows, but rather to break them: and he that shall observe them, it is damnable, and by the law of God already condemned.

The touching of women, some persons have compassed too straightly, so that they dare not touch a woman's hand or skin; moreover they imagined many, both statutes and ceremonies, to keep them from company of women, as they thought that built abbies, but how fortunately that hath come to pass, what place thereby



thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be spoken of.

He that is compelled outwardly to abstain from women, and is inwardly full of lust, is a dissembler, and it is double lechery.

Mark what soul-slayers they be that provoke foolish youth to a vow of chastity, compelling them to nourish inwardly hidden malice.

All other evils may be suffered with a mean conscience.

This cannot so be endured, this can be helped by no medicine but by marriage.

It is good for a man not to touch a woman; this word good is not understood of merit and deserving before God, as though an unmarried man were better before him, than the married, like as St. Jerome hath expounded this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is spoken of temporal quietness of this life, so that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquillity.

Chastity is a good thing, if lust and incontineny make it not so common a thing as we have hitherto used to do, and yet do, but all amiss; but the apostle willeth, that all men universally be conjugal: but all the bishops since his time have destroyed this godly ordinance, when they babble and rail in pulpits, changing this word every into certain.

Men ought to stint of their statutes-making, for a better statute can none be than this, that men without any respect of time use their wife, not to exempt certain days as they have which they call vigils, and women conceived.

Fasting is a measurable usage of meats and drinks; prayer is a crying, sighing, desiring, and mourning.

No man ought to enforce and compel men to fasting and prayer, as they hitherto by laws have done.

Before God, all things are alike and equal.

Abominably they do sin who make nuns swell in pride, when they babble, that their religion is more precious than matrimony, and then feign that they shall have a crown or garland of gold, so making them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful; chastity is a gift of God, and therefore can no man neither promise, nor vow, nor keep it.

The sects of all them that are called religious, and of all manner of shavelings, are falsely called the spiritual orders: for matrimony like as in very deed, so it ought to be called the spiritual state before other orders worldly and secular; matrimony is of all other the highest religion, and most spiritual estate.

By testimony of scriptures, all the apostles and all the bishops' successors were married.

St. Paul saith, That he ought to be chosen to be a bishop, that is the husband of one wife.

Seeing you chuse not married men to be bishops, either Christ must be a fool and unrighteous, who did not so chuse, or you Antichrists and deceivers.

You put away universal marriage from priests, contrary unto God, to nature, to reason, to right, only of presumption, without any manner of cause.

There is no sin nor mischief in all the world so great, that can hinder a man from priest-hood, but godly matrimony.

What other thing is it to say, that a priest should not marry, than to say, that a man should not be a man?

This I dare be bold to say, that where one is chaste, there ought to be more than an hundred thousand to live married.

To keep a young man in a cloister to live chaste, is as much as to offer a child to Moloch there to be burnt.

All which great errors and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, with the translation of scripture corrupted by William Tindal, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors were in the reign of king Henry VIII, 1531, by the advice and assent of the prelates and clerks, as well of

the universities, as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to go abroad among his subjects: and his highness further willed that his pleasure and determination should be notified by preachers abroad unto the people, as well for putting away of all such books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, delivering unto certain preachers the form of a writing to be published in effect unto the people in their sermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his realm to publish the same.

*The BILL in ENGLISH, to be published by the PREACHER.*

**I**T is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to shew and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify unto them such things as may be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eschewed, and also as near as they can judge who be teachers and authors of the same; this example we have of our Saviour Christ where he saith, Beware of false prophets, &c. St. Paul likewise many times giveth warning to such as he wrote unto, that they should beware of the false apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the doctrine that he had taught them being present. Wherefore considering that it hath pleased the king's highness, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the present bodily wealth and tranquillity of all his subjects, for his and their worldly benefit and advantage, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their souls and their due order towards God, thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory, to assemble and call together the chief personages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience, to find, read, examine and discuss, the contents of such books as are now spread abroad within this his grace's realm in the English tongue, concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conscience to make relation unto his highness, whether the same books be expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their conscience and soul, or else contagious and pestiferous for the same: and whether the opinions contained in them, were agreeable to God's word and doctrine or no, soasmuch as the said congregation and assembly had free liberty and licence granted unto every man to say as his conscience and learning served him, without any reproof or blame to be imputed, or arrested for any thing to be spoken there, whose person soever it touched, or any necessity to agree to the greater part, but only to say that his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify; after mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there, by a whole consent, no man repugning or gain-saying, determined and agreed that the books now being abroad in the English tongue contain false traditions and corrupt doctrine, far different from the true sense of the gospel and catholic understanding of the scripture, only persuading pernicious heresies to the destruction of the souls of good christian men, and that the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the said assembly, and hearing and seeing the said opinions read, declared and examined, and by the true sense and meaning of God's learning reprov'd and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the office of preacher, following the example of our master Christ and St. Paul, as is aforesaid, to warn and admonish you by the words of Christ, as I spake before; Beware of false prophets, &c. and take heed yourself that you be not infected by the contagion and infection of such false apostles, as have in our English tongue set forth books to seduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their false interpretations of scripture into detestable and abominable heresies, to the destruction



destruction of our souls: wherefore you that have the books called, The obedience of a christian man; The sum of scripture; The revelation of Antichrist; The supplication of beggars; The mammon of unrighteousness; The matrimony of Tindal; The New Testament in English, of the translation which is now printed, and such other books in English, the authors whereof either dare not, or do not put to their names, be pernicious books: detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the superiors such as call for them: and if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breasts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel and purge it, to the intent that you being so purified and cleansed of that contagious doctrine and pestiferous traditions, may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and understanding of Christ's laws, to the comfort and edification of your souls; thus I move and exhort you in God to do, this is your duty to do.

The prelates of the church having the cure and charge of your souls ought to compel you, and your prince to punish and correct your not doing of the same, unto whom, as St. Paul saith, the sword is given by God's ordinance for that purpose: you shall also farther understand that the king's highness, soasmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendered in divers of his subjects, an opinion, that it is his grace's duty to cause the scripture of God to be translated into the English tongue to be communicated unto the people, and that the prelates and also his highness, do wrong in hindering of the same, his highness willed therefore every man there present in the said assembly, freely and frankly to shew and open unto him what might be proved, and conferred by scripture, and holy doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his highness (as he there openly protested) might conform himself thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his people, as he would they should do their duties towards him: in which matter, after the scripture declared, holy doctors and authors alledged and read, and all things said, which might be on both sides, and for both parts spoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole scripture in English, is not necessary to christian men; but that without having any such scripture, endeavouring themselves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow such lessons as the preacher teacheth them, and so learned by his mouth, may as well edify spiritually in their souls, as if they had the same scriptures in English. And like as the having the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been by both holy fathers of the church heretofore in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicated amongst them; wherein soasmuch as the king's highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinketh in his conscience, that the divulging of the scripture at this time in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, considering such pestilent books, and such evil opinions, as be now spread amongst them, should rather be to their further confusion and destruction, than the edification of their souls, and that as holy doctors testify, upon such-like considerations, the same hath been done in times past, it was thought there in that assembly to all and singular in that congregation, that the king's highness and prelates, in so doing and not suffering the scripture to be divulged and communicated in the English tongue unto the people, at this time doth well. And also I think and judge the same, exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his highness did there openly say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent that he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same, that you will so detest those pernicious books, so abhor these heresies and new opinions, so decline from arrogancy of knowledge and understanding of scripture after your fancies, and shew yourself in cun-

ning and reasoning, so sober, quiet, meek, and temperate, as all fear of misusing the gift of scripture taken away, you may appear such in your prince's eyes, and eyes of your prelates, as they shall have no just cause to fear any such danger; persuading unto yourself in the mean time, without grudging or murmuring, the very truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand scripture to be divulged in the English tongue, otherwise than upon the discretion of our superiors, so as whensoever they think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you: and whensoever it shall be seen otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it. O stand upon which decree, order, and determination above recited, his gracious highness being in person in the chapel, called the old chapel, which sometime was called St. Edward's chamber, sat on the east side of the parliament chamber, within his grace's palace at Westminster, upon the 24th day of May in the year of our Lord God 1530, and in the two and twentieth year of his reign, called before his grace the three notaries hereunder written, and then and there in the presence of all the personages there assembled and gathered together, willed and required the said three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and us to set thereunto our seal accordingly in and for witness, and perpetual memory and monument of this his grace's desire, order, and determination, and of all and singular the premises, and all the personages then and there being present, to testify the same, and bear record and testimony thereupon: in witness of all and singular the premises, We William. archbishop, primate and legate, aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these present letters testimonial, or present public or authentic instrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination aforesaid, to be made and to be subscribed, and consigned by the hands of the notaries hereafter named, and to be sealed with our own seal. All which premises have been done in manner and form above specified, then and there being present the noble personage of Thomas Moor, knight, great chancellor of England; our reverend brother in Christ, Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, Mr. Stephen Gardiner, secretary; Mr. Richard Samson, dean of the chapel, doctor of law; Mr. Richard Wolman, master of the requests; Mr. John Bell, counsellor, doctors of holy decrees; Mr. Nicholas Wilson, the king's counsellor, Mr. Richard Duck, archdeacon of Wiltshire, doctors of divinity; Mr. John Oliver, Mr. Edmund Steward, doctors of the law, chaplains to our sovereign lord the king's grace; Mr. Richard Mawdley, Mr. William Mortimer, Mr. Edward Crome, Mr. Edward Wiggin, doctors also of divinity; Mr. Robert Carter, Mr. Edward Leighton, Mr. Hugh Latimer, and Roger Tilson, masters of arts in both the universities aforesaid, with many more learned men of both universities, in a great number assembled then and there together, witness to the premises required and exhibited. These being premised, now let us see the answer of bishop Latimer again to this aforesaid proposal or instrument of the bishops, in a letter which the said Latimer wrote to king Henry the same time in that behalf.

Here followeth a letter of bishop Latimer's written to king Henry the eighth upon this occasion. You heard before of two proclamations set out by the bishops in the name of king Henry, one in the year 1531, and the other in the year 1546; in which proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, were inhibited all English books, either containing or tending to any matter of the scripture. Where also we have expressed a catalogue of some of the errors which the said bishops have falsely picked out, and maliciously imputed to godly writers. Now bishop Latimer growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion by reason of these two proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of conscience, directed unto king Henry this letter here ensuing, thereby intending by all means possible, to persuade the king's mind to set open again the freedom of God's holy word amongst his subjects. The copy of which lettere followeth.



## L E T T E R

From BISHOP LATIMER to KING HENRY the EIGHTH, for restoring again of the free LIBERTY of Reading the HOLY SCRIPTURES.

To the most mighty Prince, King of England, HENRY the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from GOD the FATHER, by our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

**T**HE holy doctor St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalanus, saith, That he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him, for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man St. John Chrysostom saith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shew the truth that he knoweth. These sentences (most redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled and vexed me grievously in my conscience, and at last drove me to this strait, that either I must shew forth such things as I have read and learned in scripture, or else be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: which thing, rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

For what other thing is it to be a stranger unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, who is the very truth, and cause of all truth? Who saith that whosoever denieth him before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. Which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea and death itself, be it ever so painful and shameful. But alas? how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men? And how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! And especially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy scripture, yet will neither shew the truth themselves, (as they be bound) or suffer them that would. So that unto them it may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the pharisees; Matth. xiii. Woe be unto you, scribes and pharisees, who shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would to enter in. And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar not only the word of God, which David calleth a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtil wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief: and especially in this your realm they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with curfings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say) and now at the last, when they see they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble grace, to have the scripture in English.

Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that as concerning your high majesty and regal power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right, and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which we are all both conceived and born: so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mysti-

cal body of Christ. And though you be an higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as St. Paul saith, Those members that are taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter to your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind, even as it is.

First, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel, and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Saviour Christ. The tree is known by it's fruit. For by the diligent marking of these, your grace shall clearly know and perceive who are the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who are not. And concerning the first, all scripture sheweth plainly that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, or so poor as he was? It were too tedious to write how poor Joseph and the blessed virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your grace, were they treated in the inns and lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject a place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that condition? Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure when and where he would.

But this he did to shew us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus; If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them. So that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which Christ preacheth in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. v to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they ever so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be private enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men, as they have lord's lands, and king's riches; yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to which our Saviour Christ himself was obedient, and paid tribute as the gospel declareth; unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul teacheth every christian man to obey. Yea, and beside all this, they will curse and censure, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

Your grace may see what means and craft the spirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them. Neither will I that your grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil persons from their goods, and set better in their stead.



I name nor appoint no person nor persons, but remit your grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew the 7th chapter, By their fruits you shall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew, the fifteenth chapter, where he sheweth, That here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said of them for their preaching sake; but he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, It cometh not the servant to be above his master. And seeing they call me Belzebub, what marvel is it if they call you devilish persons and heretics. Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and there your grace shall see that he promised to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignity, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith, In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you; but in me you shall have peace. And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, saith our Saviour Christ also, Lo I send you forth as sheep, among wolves. So that the true preachers go like sheep, harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrongs, but remit all to God; so far is it off that they will persecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be despised among those worldly wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith, That every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution. And also he saith further, in the epistle to the Philippians, in the first chapter, That is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.

Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers; and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, that word of punishment. And the holy scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal.

Therefore pleaseth it your good grace, to return to this golden rule of our master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, By their fruits you shall know them. For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth: and they that do persecute, be void without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith, in the third chapter of St. John's gospel) is come into the world, and which shall utter and shew forth every man's works. And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop and hinder it, endeavouring to prevent, as much as possible, the reading of the holy scripture in our mother tongue, saying, that it would cause heresy and insurrection, and so they persuade, at least they would fain persuade your grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, who be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of thistles, and to call light darkness and darkness light, sweet bitter and bitter sweet, good evil and evil good; and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience should cause dissention and strife; but such is their belly-wisdom, wherewith

they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred scripture, though they babble ever so much of it.

But, as concerning this matter, other men have shewed your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the scripture in English. Which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation: which promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly wise counsellors of Hanun the son of Naas; king of the Ammonites, whom, when David sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun, not only not to receive them gently, but to treat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, "That they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land, so that afterward, they bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it. And he caused the young king to shear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have treated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards: O wretched counsellors. But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom: truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of them that took their parts.

Therefore, good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say our saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your grace believe, that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gainsaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel, regard not your grace's commandment, neither obey your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteem other your grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion. For your grace knoweth, that there is no man living, especially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or advance his enemies, whereby he should be hindered of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires; but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four that would have had the scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is always seen, that the most part overcometh the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as your's, but as their's set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury; and more would have done, if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one



one to God, and yet the New Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will ask them the cause of all insurrections, which have heretofore been in this realm. And whence is it that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not only break your grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons, which cause many a man to sin in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one among a hundred, but he will cry out, both of these books, and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the goods which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots, to burn both the books, and them that have them.

And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, this only except, if it be your's, and not rather their's. And be it so that there be some that have these books, that be evil, unruly, and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the scripture. If the lay-people had such curates that would thus do their office, neither these books, nor the devil himself, could hurt or put them out of order, so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read, but to shew that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and especially of the scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

And though it be so that your grace may by other books, and namely by the scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in sheep's cloathing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your grace such things as God puts in my mind to write. And this I do (God so judge me,) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ shewed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment; so that if your grace had once commanded that the scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me by God, and to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels.

And take heed whose counsels your grace doth take in this matter; for there be some that for fear of losing of their worldly worship and honour, will not leave off their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity which they put in this life should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed should be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called;

he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which before he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

Wherefore they be fore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God, that you may do what God commandeth, and not what seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church; and according to the office that he hath called your grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In which day that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have, as they say, your discharge sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, who also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your grace.

December 1, 1530.

In this letter of Bishop Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider: First, his good conscience to God, his good will to the king, the duty of a right pastor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and especially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of prince's courts, how kings may be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them; and especially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvel at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man, who as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly without any fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish that which no counsellor durst so much as once mention unto him in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example, if the bishops and prelates of this realm, for their parts likewise, in like cases would follow (as indeed they ought to do), it is very probable that many things would not be so out of frame as they be.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the prince; for not long after the same he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester, as is above declared.



Seeing bishop Latimer was so bold and plain with the king (as is before specified) no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness towards other meaner persons, in admonishing them of their disorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression. Accordingly he wrote another letter to a certain justice of the peace in Warwickshire, who as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed.

In this epistle, which is very long, he says, Ah, master N. what manner of man do you shew yourself to be? or what manner of conscience do you shew yourself to have? For, first, as touching your brother, you know well that sir Thomas Coking, with a letter of his own hand writing, hath witnessed unto your brother's agreement; which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I shewed the same to my neighbour, and others before I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to shew. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a sufficient proof, think you? The Lord himself says, in the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. As for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive, that dare swear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you yourself play the part you do? But God is yet alive, and seeth all, and judgeth justly.

Worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, (of which sort we have fewer amongst us than I wish we had) will have no respect at all in their judgments and proceedings, to vicinity of blood, but altogether to the worth and justice of the cause, judging that to be just which is so in the sight of God, though not of men; of which number I pray God make you one. He is just that doth justice. But he that sinneth (as they all do which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) is of the devil, faith he, of which sort all our partaking and natural justices be with all their partiality and naturalty. Wherefore it would be right and just that as many as be such justices, be justly deprived of their offices, and further also to be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their crime, so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the common-wealth, which trouble us when they ought to help us, Amen.

During the time that Bishop Latimer was prisoner at Oxford, we read not much of what he did write, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. There are very few or none of letters to his friends abroad, save these few lines, which he sent to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a pious woman, and afterwards an exile for the gospel's sake.

#### L E T T E R

From Mr. HUGH LATIMER to Mrs. WILKINSON, Widow, in London.

**I**F the gift of a pot of water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, I was in prison and you visited me? God grant us all to do and suffer while we are here, as may be to his will and pleasure, Amen.

Your's in Bocardo,

HUGH LATIMER.

Touching the memorable actions of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprize he attempted, in sending to king Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still an old custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the first day of January, every bishop with some handsome new-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some

with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another: but bishop Latimer being then bishop of Worcester, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his new-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, Fornicators and adulterers God will judge.

And thus hast thou (gentle reader) the whole life, both of Dr. Ridley and bishop Latimer, two worthy fathers in the church of Christ, their writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travels, and faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years to this present month of queen Mary, being the month of October, Anno 1555. In which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from another; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were both together joined in one society or cause of martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their last examination, degrading and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used, and what again were the answers of those men to the same, as in the process here followeth to be seen.

#### The ORDER and MANNER of the EXAMINATION of Dr. RIDLEY, and BISHOP LATIMER, in Sept. 1555.

**F**IRST, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commissioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September, whereof more shall be said (by God's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, on the 28th of the said month, another commission was sent down to Oxford from cardinal Poole, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission was, that the said bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, or two of them, should have full power and authority to cite, examine and judge, Mr. Hugh Latimer and Dr. Ridley, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554, as long before in the time of perdition, and since. Which opinions, if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith administer unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope; but if the said Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, would stoutly and stubbornly maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics; that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics, and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishments due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore the last of September the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were cited to appear before the said lords in the divinity school at Oxford at eight of the clock. At which time the lords repaired thither, placing themselves in the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet: and after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for. And first Dr. Ridley appeared, and



by and by bishop Latimer. But because it seemed good feverally to examine them, bishop Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, as soon as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore after the commission was published, the bishop of London spake as followeth.

*Lincoln.* Mr. Ridley, although neither I, nor yet my lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate a latere to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage (and there Dr. Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance) descending from the royal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons, (which thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the pains to oblige some man to pluck off your cap from you. To whom Dr. Ridley (desiring licence) answered:

*Ridley.* As touching what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap or knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I would have you know, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour towards the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue; and as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility (therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee) and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace; but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whose usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word: and therefore that I might not only by confession profess the verity, in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal's grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap.

*Lincoln.* Mr. Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (who look for no such homage from you) neither for any contempt of this audience: which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you, neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent (at which word Dr. Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Dr. Ridley put on his) and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you

shall put us to the pains to cause some man to take it from you, except you alledge some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good.

*Ridley.* The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease as I have been this long time; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore condemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content.

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beaules (that is, an officer of the university) to pluck his cap from his head; Dr. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take it away.

After this, the bishop of Lincoln, in a long oration, exhorted Dr. Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in this manner.

*Lincoln.* Mr. Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advice, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church, which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time, if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught by the catholic and apostolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself: you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given to us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to join and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from which you have so long strayed, without which no man can be saved; which thing I and my lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I, for my part, (here he put off his cap) most earnestly exhort you to do.

Remember, Mr. Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we now do. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy, became a setter forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to spring, the council, willing to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him (I then being in my lord's house, unknown, as I suppose, to you); and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion, and amongst others this was one, that you should say, Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault thee also. If this be true, (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the blessed sacrament.

Also in a sermon of your's at Paul's Cross, you as effectually and catholicly spake of that blessed sacrament as any man might have done, whereby it appeareth that is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came, that is, with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the

supremacy



supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church; which supremacy or prerogative the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge: and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially fixed upon a place of St. Augustine, who writeth after this manner: All the christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome. Here you see, Mr. Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should hinder you therefore to confesse the same as St. Augustine and other fathers?

Then Dr. Ridley desired his patience to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having leave granted him, he said in this manner:

*Ridley.* My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked especially three points, which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded, not upon man's imaginations and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expresse word of God.

The first point in this, that the see of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath built his church, hath in all ages, lineally from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have confessed the same.

Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the same.

First, As touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another; then he said, Whom say ye that I am? Then Peter said, I say that thou art Christ the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, I say, Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church; that is to say, Upon this stone, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brittle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confesse that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God.

Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our christianity, and the support of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters-forth of Christ's glory, in

which, above all other countries and regions, there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly administered; and as, before Christ's coming, it was a city so valiant in power, and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake: so after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became christians, the gospel there, as well for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln, in sessions and sittings, hath the pre-eminence of other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric (and therewith the people smiled.) Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

In like manner, I cannot, nor dare but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confesse that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by name of the whore of Babylon; and say, with the said St. Gregory, He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.

Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St. Austin's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him certain bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at the time St. Austin wrote that book he was then bishop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called the Mediterranean sea, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa, may be called countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Austin saith, All the christian countries beyond the seas and remote regions, are subject to the see of Rome. If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense, St. Austin saith, All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome; declaring thereby, that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what subjection I pray you? Only for a pre-eminence; as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishop of Canterbury.

For this pre-eminence also the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like manner the archbishopric of



York, is mother to the North bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to the other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be the mother of churches.

Now were you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, I was one of you not long ago, in that I in doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord: in very deed I was sent (as your lordship said) from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him also to receive the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractory, I said to him, What make you so great a matter herein? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you my lord, be diligent in confounding of them: for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacraments against the detestable errors of anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

In like sort, as touching the sermon which I made at St. Paul's Cross, you shall understand, that there were at St. Paul's, and divers others places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it Jack of the Box, The Sacrament of the Haltar, Round Robin, with such unseemly terms; for which causes, I, to rebuke irreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine.

With that the bishop of Lincoln interrupting him, said:

You must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hid, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle in the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is catholic, and universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

Then Dr. Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake.

*Ridley.* My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in which no man can err, without which no man can be saved, which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly administered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint the same to Rome, that there and no where else is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the counsel of Vicentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: When (saith he) one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one

part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.

In like manner now when I perceive the greatest part of christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find quite contrary to the pope's decrees: as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like: wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church.

*Lincoln.* Mr. Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbid the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at the time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to administer the sacrament under the form of bread only. And yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood, under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles, who had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain from things stifled, and from blood, so that this seemeth to be an express commandment: yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? How is it lawful but by the permission of the church?

*Ridley.* My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors.

After further disputation the following articles were read, and answers required the succeeding day in St. Mary's church:

#### The ARTICLES.

**I**N the name of God, Amen. We John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, bishops, &c.

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first, that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high university of Oxford, in the year 1554, hast affirmed and openly defended and maintained, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item. That in the year aforesaid thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item. That in the said year thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item. That in the year and place aforesaid, these the aforesaid assertions solemnly had been condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith.

5. Item. That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, and openly known by the public fame.

BISHOP LATIMER *appareth before the* COMMISSIONERS.

**B**ISHOP Latimer being brought in by the bailiffs according to orders, thus spoke to the lords:

*Latimer.* My lords, If I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long



long gazing upon the cold walls. Then said the bishop of Lincoln:

*Lincoln.* Mr. Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Poole's grace, legate a latere to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of your's, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other times, did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In which commission be specially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and together with all this realm, yea, all the world, confess the truth, we, upon due repentance on your part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from which you, in the time of schism, fell. So that it is no new place to which I exhort you; I desire you to return thither from whence you went.

Consider, Mr. Latimer, that without unity of the church there is no salvation, and in the church there be no errors. Therefore what should hinder you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which their majesties the king and queen have renounced, and all the realm recanted: it was a common error, and it is now of all confessed: it will be no more shame to you than it was to us all. Consider, Mr. Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also with all the world confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church an head, and by what means, and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of christi-anity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious; it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder; as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God, may be proved.

For Christ spake expressly to Peter, saying, Feed my sheep, and rule my sheep, which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government; and therefore is the king called a King from ruling: so that in saying, Rule, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all ages it hath remained in the see of Rome. This, if you will confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then will you do what we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution. But if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you stand alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schisms and heresy you will divide yourself from the church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do), but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are the son of perdition, a lost child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws.

Therefore, Mr. Latimer, for God's love consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the schools, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerate not your death, and especially remember your soul's health, and the peace of your conscience; con-

sider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation.

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then Mr. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow) and asked whether his lordship had done speaking; and the bishop answered, Yea.

*Latimer.* Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?

*Lincoln.* Yea, Mr. Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts.

*Latimer.* Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess (my lord) a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, without which unity of the church no man can be saved, but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well and truly, in that he was bid to govern; but since the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of government. Indeed they ought to govern, but how, my lord? not as they will themselves; but this government must be hedged in and ditched in. They must rule, but according to the word of God.

The bishop of Lincoln now said, that they came not to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles, and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley, requiring bishop Latimer's answers to the first.

*Latimer.* I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ, because that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion: but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such manner in the sacrament as you would have it.

The notaries took his answer affirmatively.

*Lincoln.* What say you, Mr. Latimer, to the second article? and recited the same.

*Latimer.* There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omnipotency of God can make, in that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body, and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine; for the change is not in the nature, but the dignity, because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word.

So the notaries penned his answer in the affirmative.

*Lincoln.* What say you to the third question? and recited the same.

*Latimer.* No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul saith) upon the cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins saving his cross only.

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also affirmatively.

*Lincoln.* What say you to the fourth, Mr. Latimer? and then recited it. After the recital whereof, when Mr. Latimer answered not, the bishop asked whether he heard him or no?

*Latimer.* Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby.



*Lincoln.* Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Dr. Weston, as heresies; is it no so, Mr. Latimer?

*Latimer.* Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that is a judge of all, knoweth.

The notaries also took this answer affirmatively.

*Lincoln.* What say you, Mr. Latimer, to the fifth article? and then recited it.

*Latimer.* I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer, I wish you would propose the matter plainly.

*Lincoln.* In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people.

*Latimer.* I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, and care not.

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said, Mr. Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against that time, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.

### The SECOND SESSION.

THE next day following (which was the first of October) somewhat after eight o'clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne, well trimmed with cloth of tiffue and silk, then appeared Dr. Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's seat, which table had a silk cloak cast over it, and the place was encompassed about in a quadrate form, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither, (for this was the sessions-day of goal-delivery) and the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university, as of the town, came hither to see the end of these two persons. After Dr. Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following.

*Lincoln.* Mr. Ridley, yesterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, who as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of those whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although justly, may yet, in this case, require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from the royal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning; for as touching those points, you said, you would with all humility, honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness, (with that the bishop, with all then present, put off their caps, but Dr. Ridley moved not his) you said you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, unless you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take care to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, unless you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not.

*Ridley.* I pretend now no other cause than I did yesterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear, that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority from the pope, and not for any pride of mind, (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, nei-

ther for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage, and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you, it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf.

*Lincoln.* Forasmuch as you do now answer as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then, and forthwith one of the beadies very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination.

*Lincoln.* Now, Mr. Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Then Dr. Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written; but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadie to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying, that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

With that Dr. Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Dr. Ridley's answer to it. Then Dr. Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published; but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Dr. Weston being prolocutor.

In like manner the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Dr. Ridley referred to him his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the rest of the articles.

Their answers in this manner rehearsed, taken and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Dr. Ridley to turn.

*Gloucester.* If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be brought to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Mr. Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, Woe, woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.

But you will say here, it is true that the prophet saith: but how know you, that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Mr. Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring scripture for the proof of your assertions, and we also bring scriptures: you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, likely you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit, then can you not avoid the woe which the prophet speaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit: then for God's love, Dr.

Ridley,



Ridley, stand not singular, be not you wise in your own conceit, please not yourself overmuch. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with divers other heretics which have been in the church, how, I pray you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No truly, the Arians had no more places for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the proof of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves then be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not wise in your own judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church.

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade Dr. Ridley to turn and forsake his religion.

To whom Dr. Ridley answered in few words, That he said most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit; but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he said bishop Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Dr. Cranmer; for when he was but a young scholar, Mr. Cranmer was then a doctor; so that he confessed Mr. Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster for many years. It seemed that he would have spoke more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:

Why, Mr. Ridley, it is your own confession, for Mr. Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in Mr. Cranmer's books, and Mr. Cranmer also said that it was your doing.

The bishop of Lincoln likewise with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Dr. Ridley made an absolute answer, That he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his master and Lord God; but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to shew his cause, why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, who sat by, and said, Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already.

Dr. Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his license: but he should speak but forty, and then he would tell them upon his fingers: and presently Dr. Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by, cried out, and said, that his number was out: and with that he was put to silence.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as an heretic, and so adjudged him presently, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring moreover the said

Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

*The last APPEARANCE and EXAMINATION of BISHOP LATIMER before the COMMISSIONERS.*

THIS sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Mr. Latimer was sent for: but in the mean time the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Dr. Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) Mr. Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as Dr. Ridley had. But as soon as Mr. Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spoke to the commissioners, saying:

*Latimer.* My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very sore back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm.

*Lincoln.* I am sorry, Mr. Latimer, for your hurt. With that Mr. Latimer thanked his lordship.

Mr. Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same; yet we having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred farther process till this day; and now according to the appointment, we have called you before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire, and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you, or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for which we would be sorry.

It seemed that the bishop would have farther proceeded, if Mr. Latimer had not interrupted him by saying:

Your lordship doth often repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand, but not the church which you call catholic, which ought rather to be termed diabolic.

To the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by the spirit and grace. But after a corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine.

The notaries took his answer affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

*Latimer.* Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice.

In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

After his answers were penned by the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like manner to recant as he did Dr. Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and Mr. Latimer had answered that he neither would nor could deny his master Christ and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired Mr. Latimer to hearken to him: and then Mr. Latimer hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation, after which the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. And so Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer continued in custody till the 16th day of the said month of October.



A COPY of DR. RIDLEY'S SUPPLICATION *written to the QUEEN and given to his Brother to be presented.*

**M**AY it please your majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so (honourable prince) that in the time while I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenancies and holding: and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me and to the chapter of St. Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

Now I say, that the bishop, who at present occupieth the same room, will not allow the aforesaid leases, which must redound to many a poor man's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the aforesaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their aforesaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either on their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents reserved to the see, without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the Chapter-house for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing, concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house, when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespasses towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron-chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases: and therefore if that way shall please your highness, they must be known by such ways and means, as your majesty, by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and humbly beseech your majesty, of your gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have also a poor sister that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered indurance at my entrance into the see of London, not one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almost half a year after his deposition before I entered into that place; yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had license to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his moveable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Mr. Stanton, can testify) I paid for them towards his servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell which.

In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and especially the archbishop of York; which for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my sister, for whose succour, and some relief, now unto your highness I make humble suit.

N. R.

October 16, 1555.

The degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praising God, burst out in these words, and said, God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it would surely be laid in my lap, I see very well. Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Dr. Ridley said, No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore I pray you have no such opinion of me. Then in going away, a certain warden of a college, advised Dr. Ridley to repent and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and, I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.

*The BEHAVIOUR of DR. RIDLEY at his SUPPER, the Night before his Suffering.*

**T**HE night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper, the same night, at the house of Mr. Irish, (who was his keeper) he asked his hostess, and the rest at the table, to his marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no: and he answered, Yea, I dare say, with all her heart. At which word he said, He was glad to hear of her so much therein. At this discourse Mrs. Irish wept.

But Dr. Ridley comforted her, and said, O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said, No, no, that you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to night, as ever I did in my life. So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

*The BEHAVIOUR of DR. RIDLEY and MR. LATIMER, at the TIME of their DEATH, October 16, 1555.*

**U**PON the north side of the town, in the ditch over-against Baliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

Dr. Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Bristow freeze frock much torn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to pity them, beholding on the one side the honour they sometime had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Dr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping belike to have seen him



him at the glasse window, and to have spoke unto him: But Dr. Cranmer was then busy with friar Soto and his fellows disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Then Dr. Ridley looking back, espied Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he said, Oh, be you there? Yea, said Mr. Latimer, have after as fast as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvelously and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a wondrous chearful look he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.

With that he went to the stake, kneeled down by it, and earnestly prayed, and behind him Mr. Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till those who were appointed to see the execution removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alledged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversities in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth. Which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scarce in all a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley said to Mr. Latimer, Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I? Mr. Latimer said, Begin you first, I pray you. I will, said Dr. Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer kneeled down on their knees to my lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby. Unto whom Dr. Ridley said, I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words: and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might have leave to speak, the bailiffs, and Dr. Marshal, the vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life. Not otherwise? said Dr. Ridley. No, quoth Dr. Marshal: therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts. Well, says Dr. Ridley, so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me. And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, Well then I commit our cause to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.

To which Mr. Latimer added his old possey, Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened: and he said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suf-

fered. Incontinently they were commanded to make themselves ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley took his gown and his tipper, and gave it to his brother-in-law Mr. Shipside, who all the time of his imprisonment; although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth he gave away, the others the bailiffs took away.

He gave away divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Mr. Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array which to look unto was very simple; and being stripped unto his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present; as one could well see; and whereas in his cloaths he appeared a withered and silly old man, he now stood bolt upright; as comely a father as one might behold.

Then Dr. Ridley standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, It were best for me to go in my truss still. No, says his brother, it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good. Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, Be it in the name of God, and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand and said, O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both their middles: and as he was knocking in the staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand and shook it, for it did gird in his belly; and looking aside to the smith, said, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have it's course. Then his brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was, his brother said gunpowder. Then, said he, I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent from him. And have you any, said he, for my brother? (meaning Mr. Latimer.) Yea, sir, that I have, says his brother. Then give it unto him, said he, betime, lest you come too late. So his brother went and carried some gunpowder to Mr. Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants to them made, but contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

Then they brought a lighted faggot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley's feet. Thereupon Mr. Latimer said, Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust never shall be put out. When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: Lord, receive my spirit; and after repeated this often, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit.



spirit. Mr. Latimer cried as vehemently on the other side, O Father of heaven receive my soul: who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, (as it appeareth) with very little or no pain. And thus much concerning this old and faithful servant of God, Bp. Latimer, for whose laborious travels, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give thanks to Almighty God.

But Dr. Ridley, by the ill making of the fire, the faggots being green, and built too high about the goss, so that the fire being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, which put him to such exquisite pain, that he desired them for God's sake to let the fire come unto him; which his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending him to rid him of his pain, (for which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, I cannot burn. Which indeed plainly appeared: for after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (whereof he had no release, but only the comfort he had from God) he shewed that side towards us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all his torment he forgot not to call upon God still, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry, Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet: which some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed, others said, that he fell over the chain, by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

In a farewell letter written to all true friends in God, Dr. Ridley concluded with this sharp admonition to Papists.

Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people with much solemn disguising a thing which they call their mass, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord; or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substances is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood: and for this holy use, for which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood: which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again. And here again these thieves have also robbed the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ written in his gospel,

Although the cause of the true man slain of the thief, helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause for which I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I said before); yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal

are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far different. These thieves are worse (I say) for they are cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful, and crafty: for those will but kill the body, but these will kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but these for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called Sacrilegi, as you would say, Church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil their spiritual father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ.

These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful, than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly in the night, they dare not appear in judgments and sessions, where justice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oftentimes hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be no other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man.

The kind of fight against these church-robbers is also of another sort and kind, than that is which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed, and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of Antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy, which are called by St. Paul, principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtilties concerning heavenly things; therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly: we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their souls.

And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, "We fight not against flesh and blood," that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the Word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master and captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain Christ, our master, after the



the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered down like a flock of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful the kind of death is whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon (without all doubts) our martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoke for your comfort, lest at my death ye might be abashed, or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice (if ye love me indeed) that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester, or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he (I say) that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself to do;) who is he, I say, that knoweth this and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his master Christ, and his blessed gospel; loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life: who is he, I say again, that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to chuse rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his own truth: that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Farewel therefore (Cambridge) my loving mother and tender nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usedst to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school-degrees, the common offices, the chaplainship of the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader; and of thy private advantages and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be a scholar, then to be a fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewel, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure, and my charge: what case thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well learned, and a greater promoter of gospel, and of God's true word; so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all St. Paul's epistles, yea, and I think all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet

the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after, and I think of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there were others that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father, and of him preferred to be vicar of Herne, in East Kent. Wherefore, farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oftentimes the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: O that the fruit had answered to the seed. And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I bless God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, lady Phines; the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others.

Farewel, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitic see, whereof I once was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God, and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name Christ's church, in deed and in truth.

Farewel, Rochester, some time my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience; and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God. O that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law wherein I did leave thee: then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

O London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas, all that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now, (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some confined in hard prison, and appointed to be put to the most cruel death for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Shall I speak to the see whereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor even suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God, who is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord himself) to the people



as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the Common-prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be presently declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of Antichrist, thou bloody wolf, why slayest thou down, and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow no other but their own pastor Christ's voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require their blood at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god, I say, will not indeed, nor can, (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy Maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, who sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands (O thou whorish drab) shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets.

Yet (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great city there be many private mourners, who do daily mourn for that mischief, who never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially which were in office of mayoralty, yea, and in other cities also (whom now to name is not necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of sir Rowland Hill's year, unto sir Georges Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness, as I thought: but to (say the truth) that I do esteem above all other for true christian kindness, which is shewed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Whereas, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council-chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chose in all the whole city; and, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city, and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of poor silly members of Christ, which else for extreme hunger and misery should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common-council, and the whole body of the city; but especially thee, O Dobs, and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so

long throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end, Amen.

*Another FAREWEL to the PRISONERS in the Cause of CHRIST'S GOSPEL, and to all them who for the same Cause are banished from their own COUNTRY, chusing rather to leave all worldly GOODS than their MASTER CHRIST.*

**F**AREWEL, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both you my fellow-prisoners, and you also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because you will rather forsake all worldly advantages, than the gospel of Christ.

Farewel all you together in Christ; farewell and be merry, for you know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole, and sound on every side, and such, after trial (ye know) shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, who likewise spake God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his foot-steps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ; blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets that were before you. Christ our master hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake; but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered, being our Master and Lord: how doth it then become us to suffer? For the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them so of his household? Fear them not (saith our Saviour) for all hidden things shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ commandeth us, saying, What I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and what I tell you in your ear, preach upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.

Know ye that our heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission



mission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our master Christ) for you are more worthy than many small sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven. Christ came not to give us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death sake, which he calleth his cross; he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in this cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here are painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant; yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

Let no man be ashamed of that which he suffereth as a christian, and in Christ's cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls unto him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful master. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their master Christ, and for the great advantages and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to insue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and also for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles did joy of their afflictions, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And St. Paul, as he glorieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with what the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified: he will glory, he saith, in nothing else but in Christ's cross, yea, and he blesteth all those as the only true Israelites, and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule, and after no other.

Therefore seeing we have so much occasion to suffer, and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many advantages thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: let us throw away whatever might hinder us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the captain

and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not minding the shame and ignominy thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death fighting against sin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus; My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind, but this Father teacheth us to our advantage, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterwards it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or begun to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us stedfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so chuse rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's cross, than for his short life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ which is all our comfort, our joy and our life? Nay forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

*BISHOP RIDLEY's Lamentation for the Change of RELIGION in ENGLAND; also a Comparison between the Doctrine of the GOSPEL, and Romish Religion, with wholesome Instructions to all CHRISTIANS; how to behave themselves in Time of Trial.*

**A**LAS, what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every village, yea, and almost in every honest man's house, alas, now it is exiled and banished out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same! And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance towards it, but such as are content in Christ's cause, and for his word's sake to stand to the danger and loss of all they have!

Of late there were to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, some that gave their diligence to learn (as they could) out of God's word, the articles of the christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught these things by their parents, their masters, and weekly by their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeat the same: but now (alas and alas again) the false prophets of Antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be accounted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, even though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.



Of late in every congregation throughout all England, prayer and petition was made unto God to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, from all false doctrine and heresy; and now alas, Satan hath persuaded England by his falshood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and draw down the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

Of late by strict laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, the beast of Babylon was banished hence, with laws, I say, and with oaths, and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, (alas) all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter ever so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes, or a barley straw, and a public perjury no more terrifieth them, than a shadow upon a wall.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to St. Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment, that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common-prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to the public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word: but, alas, all is turned upside down, Paul's doctrine is put apart, Christ's commandment is not regarded. For nothing is heard commonly in the church but a strange tongue, that the people do not understand.

Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas, the unlearned people are brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts are nothing mindful at all, for that it cannot understand a whit thereof.

Of late the Lord's supper was duly administered, and taught to be made common to all that are true christians with thanksgiving and setting forth of the Lord's death and passion until his returning again, to judge both quick and dead: but, now alas, the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding God's holy mysteries, did bless God, who had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past being seduced by Satan's subtilities, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which had neither life nor sense, (alas, such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man: but now, alas, England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known: and not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by the high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they say they can, and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed according to his own commandment, by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that

can be shewed unto this day: but now, alas, not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the quick and the dead, to the great and intolerable reproach of Christ our Saviour's death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the world.

Of late the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude nor likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them:" this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in churches, was learned by every body both old and young; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wise man saith, were taken out of the churches, and strictly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them, or worship them: but now, alas, God's holy word is blotted and razed out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other side, he forbid images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them: but now (alas) that which God commanded is not minded, and that which he forbiddeth, is powerfully maintained by falshood and craft, and wickedly upheld.

Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing as doctrine necessary to eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And now can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief, is Antichrist and his brood, the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he, whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith John in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth, and of the wine of this harlot have all nations drank, yea and kings of the earth have lain by this whore, and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandize, have been made rich.

Alas, England, alas, that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas, my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas, my dear country, what hast thou done that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas, thou hast heard oft, and would never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees, and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou bore that name, then thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in king Edward's days; but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates some (the king's highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young christian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself, and yet would they

towards



towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face:

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully in the duke of Somerset's cause, and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality, and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men of all others these magistrates could never abide. Others that were very godly men, and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plaisters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter, but alas all speed alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not diminish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say of bishops also, I fear, for the most part, (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his) but for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word, and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been found within.

Hypocrisy and dissimulation St. Jerome doth well call a double wickedness: for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil) and also falsely it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they well and diligently taught; yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and irreligiously to come to the holy communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal, and undiscerned devotion which they had aforesaid to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And again, as for our alms-deeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as he saith himself he setteth more by than by sacrifice; to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing in these works: I say, how wayward were many, in comparison (I mean) of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess, for such godly works in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year being marvellous well: the Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun, Amen.

All these things do administer more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared, that those good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave farther and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny before his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so, that he deny not his master Christ, or else he is but a cast-away, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

Now then seeing the doctrine of Antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers (alas) are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it is the truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of Antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God, and true christian, abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will he can make them bow; and also that christian kings in old times used a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed; as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet Antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image (but even as all the world knoweth (after the same manner that both John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death; and Daniel declareth farther, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

Therefore, if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die; for both by Antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy master Christ, which is the loss at the last both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayst so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surely for thy soul's health, is that which I shall shew thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtilities of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city was laid in wait for him, he was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the persecution of wicked Jezabel: and Christ our Saviour saith in the gospel, "When they persecute you in one city, flee unto another:" and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, who were great and



stout champions nevertheless, and stout counsellors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it.

Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and flee far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichrist, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination: therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, "Then they that be in Judea, let them flee into the mountains." Then (saith he) mark this Christ's (Then) for truly I am persuaded, and I trust, by the Spirit of God, that this (Then) is commanded: "Then (saith Christ) they that be in Jewry, let them fly unto the mountains, and he that is on the house top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his cloaths. Woe be to the great-bellied women, and to them that give suck; but pray (saith Christ) that your flight be not in winter, or on the sabbath-day."

These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the gospel of Christ. Such as they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the reign of Antichrist's abominations, to fly unto the mountains; which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house top, not to come down, and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his cloaths; he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betime, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they may be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, Woe be to the great-bellied women, and to them that give suck; women great with child, and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck: by these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word (Woe) signifieth: all such, I say, as are so hindered by any manner of means that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And where Christ saith, Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day: in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the sabbath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in the winter, for the badness of the ways, and also to go far, which cannot be done on the sabbath-day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath-day; that is, to pray that we fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the causes why we should fly, follow in the same of St. Matthew's gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayst read them there.

And in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelation, the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, "Flee, my people out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell, and are come unto the heavens." Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul, that blessed apostle, he plainly forbiddeth us, "To join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful: for what fellowship can there be, saith he, of righteousness with unrighteousness, what

company hath light with darkness, or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? For you are the temple of the living God: as God hath said, I will talk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty God.

This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to Godward) diversly. Many (I trust) that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done, for they will peradventure say, we should counsel a man always to do that which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardice. In many things, that which is best for one at sometimes, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run before he can go. I will not here make a discourse in this matter, what might be here objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldest know, O man of God, as I would wish, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true christian, either brother or sister (after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game, that is, to confess the truth of the gospel, and of the christian faith, in hope of everlasting life) should not shrink nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall, but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day: so likewise I dare not with nor counsel any, either brother or sister, of their own accord, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves, either before, and farther in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is, that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called, to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in his ecclesiastical history, lib. 4. cap. 15) forever.

But a third sort of men there be, who also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to fly the infection of the antichristian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the aforesaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the aforesaid plague, truly agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness as any other man. Yes, peradventure, will some say, thus it may be: thou mayst keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayst thou be suffered in the commonwealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience. In other countries somewhere this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God knoweth: but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England, in times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker



of these rites, laws, and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience; for in observing of them thou shalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the church, and bear a face to worship the creature instead of the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with the conjured water.

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of Antichrist's service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre, for setting up and painting images (nay, indeed of idols), and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call them, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live at rest. If any of thy family die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for requiem, masses, dirige, and commendations, and such like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for Cæsar's friend? An hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which, God knoweth, be ill enough: but these are enough to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend, that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also faith, Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil: or else if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest, safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

But peradventure (as man is ready to find, and invent some colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things, and such-like, yet I will have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body; I will keep my heart unto God, and will not do that of my own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for God's sake, and know that the subtilties of Satan are very deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David; Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my sin: examine, my dear friend, these wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem ever so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's wrath is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God; and it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down, or to worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing; and God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly; what is that, but in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers, God's word accounteth to be guilty both. And it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man, take heed what thou sayest; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called, and is truly, the searcher of the heart. Now to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. "He that hath my commandments, saith

Christ, and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me:" and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment: and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they ever so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of sort, when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, for he hath bought them both dearly: and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing thou committest sacrilege, and dost rob God; thou defilest the living temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. "Do you not know, saith St. Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God?" And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely, it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every christian soul? "As you have in times past, saith he, given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified." And I pray thee, good brother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he shewed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John, yet to read them with reverence; and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know, I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what I suppose is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master the beast of Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his hand, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not forbear to tell thee, what I think to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength stoutly to confess him, and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abomination of Antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with TAU, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus, I suppose, these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John: and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beastly manners is well called a beast.

The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the Messiah, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways: they knew also there was a promise of Messiah, that he should come, and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore: but they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Messiah, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messiah to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory, whereas the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood:



of Elias, that he should not come in person, but in spirit; that is, one that should be endowed with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles: and of Messiah's reign, all the prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias and the true Messiah, and when they came, knew neither of them. So likewise, I fear, nay, it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, saith John) neither doth, nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live ever so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive, and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remain two questions, which may seem weighty, and which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, A man will say, O sir, it is no small matter you speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great hindrances, as how is it possible that they can, or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have, father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayst away either with the people, or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose language thou dost not understand, &c.

I grant here thou mayst heap a number of worldly disadvantages, which are surely very likely to ensue the departure out of a man's native country, I mean out of the whole realm, into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke, "If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother, [he meaneth, and will not in his cause forsake his father and mother] his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my cross, and come after me, he cannot be my disciple." And, in the same place, he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not, in Christ's cause, forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will; the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of conscience to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause layeth it upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here rehearse no more.

This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some; Alas, sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loath either to look on them, or to hear them. But, sir, alas, I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man; or I have so many small infants, and a lame wife, who all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them, they will starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas, sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessity, of whom both God and nature have committed unto them the care.

Alas! what counsel is here to be given? O lamenta-

ble state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, great bellied, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, suck to their babes. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of Antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith, "Woe be to the great bellied and travailing women, and women that give suck in those days." For these, alas, my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall, and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, who is able to save them against all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto him he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put to his helping hand. God suffered Daniel to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace, and yet he saved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he saith of himself), and in Asia he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for nothing less than present death, and yet he that raised the dead to life again, brought him out of all his troubles and taught him and all others that be in trouble for Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils towards them that put their trust in him, all scripture is full both of old and new. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but of all others Joseph, and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life? And when he was sent again to deliver the Israelites from their servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from the sword of Pharaoh? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so encompassed on every side, the main sea on one side, and the main host on the other, that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. Those judges which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were given when the people was brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Samgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extremest persecutions. What shall I speak of the prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Jonah, and many others, whom it were too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the apostles, and you shall say no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when, I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, after they had been fore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there laid fast in the stocks. I pray you, what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when as both the high-priest, the pharisees, and rulers of the Jews conspired to inquire judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison, and also more than forty men



men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayst read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearſal thereof.

Now to deſcend from the apoſtles to the martyrs that followed next in Chriſt's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them who in his cauſe have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanaſius the great clerk and godly man, ſtoutly ſtanding in Chriſt's cauſe againſt the Ari-ans, and that holy woman Blandina, ſtanding ſo conſtantly in all extreme pains, in the ſimple confeſſion of Chriſt. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou ſhalt have theſe and an hundred more, in Eusebius's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and in Tripartita Hiſtoria.

To die in Chriſt's cauſe is an high honour, to which no man certainly ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to preſume to take upon himſelf any office of honour, but he who is thereunto called of God. Therefore John ſaith well, ſpeaking of them who have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his teſtimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſs him in this world amoungſt this adulterous and ſinful generation, that he may confeſs us again at the latter day before his father which is in heaven, to our glory and everlaſting comfort, joy, and ſalvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour now and for ever. Amen.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

#### *The HISTORY of STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP of WINCHESTER.*

**T**HE next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, biſhop, and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. This viper's bird crept out of the town of Bury, in Suffolk, was brought up moſt part of his youth in Cambridge: his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature, were not to be complained of, if he had well uſed, and rightly applied the ſame; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himſelf wanted to the goodneſs of his gifts.

In the beginning of queen Anne Bullen's time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was firſt ſent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Fox, as chief agent in the behalf of the lady Anne? By whom alſo he was preferred to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and Edward Bonner was preferred to the biſhopric of London. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who ſo ready to ſwear, or ſo vehement to write againſt the pope as he, not only by his ſermons, but alſo by his book *De Obedientia* may appear? In which book, left any ſhould think him drawn thereunto otherwiſe than by his own conſent, he plainly declareth, how not raſhly nor on a ſudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertiſement in himſelf about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment: and moreover, ſo he uttered his judgment in writing againſt the uſurped ſupremacy of the pope, that coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted a perſon excommunicate and a ſchiſmatic, inſomuch that he was not permitted in their church to ſay maſs; and moreover,

in their public ſermons they openly cried out againſt him.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, ſo that who but Wincheſter during all the reign of queen Anne? After her deceaſe, that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of the lord Cromwell's eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth) for his ſo much favouring of Bonner (whom Wincheſter at that time in no caſe could abide) made him an utter enemy both againſt him, and alſo his religion: till again in king Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the goſpel, as both by his ſermon before king Edward, as alſo by his ſubſcribing to certain articles, may appear; and this was an half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the goſpel, and (no doubt) he would have farther turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerſet clean turned away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel perſecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profeſſion of Stephen Gardiner's popiſh divinity. In which his popiſh trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or elſe time, or rather the ſpirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtful, becauſe in his doings and writings a man may ſee him not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo in ſome points contrary to other popiſts. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſeemeth therein not ſo much to follow his own ſenſe, as the mind and meaning of Perſeus; out of whoſe book the greateſt part of Wincheſter's divinity ſeemeth to be borrowed. And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and ſcripture he appeareth nobody; ſo in his pen and ſtyle of writing no leſs far he is from commendation, than he is from all plainneſs and perſpicuity.

It pleaſed his majeſty king Henry the eighth, after his abolishing the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority (amongſt other embaffages to foreign princes), to ſend the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſir Henry Knevet, knight, as joint ambaffadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratiſbon, appointing alſo ſir Henry Barkely, ſir William Blunt, knights, and Andrew Bainton, eſquire, (their highneſſes ſervants) to give their attendance upon the ſaid ſir Henry Knevet, for the more honouring of his embaffage. It happened alſo at that time, that ſir Henry Knevet entertained in his ſervice (as ſteward of his houſehold) one William Wolfe, who had in the ſame capacity before ſerved ſir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambaffador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in thoſe parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elſewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often as he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear ſome news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, one of his old acquaintance. Who, ſuppoſing the ſaid Wolfe to have attended upon the biſhop of Wincheſter, (not knowing of any other joint ambaffador) required Wolfe, for old acquaintance, to do him a pleaſure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico ſhewed him, that the pope's legate, or ambaffador to the emperor (which was cardinal Contarene) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leiſure to end his buſineſs himſelf, had put the ſaid Ludovico in truſt for the accompliſhing of them: and amongſt all other things he had eſpecially charged him, that he ſhould repair to the ambaffador of England, and require of him an answer to the pope's letters, which the legate did of late ſend unto him, addreſſed to him from Rome, and that upon the receipt thereof he ſhould ſend them after with all ſpeed; and therefore if his lord ambaffador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abaſhed, and yet partly gueſſing which ambaffador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whoſe ſervant he was, but by other ſoothing talk found



that he meant the bishop of Winchester. And to the end that Ludovico should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he being not the ambassador's secretary, could say little therein; however he would not fail to put his secretary in remembrance of it: which thing Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambassador, and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he immediately revealed it to sir Henry Knevet, his master: who weighing also the greatness of the case, and what disadvantage it were upon one man's bare report to attempt aught, in a place and time whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no hatred, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, That he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if the duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. But sir, (says he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient; I warrant you to devise means that some other of your servants shall hear the like words from Ludovico's own mouth as well as I. Upon which sir Henry Knevet devised which of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon Mr. Thomas Chalenor, his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue. Not making him privy to any matter, but desired Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chalenor's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to take a walk with him abroad to the Piazza, or Market-stand, which he readily did, not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the Piazza, overagainst the emperor's palace, (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, Chalenor being still with them. At last upon an occasion, they entered into a little talk about the former letters that the ambassador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an answer, affirming that the post departed the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambassador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which ambassador he meant, for that there were two; one, the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, That he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and much such like, (as upon the former day) Mr. Chalenor being moved, (and not knowing yet of his master's and Wolfe's purpose) after the departure of Ludovico from them, said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, Do as you will, if you think any matter therein. And therefore at his return home, he told sir Henry Knevet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth.

Sir Henry Knevet being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to sir John Barkley, sir William Blunt, and to Mr. William Bainton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof. And therefore devised that Wolfe should procure Ludovick to bring certain velvets, and other silks, unto sir Henry Knevet's lodging, as well for himself as for the other gentlemen, which that afternoon he did accomplish, and brought Ludovick unto sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had a while viewed the silks, and had some talk about the price, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovick, if sir Henry was the ambassador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, No, it was not his feignery, but

it was a bishop, terming him Reverendissimo, whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knevet hereupon somewhat dissembling the matter, entered into further talk about it, whereby Ludovick opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe; but yet at last perceiving that as well sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen, beheld him somewhat angrily, he broke off his talk. Wherewith sir Henry Knevet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly dismiss him, praying him, that when he had received the bishop's letters, he would also repair to him for a packet to an English gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promised to do, and so departed again. When sir Henry had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the meanwhile Ludovick the next morning repaired to the bishop of Winchester's lodging, to demand an answer of those letters the legate had sent unto him; but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the discourse he had with sir Henry Knevet, and with Wolfe, whom he supposed at first to be the bishop's man, is not certainly known. But the bishop perceiving, that by mistaking one for another, (and in supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant) Ludovick had uttered all his message from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light; in great haste and rage he caused Ludovick to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to Gravela, one of the emperor's council, and so practised with him, that Ludovick was secretly committed to prison, in the custody of one of the emperor's marshals, and so as he could be no more talked with, all the time of their abode there. And then sending in great haste to sir Henry Knevet to come and speak with him, (which he did) he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such like words. Sir Henry told him again how he understood it: and prayed him that Ludovick might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their presences. Which the bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming, that he had also declared the case to Gravela, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovick, nor speak with him: but that the emperor's council should examine him, and try what he was for him. To whom sir Henry Knevet again very earnestly objected, That he marvelled that the bishop in matters touching the king's majesty, their master, would use the aid or means of Gravela, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of Ludovick any more ever after. Whereupon there arose great and long controversies between them, (both writing unto the king about that matter) until at last the king's majesty perceiving his affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote to them both, that they should lay all those things under foot, and join together in his service as before; which they did accordingly, and which was then presently done, and thereunto he set his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved so often Mr. Secretary Paget (being after lord keeper) to keep safe as fore matter against the bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some depositions of the nobility, and others, in the process had against him in king Edward's days, that the king's majesty, Henry VIII. had this matter ever in his mind: for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did still except all treasons committed beyond the seas; meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his majesty would call him to account: and therefore all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with king Henry, his master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fool's paradise by lord Paget: who



(as he himself reporteth in his depositions) in his messages from the king to the said bishop, deluded him; telling him much otherwise than the king spoke, and concealing always the king's hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious boaster not a little.

But whosoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat, would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord for it: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c. but also and especially for that he had thought to have brought to pass in murdering also the lady Elizabeth. For whatsoever danger of death that she was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from the bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is not out of controversy that Winchester was the framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day, had brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious counsel, through Mr. Bridges then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented his bloody devices.

The same day as bishops Ridley and Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the 19th day of October, there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk, with Mr. Mundy, his secretary. The old aged duke, there waiting for his dinner, the bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time till three or four o'clock in the afternoon. At length about four o'clock cometh his servant posting from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen: of whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke; Now, said he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon they being sat down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that mean while during the fifteen days, he could not void by urine or otherwise, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed within, (who had inflamed so many good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And therefore, no doubt, as most likely it is, came (as was reported) the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth, so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beheld of all such bloody and burning persecutors.

When Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the scriptures to him; Winchester hearing that, What, my lord, (quoth he) will you open the gap now? then farewell all together. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it, but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether.

Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph that was made on his death, devised by a papist for a popish bishop, but I omit it, and instead thereof I have here inserted certain things gathered out of his sermons, words, and writings, wherein may appear what an earnest and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been constant in himself: and how inconstant he varied from himself; and also how he, standing upon the singularity of his own wit, varied from other papists in certain points.

*The Sum and Effect of Bp. GARDINER's SERMON, preached before KING EDWARD, Anno 1550.*

When Jesus was come into the parts of Cesarea, a city that Philipus builded, he asked his disciples, and said, Whom do men say that the Son of Man is? They said, Some that thou art John the Baptist, some that thou art Elias, some that thou art Jeremiah. or some one of the prophets. He said to them, But whom do ye say that I am? Then answered Simon Peter, and said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, &c. Matthew xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16.

I Cannot have time, I think, to speak of the gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say, but I shall note unto you such things as I may; and first, of the diversity of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the people variable: but among this, that is, the disciples of Christ's school, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest, made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all confessed with one consent, that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet they were honourable and not slanderous: for to say that Christ was Elias, and John the Baptist, was honourable: for some thought him so to be, because he did frankly, sharply, and openly rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremiah, had also an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him.

The philosophers that were not of Christ's school erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Yea, men of simplicity, though they meant well, yet being out of Christ's school, they varied and agreed not in their opinions of Christ, though they thought well of him. Some said he was John, some Elias, some Jeremiah, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was Simon the Son of Jonas, and he said, Thou art Christ the son of the living God.

Here ye may note the properties that were in Peter, He was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; so that in him, that is of Christ's school, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Christ's school. Pride is a hindrance of Christ's school; for as the wise man saith, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek.

But now concerning the answer of Peter, Matthew here, in this place, saith he, answered, "Thou art Christ the Son of the living God." And St. Luke saith, he answered, "Thou art the Christ of God." And St. Mark saith, he answered, "Thou art the Christ." But in all that is no variety; for to say, Christ the Son of the living God, and to say, The Christ of God, and to say, The Christ, is in effect all one, and no diversity in it, for Christ alone is the whole: and he that confesseth thoroughly Christ, is thoroughly a christian man, and doth therein confess him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world.

As he was our bishop then, so it is he that still keepeth us in favour with God: and like as his sacrifice then made was sufficient to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God; so to continue us in the same favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself, he ordained himself for a memory of himself at his last supper, when he instituted the sacrament of the altar, not for another redemption as though the world needed a new redemption from sin, but that we might thoroughly remember his most holy passion, he instituted the sacrament by his most holy word, saying, "This is my body," which word is sufficient to prove the sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substance thereof.



And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore by your patience, as Peter made his confession, so will I make confession.

As a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the souls of such as be dead in Christ, (for these two things are the special causes why the mass was instituted) the parliament very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was very well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more to devotion, to ordain that the sacrament should be received in both kinds. Therefore I say, that the act of parliament for receiving the sacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made.

I say also, that the proclamation which was made, That no man should irreverently speak of the sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than the scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this proclamation stoppeth the mouths of all such as will irreverently speak of the sacrament: for in scripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any thing against the sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not use any irreverent talk against the sacrament, nor blaspheme the holy sacrament. For no word of the scripture maketh any thing against it.

Now will I return to the text. When Simon had answered, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God: then Christ said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven; and I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Blessed art thou (saith he) for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwise in John, Andrew told of Christ, and said, I have found the Messiah, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of heaven; but the confession of Peter was above the reason of man: for Christ was there a very man, and Peter's eyes told him that he was a man and nothing else; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from heaven, not by flesh and blood, that is to say, by man's reason, but inwardly by the Father of heaven.

But Peter had another reason inwardly taught him, and because he understood his lesson, Christ gave him a new name: for Petra is a stone, a new name of a christian man, for upon this confession of thy faith, here I will build my church, that is, I will establish all those which I intend to gather unto thee, and the devils shall not prevail against it: for he that with a good heart and sure faith confesseth this, he is sure from all evil: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

But now for a farther declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the bishop of Rome should found his supremacy: for whether it be Super Petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpose of a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise (when Peter spake carnally to Christ, as in the same chapter a little following) Satan was his name, where Christ said, Get behind me, Satan; so that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy, but as it is said in scripture, Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, that is, by participation for godly participation giveth names of things), he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first that made this confession of Christ, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man. For the first man is not evermore the best. The head-man of a quest, is not always the best man in the quest, but is chosen to be the head-man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure men, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place, as the king sometimes chuseth a mean man to be of his

council, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the king the king still. And in some case the king of England might send to Rome, and if the bishop of Rome were a man of such wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able in matters of controversy concerning religion, to set an unity in the church of England; the king might well enough send to him for his counsel and help, and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king.

But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time had come many alterations. First, a great alteration it was to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority, and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was, that abbeyes were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down: and to all these I condescended, and yet I have been accounted a maintainer of superstition, and have been called a master of the ceremonies, and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, whereof I promised to declare my conscience, and so will I, and how I have esteemed ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning ceremonies, and my opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church.

Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God, and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the church: but when man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by overmuch familiarity of them men abuse them, they do evil.

We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men were used to visit, by reason whereof they fell into a fancy of idolatry and superstition, above the things that they might have been taken for; and because that they had not the use they were ordained for, they were left.

As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul esteemeth them, things indifferent, where he saith, That the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, &c. So of ceremonies. Nevertheless we have time, place, and number, as a certain number of psalms to be said at times, which may be done without superstition; but these things must serve us, and not we serve them. Yet if an order be set in them by such as have power, we must follow it, and we must obey the rulers that appoint such time, place, and number to be kept. You may not say, if the time will serve me, then I will come an hour after. No, sir, you must keep this time, and this hour, because it is so appointed by the rulers, not for the things, but for the order that is set. I have been ever of this opinion.

We had palms and candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations abovesaid. When they were in place, they should have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God, but because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christ is not in these exercises, and therefore in taking away of them the religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered. But men must in such things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience sake. St. Paul saith, that we should rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine opinion, and my conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly, that you may know what I am, and that you may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make any further search to know my heart.

I mislike those preachers who preach by the king's license, and those readers which by the king's permission and sufferance do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against the mass, and against the sacrament. And to whom may I liken such readers and preachers? I may liken them unto posts, for the proverb saith, That posts do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths: and so do they, and to speak so against the sacrament, it is the most marvellous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would wish therefore that



that there were a stay and an order in this behalf, and that there might be but one order and rule. And let no man out of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king. They call it going before the king, and such make themselves kings.

Now, reader, compare these writings, preachings, and sayings of this bishop in the days of king Henry and king Edward, with his doing in queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured and false, and far differing from that which he was reported to be, in a certain English book set out in queen Mary's time, which saith that there were three only in England, whose conscience had never been stained in religion: of whom he falsely saith, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester was one.

*The MARTYRDOM of JOHN WEBB, GENTLEMAN, GEORGE ROPER, and GREGORY PARKE, at CANTERBURY.*

JOHN WEBB was brought before the bishop of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction: and being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter, against the next time of his appearance; he made answer, that he would no otherwise say (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was this: As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, said he, I do believe it to be left unto his church, (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and not by words of consecration to be made wholly his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the virgin Mary: I utterly deny that.

After this (besides fundry other times) the third day of October, the said John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the said judges; who there and then agreeing, and stedfastly allowing the former answer made before by Mr. Webb, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore about the end of the same month they were brought out of prison together to the place of martyrdom; saying certain psalms mournfully as they were going to the stake.

And being thus brought (as I said) to the stake, and there encompassed about with a chain, were burnt all together in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

*A short Account of WILLIAM WISEMAN.*

THE 13th of December, William Wiseman, a cloth-worker of London, died in Lollards' Tower, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel of Christ: some thought, that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering papists, he was made away. By reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, sat upon him, who, although to outward appearance were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visitation, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I have not to say.

After the said William Wiseman was departed (as is said) in the Tower, the papists cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him; according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds. And yet notwithstanding this their merciless command-

ment, some good Tobits there were who buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like manner; whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing psalms together at their burial.

In the same month of December, James Gore also died in prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

*The History of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, who was examined, condemned, and martyred for the Defence of the GOSPEL of CHRIST.*

THE troubles of Mr. Philpot have been partly related before, in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation in the convocation-house. He came of a worshipful family, the son of a knight, born in Hampshire, brought up at New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law about six or seven years, besides other liberal arts, especially languages, and particularly he wonderfully advanced in the Hebrew tongue.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries, as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy and places thereabouts, where he coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, as the time ministered more boldness unto him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts with bishop Gardiner in the city of Winchester.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus he continued during the time of king Edward, to the great profit of those parts thereabouts. When that pious king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woeful realm of England: first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be assembled for the accomplishment of her desire.

In which convocation, Mr. Philpot being present, according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the contrary part (as has been already recited), for which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before bishop Gardiner the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not to our hands. From thence again he was removed to bishop Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by the following examinations.

*The FIRST EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, before the QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS, Mr. CHOLMLEY, Mr. ROPER, and Dr. STORY, and one of the SCRIBES of the ARCHES, at Newgate Sessions-Hall, October 2, 1555.*

Roper. WE hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore if you will come into the same, you shall be received and find favour.

Philpot. I am come before your worshipful master-ships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience unto the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your master-ships, that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my wrongful imprisonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to an-



swer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

*Roper.* Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

*Philpot.* If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

*Cholmley.* If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done.

*Story.* I perceive whereabout this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art an heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how sayest thou to that?

*Philpot.* I am no heretic.

*Story.* I will prove thee an heretic. Whatsoever hath held against the blessed mass is an heretic: but thou hast held against the same, therefore thou art an heretic.

*Philpot.* That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to speak his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled by you to answer for the same.

*Story.* Thou shalt go to Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like an heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

*Philpot.* I have already been convented of this matter before the lord chancellor, mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison: therefore, if his lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein, that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary.

*Story.* But, sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is in the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass.

*Philpot.* Sir, you know it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

*Roper.* You cannot deny, but that you spoke against the mass in the convocation-house.

*Story.* Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?

*Philpot.* I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

*Story.* Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.

The SECOND EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, before the QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS, Mr. CHOLMLEY, Mr. ROPER, Dr. STORY, Dr. COOK, and the SCRIBE, Oct. 24, 1555, at Newgate Sessions-Hall.

**A**T my coming, a man of Aldgate, of mine acquaintance, said unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my lord chancellor had command-

ed to do you away. After a little conversation had between them, Mr. Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

*Cholmley.* Mr. Philpot, shew yourself a wise man, and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation.

*Philpot.* I shall do as it becometh a christian man to do.

*Story.* This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him, and then to recant or else burn.

*Cook.* This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet that he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained.

*Philpot.* I have maintained no heresies.

*Cook.* No, have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that or not?

*Philpot.* It was the queen's majesty's pleasure that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council.

*Cook.* Did the queen give you leave to be an heretic? you may be sure her grace will not do so. Well, we will not dispute that matter with you; my lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

*Philpot.* My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter: and therefore, (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living.

*Roper.* You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon.

*Philpot.* I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now.

*Cook.* A meet man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. Roper and the whole country.

*Philpot.* There never was poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause you be able to lay unto me.

*Cook.* Thou art no archdeacon.

*Philpot.* I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law.

*Cook.* No, sir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation.

*Philpot.* Mr. Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise: and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which gave this benefit to every person, though he be an heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same.

*Cholmley.* No, there thou art deceived.

*Philpot.* Upon the living I mind nor. But the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law.

*Cholmley.* Why, will not you agree that the queen's majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?

*Philpot.* Ask you Mr. Doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes.

*Cook.* No, may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?

*Philpot.* Yea, sir. I deny not that; but you will grant that the same may examine any of their own authority.

*Cook.* Let him be had away.

*Philpot.* Your mastership promised me the last time





*The Friends of M<sup>R</sup> W<sup>M</sup> WISEMAN, burying his Body in the Fields near London.*



*The Martyrdom of the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>R</sup> JOHN PHILPOT, Arch-Deacon of Winchester.*



I was before you, I should see your commission by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand.

*Roper.* Let him see the commission.

The scribe then exhibited it to Mr. Roper, and was about to open the same.

*Cook.* Fo, what will you do? he shall not see it.

*Philpot.* Then you do me wrong to call me and vex me, not shewing your authority in this behalf.

*Cook.* If we do you wrong, complain of us: and in the mean time thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.

*Philpot.* Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust to your gentleness that you will not commit me to so vile and straight a place, being found no heinous trespasser.

*Cook.* Thou art no gentleman.

*Philpot.* Yes, that I am.

*Cook.* An heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

*Philpot.* The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentleness, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

*Story.* What, will you suffer this heretic to prate all the day?

*Cook.* He saith he is a gentleman.

*Story.* A gentleman, said he? he is a vile heretic knave: for an heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away.

*Keeper.* Here sir.

*Story.* Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house.

*Philpot.* Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse nor a more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart, you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you Mr. Cholmley, shew me some friendship that I may not be carried to so vile a place. And he then called me aside, and said:

*Cholmley.* I neither understand their doings nor their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

*Philpot.* I am content to go whither you will have me. There never was a man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without just cause known should thus be treated.

*Story.* Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence.

*Philpot.* God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in the time of need: "Do quickly that you have in hand."

*Story.* Do you not hear how he maketh us like Judas?

*Philpot.* This is after your own understanding.

After this, I with four others were brought to the keeper's house in Pater-noster-row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well, and the next night worse: wherefore I will begin (said I) as I am like to continue to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Pater-noster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot: but thanks be to God we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us have tried them; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister at my coming desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could

be at quiet until he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of which when my lord of London understood he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buttered him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry for his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed, how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell.

*The MANNER of my being called first before the BISHOP of LONDON, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his COAL-HOUSE.*

**T**HE bishop sent Mr. Johnson his register to me with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink and bread, saying, that my lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him, and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence, and therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

*Johnson.* My lord would know the cause of your being sent hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof), and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners that are not of his own diocese.

*Philpot.* I declared unto him the whole cause. After which he said, My lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand and gave him the same.

*Bonner.* I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you that till within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your being sent hither: for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

*Philpot.* I shewed him the sum of the matter; that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for which I was against all right molested.

*Bonner.* I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was none other cause but this. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked, whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

*Philpot.* If it shall please your lordship I am burdened no otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

*Bonner.* A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

*Philpot.* I spake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by permission of the queen and council.

*Bonner.* Why, may we dispute of our faith?

5 A

*Philpot.*



*Philpot.* That we may.

*Bonner.* Nay, I think not, by the law.

*Philpot.* Indeed by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men of the hope which is in you, that demand of you the same."

*Bonner.* Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar.

*Philpot.* My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life for it. Wherefore as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship; Take away the law, and I shall reason with you. And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.

*Bonner.* I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

*Philpot.* God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same: for I know as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.

*Bonner.* How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

*Philpot.* My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is built, which is the word of God.

*Bonner.* What age are you of?

*Philpot.* I am four and forty.

*Bonner.* You are not now of the same faith your godfather and godmothers promised for you, in which you were baptized.

*Philpot.* Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold.

*Bonner.* How can that be? there is but one faith.

*Philpot.* I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, "That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism," of which I am.

*Bonner.* You were twenty years ago of another faith than you are now.

*Philpot.* Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

*Bonner.* Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

*Philpot.* I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word was thoroughly with the primitive church, and all the ancient fathers do agree with this faith I am of.

*Bonner.* Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt than to mine own person: I will not therefore burthen you with your conscience now; I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, Rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

*Philpot.* My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms: and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that.

*Bonner.* We may say unto you as Christ said in the gospel, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced——"

Here my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

*Philpot.* We are, my lord, in a dark comfortable place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, "If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing." And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery) do sing.

*Bonner.* I will trouble you no farther as now. If I can do you any good, I shall be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and give you a good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed and by my lord's register I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, Mr. Cousin, followed me, making acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

*Philpot.* I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, Woe be to him that is alone. After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six companions do house together in straw as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down. Thus for the third fit.

*The FOURTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, in the ARCHDEACON of LONDON's House, in the Month of OCTOBER, before the BISHOPS of LONDON, BATH, WORCESTER, and GLOUCESTER.*

**B**ONNER. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many that knew you at New College, in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you please.

*Bath.* My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic church.

*Worcester.* Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call upon God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

*Philpot.* With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the satisfaction of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding if I be deceived in any thing."

*Bonner.* Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praise unto God before dawning of the day.

*Philpot.* My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended with their well doing.

*Bath.* Proceed to what he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

*Bonner.* Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

*Philpot.*



*Philpot.* I have, my lords, been these twelve months and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.

*Bonner.* There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, you were sent hither to me, without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion in the congregation, being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer.

*Bonner.* Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people, where he might speak to vain-glory.

*Philpot.* My lord, I said that I was not a lawyer, neither did I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught not to put myself further in danger than I need, and so far am I a lawyer, and no farther.

*Bath.* If you will not answer to my lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

*Philpot.* My lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Mr. D. Cole (who is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my lord of London wherefore he should call me.

*Bonner.* Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.

*Philpot.* I have not offended in your diocese. For that which I spake in the sacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean thereof, and therefore is counted of your lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese.

*Bonner.* Is not Paul's church in my diocese? Well, I think it costeth me a good deal of money in the year, the leading thereof.

*Philpot.* That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordship's jurisdiction. And if I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not my ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to enquire of me.

*Bonner.* How say you, Mr. D. Cole, may not I proceed against him by the law, for what he hath done in my diocese?

*Cole.* I think Mr. Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.

*Philpot.* I would willingly shew my mind of the matter, but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.

*Cole.* Why then you may speak by protestation.

*Philpot.* But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy (as you call it), if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?

*Bonner.* But, Mr. D. Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?

*Cole.* You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your diocese.

*Philpot.* But I have by force been brought out of my own diocese to my lord's, and required to be judged by my own ordinary: and therefore I know Mr. Doctor will not say of his own knowledge, that your lordship ought to proceed against me. And here Mr. Doctor would say nothing.

*Worcester.* Do you not think to find before my lord here, as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?

*Philpot.* I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this year and half before, who never would call me to answer, as his lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be forestalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations.

*Bonner.* Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed with by my lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.

*Philpot.* My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectations, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me by this either obstinate or self-willed without any just ground whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your lordships, which seem to be the pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in which if I can by the scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as to any other, in all points.

*Bonner.* These heretics come always with their ifs, as this man doth now, saying, if he can be satisfied by the scriptures: so that he will always have this exception, I am not satisfied, although the matter be ever so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?

*Philpot.* I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present who be judges of what I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf.

*Bonner.* I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.

*Philpot.* I am about so to do, if it please your lordship to hear me speak.

*Bath.* Give me leave, my lord, to hear what he hath to say.

*Philpot.* My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church is damned: and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore if your lordships can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for our's, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome now (of which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all sermons, writings and arguments you do uphold, and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church



as you may desire me, which otherwise I dare not: therefore I require you for God's sake to satisfy me in this.

*Cole.* If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you please.

*Philpot.* It is the thing that I require, and to this I will stand, and refer all other controversies wherein I now stand against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

*Bonner.* I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

*Philpot.* My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

*Bonner.* No faith? that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

*Bonner.* Mr. Doctor Cole, I pray you speak your mind to him.

*Cole.* What will you say, if I can prove it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

*Philpot.* If you, Mr. Doctor, can shew me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to shew any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed I am sure.

*Cole.* Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

*Philpot.* I desire to see the proof thereof.

And upon this Mr. Harpsfield, the chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Ireneus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book, and said:

Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there you may see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

*Philpot.* I took the book and read the place, which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against Arians and other heretics, against whom Ireneus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of the same, was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late sprung heretics, &c. Whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, which thing, if you, my lords, be able to prove of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Ireneus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel which it maintained in Ireneus's time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now, wherefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Ireneus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.

*Bonner.* So will you say still it maketh nothing to the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied.

*Philpot.* My lord, when I do by just reason prove, that the authorities which are brought against me do not make to the purpose, as I have already proved, I trust you will receive mine answer.

*Worcester.* It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same.

*Philpot.* Let that be proved, and I have done.

*Worcester.* Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will never see it, be it ever so well proved.

*Philpot.* Ha, my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me, and a great many more: yet I had rather to perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lay in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with which I am well contented.

*Cole.* Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome.

*Philpot.* I know well that Eusebius so writeth: but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, chap. 1. the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle: and St. Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years.

*Cole.* What did Peter write to the Galatians?

*Philpot.* No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof, but to compare the one with the other.

*Bonner.* I may compare this man to a certain man I read of, who fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply this as I might. I pray you (Mr. Doctor) go forth with him.

*Cole.* My lord, there be on every side of me, some who are better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation: for we now-a-days sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather shew my mind in writing.

*Philpot.* And I had rather you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager an hundred pounds that you shall not be able to shew that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures and by an universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

*Cole.* But I can shew that they revoked that error again.

*Philpot.* So you say, Mr. Doctor, but I pray you shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my satisfaction, but bare words without any authority.

*Bonner.* What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

*Philpot.* I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our friend must not depend upon the civil law. For as St. Ambrose saith, Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together.

*Worcester.* Mr. Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith you be led, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it off for shame.

*Philpot.* Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by which



which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith.

*Gloucester.* What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?

*Philpot.* Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him.

*Worcester.* Oh, you would be counted now for Elias.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no farther at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can shew you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called upon again to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error.

Then the bishops rose up, and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands; and after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

The FIFTH EXAMINATION of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, before the BISHOPS of LONDON, ROCHESTER, St. ASAPH, &c. and others, in the GALLERY of my LORD of LONDON'S PALACE.

AFTER much prefatory discourse commenced by Bishop Bonner, the bishop of St. Asaph thus began.

What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar (and with that they all put off their caps for reverence of the idol) the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially after the words of consecration?

*Philpot.* I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe.

*St. Asaph.* I pray you, how is that?

*Philpot.* As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the scripture saith, "All things ought to be done after an order."

*Another Bishop.* This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

*Bonner.* It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, *De summa Trinitate & fide Catholica*.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have answered you to this question before.

*Bonner.* Why, I never asked thee of this before now.

*Philpot.* Yes, and moreover I answered your lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I now add further of this saying, "That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith." And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordship alledgeth out of the law, maketh it unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.

*Bonner.* Thou liest, it is not so: and I will shew you by the book how ignorant he is.

And with that he went with all haste to his study, and brought his book, and openly read the text and title of the law, and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, How sayest thou to this?

*Philpot.* My lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon, where the articles of the creed were only concluded upon.

*Bonner.* Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard, I must needs speak it, thou compellest me thereunto.

*Philpot.* Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me.

*Bonner.* I must needs proceed against thee tomorrow.

*Philpot.* If your lordship so do, I will have *Exceptionem fori*: for you are not my competent judge.

*Bonner.* By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge?

*Philpot.* By the civil law, *De competente judice*.

*Bonner.* There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you are?

*Philpot.* My lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law: but you drive me to my shifts for my defence, and I am sure if I had the books of the law, I am able to shew what I say.

*Bonner.* What, *De competente judice*? I will go bring thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis ordinarii*.

*Philpot.* Verily, that is the same *De competente judice*, which I have alledged. With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law.

*Bonner.* There are the books: find it now if thou canst, and I will promise to release thee out of prison.

*Philpot.* My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years; but to answer to the articles of faith with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.

*Bonner.* Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged with: therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being with you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies: which if your lordships now, or other learned men can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be conformable in all things, as you shall require; which is to prove that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

*St. Asaph.* It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." Moreover the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

*Philpot.* That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you alledge of Christ, saying unto Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," unless you can prove that rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.

*Coventry.* I pray you, can you tell what this word catholic doth signify? shew if you can.

*Philpot.* Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people are taught, to be that which is most universal, or by most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Austin defineth the same: "We judge, saith he, the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be." So that if you can be able to prove, that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be; then you may count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word compounded of KATA, which signifieth, after, or according, and HOLON, a sum, or principle, or whole. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much as to say, the first, whole, sound, or chief faith.

*Bonner.* Do you think that the catholic church (until within these few years, in which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) hath erred?

*Philpot.* I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine: but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.



*Curtop.* I can prove that Ireneus (which was within an hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which (by all likelihood) he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be supreme head.

*Coventry.* Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer if you can.

*Philpot.* It is soon answered, my lord, for that is of no force; neither doth this fact of Ireneus make any more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope if I had list; and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I. I am able to shew seven general councils after Ireneus's time, wherein he never took him for supreme head.

*The other bishop.* This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

*Philpot.* O, my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephesine, the first and second Chalcedon, Constantinopolitan, Carthaginense, Aquilense.

*Coventry.* Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?

*Philpot.* Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut.

*Coventry.* Wherein doth it dissent?

*Philpot.* It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation.

*Curtop.* As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years ago, yet it was always believed in the church.

*Bonner.* Yes, that it was. Very well said of you, Mr. Curtop.

*Philpot.* You have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to shew any ancient writer, that believed any such thing; and with this Curtop shrunk away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the others with me. To whom I said, My Lords, if you can shew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church.

*Coventry.* Can you disprove that the church of Rome is the catholic church?

*Philpot.* Yes, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be the form and school-mistress unto the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.

*Coventry.* How prove you that the church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?

*Philpot.* Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.

*Coventry.* What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?

*Philpot.* Because it is not [by your interpretation of catholic] universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people it is so. For the world being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.

Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal.

After this the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverfon, an Englishman, who began with me in this manner.

*Dr. Saverfon.* I have heard your arguments hitherto, and think that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you, in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian (which is an ancient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church.

*Philpot.* That I am sure he doth not. For he, writing to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and his fellow bishop, neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or of any other usurped terms, which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity.

*Dr. Saverfon.* You cannot be able to shew that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop.

*Philpot.* I will wager you with what I am able to make, that I can shew it you in St. Cyprian, as I have said.

*Dr. Saverfon.* I will lay no other wager with you than book for book; that it is not so.

*Philpot.* I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my lord's study, and he brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle, and there he would have seemed to gather a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, "It goeth not well with the church when the high-priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow-bishops and the agreement of the people."

*Dr. Saverfon.* How can you avoid this place which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?

*Philpot.* It maketh not so plain, Mr. Doctor, on your side, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For here you may see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop, as he doth also in other places. And for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high-priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome, of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I can shew.

Therefore St. Cyprian writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome, (whom he calleth his fellow-bishop) findeth himself offended that certain heretics, being justly excommunicated by him. (as the Novatians were) did flee from his diocese, which was their chief bishop, (refusing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the bishop of Rome, and the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms: and that heresies did spring up, and schisms daily rise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor was it once considered him to be in the church for the time the priest, and for the time the judge in Christ's stead, (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed) not the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow-bishops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian.

*A Chaplain.* Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian saith so.

*Philpot.* St. Cyprian, *De simplicitate Prælatorum*, declareth



clareth in what respect he so said: "God gave in the person of one man, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men." And St. Augustine in the tenth treatise of St. John, "If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. But if the church have them, when Peter received them, he signified the whole church." And St. Hierom, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, "That all churches do lean to their own pastors, where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment," but maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome. And to Evagrius, he saith, "That wheresoever a bishop be, whether at Rome, or Evagi, or Rhegium, he is of one power and jurisdiction."

*Dr. Saverfon.* St. Hierom *De celesti Hierarchia*? It was Dionysius you mean.

*Philpot.* I say not that Hierom wrote any such book, but, that in the epistle by me alledged, he maketh mention of it.

*Dr. Saverfon.* I wonder at such perseverance in error.

*Philpot.* We are in no error, but of the truth. When you cannot answer men by learning, it is your practice to answer them with blasphemies and false reports.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have used me more like a dog than a man. Neither have you kept your promise with me, that I should be judged the day after.

*Story.* I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man? but these heretics are worse than brute beasts.

*Philpot.* I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now, say what you will; but neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold one jot against the word of God.

*Story.* The word of God, forsooth? It is a folly to reason with these heretics; yet I may reason with thee. Whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word?

*Philpot.* Verily the word itself.

*Story.* What wise authority canst thou bring in?

*Philpot.* The word of Christ in St. John, "The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day." How much more, then, ought it to judge of our doings now; and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who will absolve and justify me in another world.

*Story.* What? you purpose to sit in judgment with Christ, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?

*Philpot.* Yea, sir, if I die for righteousness sake, which you have begun to persecute in me.

*Story.* When the judge in Westminster-hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? Tell me.

*Philpot.* Civil matters are subject to civil men; but the word of God is not subject to man's judgment.

*Story.* Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the scriptures?

*Philpot.* If it be according to the word of the true church, I will be as ready to yield to it, so long as it can be so proved, as you may desire.

*Story.* He will believe nothing but what he knoweth himself! Have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church? And prescription of time maketh a good title in law.

*Philpot.* This indeed is all you have to shew for yourselves; but prescription hath no place in these matters.

*Story.* Well, sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who could only alledge that he learned his heresy of Cranmer. But I dispatched them; and there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have been a cause of his dispatch.

*Philpot.* You have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world.

*Story.* I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, but I pray one of you to tell him, that he must out of hand put this heretic out of the way.

*Philpot.* I thank you with all my heart.

Then they departed all one after another. And afterwards going with my keeper to the coal-house, I met with my lord of London, who spoke unto me very gently, saying,

*Bonner.* Philpot, can I shew thee any pleasure in my house? speak, and thou shalt have it.

*Philpot.* My lord, the pleasure I require, is to dispatch me out of this miserable world unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech, for a fortnight's space, I have had neither fire, candle, or good lodging. God hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content. Let all who love the truth say, Amen.

The SIXTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, before the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlain, the Viscount HEREFORD, commonly called Lord FERRAS, the Lords RICH, ST. JOHN, WINDSOR, SHANDOIS, Sir JOHN BRIDGES, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two others, the Bishop of LONDON, and Dr. CHEDSEY, November 6, 1555.

THE lords being seated, and every person present in his place, the bishop of London thus spoke:

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, I have both privately and openly caused you to be conversed with, to reform you of your errors, but have not yet found you so tractable as I could wish. I have now desired those honourable lords to hear what you can say, and be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good: and if you are conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour as you can wish.

*Philpot.* My lord, I thank God that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, so agreeable to the order of the primitive church, that when any one had been suspected of heresy, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity: I have found two points already, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness than I have found with my lords of the clergy.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, tell my lords whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewed you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.

*Philpot.* If your lordship will give me leave to declare my matter, I will touch that afterward.

*Rich.* Answer first to my lord's questions, and then proceed to the matter. Were you imprisoned by my lord? Can you find any fault since with his using of you?

*Philpot.* I cannot charge him as the cause of my imprisonment, or that he hath used me cruelly; but I have found more gentleness at his hands, than at my own ordinary's.

*Rich.* Well, now go to your matter.

*Philpot.* I am imprisoned for disputations in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar; which matter was moved by the prolocutor, with consent of the queen's majesty and the whole house, and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house.

*Windfor.* The convocation-house is called by one writ of summon of parliament by old custom; but that is no part of the parliament-house.

*Philpot.* My lords, I must submit to your judgments.

*Rich.* We have told you the truth. And yet we would not you should be troubled for any thing there spoken, if you are sorry for what you have said.

*Bonner.* My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy, and maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, not allowing the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same: yet, my lords, God forbid that I should shew him extremity for so doing; in case he will repent and revoke his wicked say-

ings



ings, with your lordships consent, he shall be released; if not, he shall have the extremity of the law.

*Rich.* Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the mass?

*Philpot.* My lord, I do acknowledge in it such a presence as the word of God doth allow and teach me; for in the Lord's supper there are in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly administered after the institution of Christ.

*Rich.* Shew us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament.

*Philpot.* If it please my lord of London to give me leave to declare myself without interruption, I will thoroughly speak my mind; for if I have not plainly declared my judgment, it is because I cannot speak without danger.

*Rich.* There is none of us here that means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

*Philpot.* I mistrust not your honourable lordships of the temporality; but here is one that will lay it to my charge even to death. Yet I am not ashamed of the presence of Christ, neither do I maintain any opinion without authority of scripture; and will shew you frankly my mind, if my lord of London will not hinder me to utter it.

*Rich.* My lord, permit him to say what he can.

*Bonner.* Let him say what he can, then I will hear him.

*Philpot.* What I do intend to speak unto you, my lord, I protest here before God and his angels, I speak not of vain-glory, singularity, or wilful stubbornness, but upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word; against which I dare not go for fear of damnation, which will follow what is done contrary to knowledge. I love the queen from the bottom of my heart; but I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws.

In two things principally, the clergy at this day deceive the realm; in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church. Their sacrament, which they term of the altar, is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majesty, and the nobility of the realm, in maintaining that to be a sacrament which is none, and causing you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

Neither are they the catholic church, who call you from the true religion as revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain superstition. But if they can prove this, I will not be against their doings, but revoke all I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to a just trial, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm. And if they be able to prove otherwise, I will recant all I have said, and consent to them in all points.

And in declaring these things more largely, the bishop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to speak, to the great grief of his lordship.

*Bonner.* I have heard that you love to make a long tale; but how will you join these two scriptures together, "The Father is greater than I: and I and the Father are one." Now shew your cunning, and join these by the word.

*Philpot.* We must, then, understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity; and in respect of his humanity, it is spoken of Christ, "The Father is greater than I." But in respect of his Deity he said, "The Father and I be one."

*Bonner.* But what scripture have you?

*Philpot.* I have sufficient for the proof of this. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels."

*Bonner.* But how couple you the second by the word to the other?

*Philpot.* The text declareth, that though Christ did abase himself in our human nature, he is still one in Deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth at large set forth. And I am able to do the like in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the same means expound them.

*Bonner.* How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, "That the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life?"

*Philpot.* St. Paul meaneth not that the word of God in itself killeth, but that it killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world; and therefore St. Paul said, "That the gospel to some was a favour of life unto life, and to others a favour of death unto death." An example is met with in the sixth of John, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

*Bonner.* Do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?

*Philpot.* It is agreeable to the word in other places: and the ancient fathers so interpret it. And to the Corinthians, "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, but the spiritual man, who is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things."

*Bonner.* You see my lords, this man will have his own mind; and wilfully cast himself away.

*Philpot.* The words are those of the gospel. And if you can bring better authority for your faith, I will gladly hear it.

*Rich.* Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?

*Philpot.* I am sir P. Philpot's son of Hampshire.

*Rich.* As my near kinsman I am more sorry for you.

*Philpot.* I thank your lordship for challenging kindred with a poor prisoner.

*Rich.* I would go an hundred miles to do you good.

*St. John.* Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

*Rich.* You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm.

*Philpot.* I did not mean to challenge ten of the best nobility in this realm, but the best learned.

*Rich.* Well; what if means be made to the queen's majesty that you shall have your request?

*Philpot.* A man should not be judged by his adversaries.

*Rich.* By whom then would you be judged?

*Philpot.* By your honours that shall be hearers of us.

*Rich.* I dare be bold to procure that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty nobility to hear, if you will abide their judgment.

*Philpot.* I will be contented to be judged by them, if they would judge according to the word of God. I am also willing to be judged by others, if the order of judgment be kept that was in the primitive church; first, that God's will by his word was sought, whereunto both the spirituality and temporality were gathered, and gave their judgment.

*Bonner.* My lords, there was never any such manner of judgment in the primitive church, as he now talketh of.

*Philpot.* It is mentioned in Cyprian's epistles.

(Here bishop Bonner called for Cyprian; but his chaplain, Dr. Chedsey, whispered in his ear, and the book was not brought.)

Well, my lord, Mr. Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have brought the book ere this.

*Rich.* You admit no other judge, then, but the word.

*Philpot.* If there were a controversy between your lordship and another upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute determine it?

*Bonner.* He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be.

And here the bishop thought he had a good argument against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

*Philpot.* And I will ask, although a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, if he may judge a meaning contrary to the words?

*Rich.*



*Rich.* He cannot so do.

*Philpot.* Even so say I, that no man bught to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the expresse words thereof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things: and with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further reply herein.

*Rich.* I marvel then why you do deny the expresse words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, "This is my body:" and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, "This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?" And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it must needs be his body.

*Bonner.* My lord Rich, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also, in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, "The bread which I will give is my flesh." How can you answer to that?

*Philpot.* My lord of London may be soon answered: that saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life whereby our souls and bodies are sustained to eternal life, of which the sacramental bread is a lively representation, and an effectual coaptation to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven;" but yet he is not material, neither natural bread: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

And now to my lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the expresse words of Christ in the sacrament, "This is my body:" but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the expresse declaration of Christ, saying, that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaïtes took carnally, as the Papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch may appear.

*Bonner.* No, that is not so; they were only Catechumens, which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other.

*Philpot.* It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive.

Dr. Chedsey now began to dispute, and bishop Bonner retired.

*Chedsey.* Mr. Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-house before your lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that he hath there a dozen arguments, whereof he would not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring: and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present and can testify thereof, although there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament; I will shew you the truth thereof, both by the scriptures, and by the doctors.

*Philpot.* It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered while I had any thing to say; and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation, is not true.

*Chedsey.* You have of scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the

sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, "This is my body." They say not, as you would have me believe, this is not the body. But especially the 6th of John proveth this most manifestly; where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper; as it appeareth by these words, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." You must note, that there is twice Dabo in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross: and besides these manifest scriptures, there are many ancient doctors proving the same.

*Philpot.* My lord, the chief ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, are these words, "This is my body;" with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alledged, for that your lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Mr. Doctor to answer me one question; whether these words only, "This is my body," spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose, or no?

Chedsey studying what he might say, at last answered, That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, are sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really.

*Philpot.* That is blasphemy to say, and against all the scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, "In the sacrifice which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed." And by the law it is forbidden to add or to take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, "If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God." Wherefore whosoever saith that these words only, "This is my body," do make a presence of Christ, without "Bless, Take, and Eat," which be three as substantial points of the sacrament, as, "This is my body," he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. Augustine saith, "Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:" So that if the intire words of Christ's institutions be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore except blessing be made after the word, (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ) and also a shewing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified; and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment; except (I say) these three parts be first performed, (which is not done in the mass) these words, "This is my body," which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, "Take ye, Eat ye," as "This is my body."

*Chedsey.* Christ said, "Take, Eat, this is my body," and not Take ye, Eat ye.

*Philpot.* Did he not, Mr. Doctor? be not these the words of Christ, *Accipite, Manducate?* and do not these words in the plural number signify, "Take ye, Eat ye," and not Take thou, Eat thou; as you would suppose?

*Chedsey.* I grant it is as you say.

*Philpot.* Likewise of consequence, you (Mr. Doctor) must needs deny what you have said, that these words, "This is my body," being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said.

Then the bishop came in again and said, What is it that you would have Mr. Doctor deny?

*Philpot.* My lord, Mr. Doctor hath affirmed that these words, "This is my body," spoken by the priest only, do make the sacrament.

*Bonner.* Indeed if Mr. Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body.



*Philpot.* Mr. Doctor hath said otherwise.

*Bonner.* I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced.

*Philpot.* Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, "This is my body," hath no place, except Bless, Take, and Eat, duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before, "This is my body," but preposterously follow in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it presence.

*Chedsey.* If "This is my body" only do not make the sacrament, no more do "Bless, take, and eat."

*Philpot.* I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution.

*Chedsey.* Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?

*Philpot.* No verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution.

*Lord Chamberlain.* I pray you, my lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly administered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?

*Philpot.* If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ.

*Bonner.* My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now. And with that ended the sixth examination.

*The SEVENTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, NOVEMBER the 19th. before the BISHOPS of LONDON and ROCHESTER, the CHANCELLOR of LITCHFIELD and Dr. CHEDSEY.*

*Chancellor.* **C**AST not yourself wilfully away, Mr. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.

*Philpot.* My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the conveniencies I might have in this life, and afterwards be cast into damnation.

*Bonner.* Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee *Ex Officio*, and therefore hearken to such articles as I have here written, and make answer to them. And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles, and when he had done he bade me answer.

*Philpot.* Your libel, my lord, containeth in sum two special points: The first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your lordship upon divers suspicions and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary office; which first is not true, for that I am not of your lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them, which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church which I was baptized into.

*Bonner.* What? art thou not of my diocese? where are you now, I pray you?

*Philpot.* I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is your diocese: yet I am not of your diocese.

*Bonner.* You were sent hither unto me by the queen's majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary.

*Philpot.* I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's

jurisdiction, neither make it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do; no more than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought.

*Chedsey.* Hath not the queen's majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?

*Philpot.* I grant that the queen's majesty (of her just power) may transpose my body, whither it shall please her grace to command the same. But yet by your laws, spiritual causes are not subject to the temporal power.

*Bonner.* What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?

*Philpot.* I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and establishment of truth.

*Bonner.* Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you are now.

*Philpot.* I was not baptized either into my godfathers faith or my godmothers, but into the faith and into the church of Christ.

*Bonner.* How long hath your church stood, I pray you?

*Philpot.* Even from the beginning, from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors.

*Bonner.* Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth even from Peter?

*Philpot.* No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority, than the bishop of London hath.

*Bonner.* Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the bishop of Rome, who is his successor, the same authority?

*Philpot.* I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had: but Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had.

*Chancellor.* Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him.

*Philpot.* St. Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and faith, "That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Which if Peter received not, the church hath them not; if the church hath them, then Peter hath them not."

*Bonner.* What if I can prove and shew you out of the civil law, that all christendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, *De catholica fide & sancta Romana ecclesia*?

*Philpot.* That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws; and the divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

*A Doctor.* St. Cyprian hath these words, That upon Peter was built the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.

*Philpot.* He declareth that in an example, that unity must be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. Which he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De simplicitate Prælatorum*, saying, in the person of one man God gave the keys to all, that he in signification thereby might declare the unity of all men.

*Bonner.* I will desire you (Mr. Chancellor) to take some pains with Dr. Chedsey, about his examination, for I must go to the parliament house. And I desire you will dine with me.

Then the doctor again took his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose.

*A Doctor.*



*A Doctor.* Yea, then I have done with you, and so went away.

*Philpot.* You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you may be more learned in other things than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too hasty to judge what you do not perfectly know.

*Chancellor.* Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the scriptures, for Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, "Feed my sheep."

*Philpot.* That is no otherwise to be taken, than, "Go ye and preach," which was spoken to all the apostles as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, "Feed my sheep," it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the scripture, to take "Feed my sheep," for to be lord of the whole world?

In the mean while a bachelor of divinity came in, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Mr. Chancellor.

*Scholar.* What will you say if I can shew you a Greek author called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?

*Philpot.* Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the determination of many general councils.

*Scholar.* In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?

*Philpot.* In the council of Nice I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome.

*Scholar.* Nay, that is not so.

*Philpot.* Then I perceive you are better seen in words than in knowledge of things: and I will lay with you what you will it is so, as you may see in the Epitome of the councils.

*Scholar.* I will fetch Eusebius and shew the contrary, and the book of General-Councils. He went into my lord's closet, and brought Eusebius, but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but he was not able to shew the same, and so shrunk away confounded.

*Chancellor.* The church of Rome hath been always taken for the catholic church: therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you. And why will you be so singular?

*Philpot.* I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of the realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as are more righteous than you.

*Chancellor.* Do you hear, Mr. Doctor, what he saith, that the church of Rome is the devil?

*Chedsey.* I wish you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can shew you out of St. Austin, in his epistle written unto pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be the chief over all others?

*Philpot.* I am sure you can shew no such thing. And with that he fetched me the book of St. Austin, and turned to the epistle, but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise.

*Chedsey.* Here you may see, that the council of Carthage writing to Innocent, the bishop calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they

write to him, certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbation in the same; which they would not have done if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church, by continual succession of the bishops until his time, which succession we can prove until our days: therefore by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

*Philpot.* Mr. Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Austin; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant indeed that it is the apostolic see, in respect that Paul and Peter did there once preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I wish you could prove it to be the apostolical see of the true religion and sincerity as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; which if you could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolic see; otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turks at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles did there once abide, and founded the church of Christ.

And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocent, certifying him of what was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council doth not prove the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, desiring him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. Which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed by us, you have good reason against us; otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

*Chancellor.* Well Mr. Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us administer the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Mr. Philpot, to these articles? Mr. Johnson, I pray you write his answers.

*Philpot.* Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop.

*Chancellor.* Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

This examination concluded with as much passion as it began; for, at the commencement, the bishop of London called me to an account for tarrying so long, saying, that Mr. Chancellor and himself were half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for my coming. I replied, I was a prisoner, the doors were shut upon me, and I could not come when I pleased; but when the doors of my prison were open, I immediately came. Then the bishop asked, if the doors had been opened sooner would I have come to mass?



mas?—If, said I, you can prove mas to be the true service of God, whereunto a christian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

Then said Bonner, angrily, the king and queen, and all the nobility, come to mas, and yet you will not—by my faith, you are too well handled.

If, I said, your lordship calls lying in a blind coal-house, without either fire or candle, good handling, I am then well handled.

You are a fool, replied Bonner, you think because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more, but unless you recant, I will dispatch you shortly, I warrant. This and such like discourse, rendered my enemies more bitter; after which some private conferences took place between the bishop and me, in the Coal-house.

*The EIGHTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, before the Bishops of LONDON and St. DAVID's, Mr. MORDANT, and others.*

**T**HE next day after, my keeper came in the morning before day to call me down, and so I was brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishops of London and St. David's, Mr. Mordant, one of the queen's council, Mr. Archdeacon of London, and before a great many other Baalamites. And the bishop spake to me in this wise.

*Bonner.* Sir, I here object, and lay unto you, in the presence of my lord of St. David's, and of Mr. Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained: and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me; but said, I should have leisure to say what I would, when he had spoken.

And unto these here I add another schedule. Also, I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of king Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my lord of St. David's, Mr. Mordant, and Mr. Harpsfield, with as many as were present at the disputation you made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, his stubborn and irreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book, and receiving one, he opened the same, saying, I will teach him here one trick in our law, which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear by looking on the gospel book without touching the same. And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and desired them to resort to his register to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, Now, sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea, or nay?

*Philpot.* My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words: besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now you will not give me leave to speak. What law is this?

*Bonner.* Speak yea, or nay, for you shall say no more at this time.

[The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.]

*Philpot.* Then my two words you would have me speak, shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge.

*Bonner.* Indeed, Mr. Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen: but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands.

*Philpot.* You will do what you please, my lord, you have the law in your hands.

*Bonner.* Wilt thou answer, or no?

*Philpot.* I will not answer otherwise than I have said.

*Bonner.* Register, note his answer that he maketh.

*Philpot.* Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law; you may as well do so, as what you do, for all is without order of law. And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

*St. David's.* Mr. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

*Philpot.* My lord, I thank God, I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being justly moved thereto, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law.

After this, at night I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

*The NINTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT before Bishop BONNER and others.*

**T**HE next day, betimes in the morning I was called down by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained till the bishop had heard his mass, and afterwards he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

*Bonner.* I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-house to examine you and your fellows upon these articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I know all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think you, that when thou comest before the lord mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy great brags of learning, neither wouldst thou answer directly to any thing?

*Philpot.* My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, which is free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise.

*Bonner.* Well, I perceive thou wilt play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest to judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles.

*Philpot.* No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried.

*Bonner.* Well, thou shalt hear them, and with that he began to read them.

*Philpot.* I shrunk back into the window, and looked on a book, and after he had read them over he said unto me:

*Bonner.* I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest by being so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou likest. It is but a singularity; dost thou not see all the realm against thee?

*Philpot.* My lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon my stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word: and if your lordship can shew better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same.

*Bonner.* What, thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten, if thou wilt be conformable unto us.

Then I perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some hope of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation



generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none but such as are unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope that for fear or love of the world will recant: I said, my lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly maintained these opinions, and I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; And if I hear any kind of learning openly shewed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me.

*Bonner.* Yea marry, now you speak somewhat like a reasonable man. What is that you would openly by learning be somewhat satisfied in?

*Philpot.* My lord, I have openly said, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament.

*Bonner.* What, do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?

*Philpot.* No, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used to be the true sacrament.

*Bonner.* I pray you, what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?

*Philpot.* Yes, verily that it is.

Then Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield, Mr. Cofins, and others, were called in, when they thus proceeded.

*Bonner.* Mr. Cofins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write the answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

*Cofins.* I trust, my lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a fight of heresies; I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?

*Philpot.* Mr. Cofins, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me; but if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between us, I will gladly hear you.

*Cofins.* Will you not? Why, what is that then that is in question between my lord and you?

*Philpot.* Whether your mass be a sacrament or no.

*Cofins.* What, the mass to be a sacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

*Philpot.* If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

*Cofins.* Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; therefore, it is a sacrament.

*Philpot.* I deny your antecedent.

*Cofins.* Then there is no reasoning with you.

Thus Mr. Cofins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation: and with that Mr. Harpsfield came out from my lord with St. Augustine's epistles, saying:

*Harpsfield.* My lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holidays.

*Philpot.* I perceive nothing here against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament.

*Harpsfield.* No, doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof?

*Philpot.* St. Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, for this word Mass hath been an old term, attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what Missa doth signify? I think not many that say mass can well tell.

*Harpsfield.* You think it cometh of the Hebrew word Massah, as though none were versed in the Hebrew but yourself.

*Philpot.* I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of the word Missa, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew

by Hebrew; I take the communion to be called Missa, a mittendo, of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought according to their devotion and ability, and required the minister in the celebration of the communion to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the relief of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this it was called Missa, as learned men do witness. At which celebration all that were present did communicate under both kinds, as they did in St. Augustine's time. But unless you can shew that your mass is used as it then was, you shall never prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless you can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary.

*Harpsfield.* What, deny you the mass to be a sacrament? For shame speak it not.

*Philpot.* I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

*Harpsfield.* Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament.

*Philpot.* You may make of it as much as you like: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice.

*Harpsfield.* Why, doth not Christ say, "This is my body?" and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?

*Philpot.* The pronouncement only is not enough; unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though you speak the words of baptism over water ever so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a christian person to be baptized.

*Harpsfield.* Nay, that is not alike; for, he that said, *Hoc est corpus pui meum*, that is, "This is my body," said also, *Accipite, manducate*, that is, Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion; the latter, "This is my body," can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

*Morrow-mass Chaplain.* Why then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament.

*Philpot.* I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without which it cannot be a sacrament, because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, "Take ye, eat ye," which you do not in your mass according to Christ's institution; wherefore, it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth Christ's institution.

*Cofins.* We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as like may be partakers with us at the mass if they require it.

*Philpot.* Nay, that they shall not, though they require it, you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, "Take ye, eat ye:" and likewise by preaching shew forth the Lord's death, which you do not.

*Cofins.* What if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to administer the sacrament, before any have received it there arise a sudden hurly burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a sacrament for all that none hath communicated besides the priest?

*Philpot.* In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessity had not hindered, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he who hath received, hath received the true sacrament. After this, the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason.

*Morrow-mass Priest.* If the sacrament of the mass



be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, "Take ye, eat ye," then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, "Go preach the gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

*Philpot.* In that saying of Christ, "Baptizing all nations," is a commandment to the apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example of Christ baptized of John, and in the Eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, but contrariwise by the express words of St. Paul you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together; 1 Cor. xi. "As oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lord's supper) tarry one for another." And also the minister in the celebration of the sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, "Take ye, and eat ye." Wherefore, as many as are present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same, and the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament.

*Harpsfield.* What, would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?

*Philpot.* I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers: as Chrysostom writing upon the epistle to the Ephesians, faith, That the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest. If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?

*Cosins.* Such a fellow I have never heard, you will not have the mass to be a sacrament; you are no man for me to reason with. Come, let us go, pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain: we will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and so they went away. Afterwards the archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

*Harpsfield.* Mr. Philpot, you and I have been acquainted these many years; we were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me.

*Philpot.* I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am sure you are), I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you.

*Harpsfield.* I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford.

*Philpot.* I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there.

*Harpsfield.* Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray God to open your heart.

*Philpot.* I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past.

*Harpsfield.* Ho, keeper, take him away with you.

The ninth examination was concluded, in recurring to the meaning of the pronoun *Hoc* (this) in the proposition, "This is my body;" wherein he shewed, that they differed from their schoolmen, and were driven to a new shift, in saying that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated by the omnipotency of God, whereas God's omnipotence will do nothing contrary to his word and his honour.

The tenth examination took place on the following day before bishop Bonner, his register, Dr. Chedsey, and others. But this related to an excommunication, without cause, and without order of law, a year and a half before; that the lord chancellor had refused him absolution, because he was an heretic and accursed; that now the chancellor had nothing to do with him, not being his ordinary; and, after some farther conversation on interpreting St. Paul, the parties separated. This

was resumed on the following day, when bishop Bonner brought in another person to be witness against him, on certain articles produced; against which proceedings he protested, and appealed to the lieutenant of the archbishop of Canterbury, as ignorant who was at that time the bishop.

*The ELEVENTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, on St. ANDREW'S DAY, before the Bishops of DURHAM, CHICHESTER, BATH, and LONDON, Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON, Dr. CHEDSEY, Mr. MORGAN of Oxford, Dr. WESTON, Dr. HARPSFIELD, Archdeacon, Mr. COSINS, and Mr. JOHNSON, Register to the Bishop of LONDON, in his Palace.*

**B**EING sent for with my keeper, the bishop of London met me at his hall-door, and full mannerly he played the gentleman-usher to bring me before the lords, saying,

*Bonner.* My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself.

*Durham.* Come hither, sir, what is your name?

*Philpot.* My name is Philpot.

*Durham.* I have heard of that name to be a worshipful stock, and since you are a gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other gentleman. What is the cause of your trouble now?

I told him the cause, as in my former examinations is expressed.

*Durham.* Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and heresies? I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth.

*Philpot.* My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in the same: but it is not unknown to your lordship, that I, with others, these twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requisite that we have time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word.

*Chichester.* And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will shew him how he taketh the saying of St. Paul amiss, as many others now-a-days do, alledging the same, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas St. Paul meaneth of infidels, and not of the faithful; and so St. Austin, writing against the Donatists, faith, That the faithful may be compelled to believe.

*Philpot.* St. Bernard (if it please your lordship) doth take that sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined. And St. Augustine speaketh of such as were first thoroughly persuaded by manifest scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborn wilfulness.

*Chichester.* St. Austin faith, That infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers.

*Philpot.* St. Augustine, in so saying, meaneth of the faith of Christ, which the godfathers do, or ought to believe, and not otherwise.

*Durham.* How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no? and be of one church with us?

*Philpot.* My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have been always two churches. I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the same true church, a false church, adversary to the true: and in the New Testament mention is made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Revelations, and also as St. Paul to the Thessalonians maketh mention, that Antichrist, with his false generation, shall sit in the temple of God. To which Chichester replied not.

*Durham.* The church in the scripture is likened to a great fisher's net, which contained in it both good fish and bad fish. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth.

*Philpot.* My lord, it is my whole desire now to fol-



low that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to God's truth.

*Durham* Do you so, and then you shall do well: it is almost night, my lord of London, I must needs be gone.

*Bonner* Nay, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while. And before he had so said, the bishop of Bath went his way without saying a word. What, my lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel, I pray you sit down again, or else I will. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, that "The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar on earth." Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine, that the Spirit is Christ's vicar on earth?

*Philpot* My lord it is not my saying, it is a more learned man's than mine: for I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers, as all others be where you find the same written. And as I remember, it is even the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chichester, by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it ill said.

*Bonner* Will they not? Why take away the first syllable, and it foundeth Arius.

*Philpot* That is far fetched indeed; if your lordship will scan men's sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list.

*Bonner* But to help this, I find moreover with his own hand, in another book, "In me, John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath super-abounded." I pray you what super-abundant grace have you more than other men? So said Arius, That he had abundance of grace above all others.

*Philpot* My lord, you need not be offended with that saying more than the other, for it is the saying of St. Paul himself, and I did apply it to myself for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them, and it is well known that I have written against them.

*Bonner* Also I lay to thy charge that thou killedst thy father, and was accursed of thy mother on her death-bed, as I can bring witness thereof.

*Philpot* O my lord, what blasphemy is this? Hath your lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your honour) such blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise to recant at Paul's Cross what you will have me: I am so sure they are as great blasphemies as may be objected to any man. Ha, my lords, I pray you, consider how my lord of London hath hitherto proceeded against me: for indeed he hath none other but such pretended slanderous lies.

*Chichester* They be *Parerga*; that is, matter beside the purpose.

*Durham* My lord, I must needs bid you farewell.

*Bonner* Nay, my lord; here is a letter, which I shall desire you to hear ere you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman, called Mr. Green, in my house, (call him hither) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He tore the letter when he saw my man went about to search him, but yet I have pieced it again together, and caused a copy to be written thereof; and he read the torn letter, bidding Mr. Christopher and Morgan to mark the copy thereof.

The contents of the letter was the examination of Mr. Green, before the bishop of London, in the presence of Mr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, and of divers others, whose ready answers in the scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at by the dean himself, and many others, as Fecknam did report: and that he was committed to

Dr. Chedsey, and to have his meat from the bishop's own table. How say you, my lords, was this well done of him, being my prisoner, to write this? and yet he hath written a shameful lie, that he was in Dr. Chedsey's keeping. How say you, Mr. Dr. Chedsey, is it not a shameful lie?

*Chedsey* Yes, my lord, he was never in my keeping.

*Bonner* Art thou not ashamed to write such shameful letters? Come hither, Mr. Green, did I not shew you this letter?

*Green* Yea forsooth, my lord, you shewed it me.

*Bonner* How think you, my lords, is not this an honest man to belie me?

*Philpot* Your lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your lordship may perceive, and all others that have heard the same) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how Mr. Green fared at the bishop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

*Bonner* Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

*Philpot* No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend: and especially seeing you will take all things at the worst: neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my appeal which I have made to the whole parliament-house, about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

*Bonner* I would see any so hardy to put up thine appeal.

*Philpot* My lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, speed it as it may.

*Bonner* My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How sayest thou, have I not?

*Philpot* If to lie in the vilest prison in this town, (being a gentleman and an archdeacon) and in a coal-house, for the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, may be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are in these days.

*Bonner* Lo, what a varlet is this. Besides this, my lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose.

*Philpot* Your lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's-Bench; when my keeper took away my ink-horn.

*Bonner* And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknowing to me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this house, I tell thee.

*Philpot* My lord, because you have caused my pen-case and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet be glad my friends should know what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight.

*Bonner* More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife to be put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose judge you. How sayest thou, didst thou not so?

*Philpot* I cannot deny but there was half a pig sent me, and under the same a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know; your lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife since I came to prison. Therefore all these are but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal.

*Bonner* I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all) his book of the report of the disputation in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that can be against the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, Dr. Weston, did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?

*Weston* Yea, my lord, that he did, and would never



never be answered. And it is pity that the same worshipful congregation should be slandered with such untrue reports.

*Philpot.* You answered me indeed, Mr. Doctor, (being then prolocutor) goodly, with, Hold thy peace and, Have him to prison, and, Put him out of the house. I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, because he setteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did use me, being an archdeacon, and not of the worst in the house.

*Weston.* Thou art no archdeacon.

*Philpot.* Indeed Mr. Doctor, you have amongst you un-archdeaoned me now, (I thank God for it) and that without all order of law.

*Bonner.* I pray you my lords, hearken to what he writeth of himself, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He said that Dr. Weston called him a frantic and mad-man, and said, he should go to Bedlam.

*Philpot.* Indeed, my lord, so it pleased Dr. Weston to taunt at me, and say his shameful pleasure, but yet I was not one whit the more so for all his sayings, than Christ was when the scribes and pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was possessed of a devil, most blasphemously.

*Durham.* My lord of London, I can tarry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Mr. Philpot, methinketh you have said well that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church: I pray you so do, and you shall do right well. And so he departed with Dr. Weston and Mr. Hussy.

*Philpot.* I have purposed so to do, howsoever I speed, by God's grace.

*Bonner.* I pray you, my lord of Chichester, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Dr. Morgan, to commune with him while I go to my lord of Durham.

*Christopherson.* Mr. Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember it, but you have forgotten me, and talked somewhat with you of these matters, and I find you now the same man that you were then, I wish it were otherwise. For God's sake be conformable to men that are better learned than you, and stand not in your own conceit.

*Philpot.* Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was so, though it were but very strange on your part to me-ward, being driven to necessity.

*Christopherson.* You know the world was dangerous at that time.

*Philpot.* Nothing so dangerous as it is now; but let that pass. Whereas you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myself; indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whose books, in respect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wisdom of God consisteth not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can shew by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatsoever he be.

*Christopherson.* I marvel why you should dissent from the catholic church, since it hath thus long been universally received, except within these five or six years here in England.

*Philpot.* I do not dissent from the true catholic church, I do only dissent from the bishop of Rome, which if you can prove to be the catholic church of Christ, I will be of the same also with you.

*Christopherson.* Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can shew out of him, that the church of Rome is such a one unto which misbelief cannot approach?

*Philpot.* I am sure you cannot shew any such saying out of St. Cyprian.

*Christopherson.* What will you lay thereon?

*Philpot.* I will lay as much as I am able to make.

*Morgan.* Will you promise to recant, if I shew his saying to be true?

*Philpot.* My faith shall not hang upon any doctor's saying, further than he shall be able to prove the same by God's word.

*Christopherson.* I will go fetch the book, and shew it him by and by; and therewithal he went into the bishop's study, and brought Cyprian, and pointed out these words in one of his epistles, *Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides Apostolo predicante laudata est; non potest accedere perfidia*; that is, "But unto the Romans, whose faith by the testimony of the apostle is praised, misbelief can have no access."

*Philpot.* These words of Cyprian do not prove your pretended assertion, which is, That to the church of Rome there could come no misbelief.

*Christopherson.* Good Lord, doth it not? What can be said more plainly?

*Philpot.* He speaketh not of the church of Rome absolutely.

*Christopherson.* By God, a child that can but say his grammar will not deny what you do, the words are so plain.

*Philpot.* Swear not, Mr. Doctor, but weigh Cyprian's words with me, and I shall make you to say as I have said.

*Christopherson.* I am no doctor, but I perceive it is but labour lost to reason with you.

And with that the bishop of London came in blowing again, and said, What is my lord of Chichester gone away also? (for he even a little before departed also without any other word, than that he must needs be gone.) What (says Bonner) is the matter you now stand upon?

*Morgan.* Mr. Christopherson hath shewed Mr. Philpot a notable place of the authority of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.

*Bonner.* Where is the place? Let me see. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, sir, what say you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with St. Paul's own testimony, in the first chapter to the Romans, where he saith, That their faith is preached throughout the world: how can you be able to answer to this?

*Philpot.* Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider all the words of Cyprian; for he speaketh of such as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an epistle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With such as are praised by St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, misbelief can have no place. And if you can shew, that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is that faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans in his time, then will I say what St. Cyprian then said, and with you, That infidelity can have no place there; but otherwise it maketh not absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do mistake it.

*Christopherson.* You understand Cyprian well indeed; I think you never read him in your life?

*Philpot.* Yes, Mr. Doctor, that I have, I can shew you a book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read so much as you, yet I have read somewhat. It is a shame for you to rest and wreath the doctors as you do, to maintain a false religion, which be altogether against you, if you take them aright; and indeed your false packing of doctors together hath given me and others occasion to look upon them, whereby we find you shameful liars, and mis-reporters of the ancient doctors.

*Morgan.* What, will you be in hand to allow doctors now? They of your sect do not so. I marvel therefore that you will allow them.

*Philpot.* I do allow them inasmuch as they do agree with the scriptures, and so do all they which are of the truth, howsoever you term us, and I praise God for that good understanding I have received by them.

*Christopherson.* What? you understand not the doctors, you may be ashamed to say it.

*Philpot.*



*Philpot.* I thank God, I understand them better than you: for you have *Excœdationem cordis*, The blindness of heart; so that you understand not truly what you read, no more than the wall here, as your taking of Cyprian doth declare. And, before God, you are but deceivers of the people, for all the brag you make of learning; neither have you scripture or ancient doctor on your side, being truly taken.

*Morgan.* Why, all the doctors are on our side, and against you altogether.

*Philpot.* Yea, so you say when you are in your pulpits alone, and none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little fight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my side than you shall be able for your's, and he that can bring most, to him let the other side yield. Are you willing so to do?

*Christopherfon.* It is but folly to reason with you, you will believe no man but yourself.

*Philpot.* I will believe you or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

*Morgan.* What, no truth? No truth? ha, ha, ha!

*Philpot.* Except the articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and sound in nothing.

*Morgan.* What say you, do we not believe well on the sacrament?

*Philpot.* It is the thing which (among all others) you do most abuse.

*Morgan.* Wherein I pray you? tell us.

*Philpot.* I have told you before, Mr. Doctor, in the convocation-house.

*Morgan.* Yes marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping, ha, ha, ha!

*Philpot.* I did weep indeed, and so did Christ upon Jerusalem, and am not to be blamed for it, if you consider the cause of my weeping.

*Morgan.* What, make you yourself Christ? ha, ha, ha!

*Philpot.* No, sir, I make not myself Christ; but I am not ashamed to do as my master and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foresaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare.

*Morgan.* That is your argument.

*Christopherfon.* Wherein do we abuse the sacrament? tell us.

*Philpot.* As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you administer it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution.

*Christopherfon.* Why, is there not as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?

*Philpot.* I believe not so: for if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only; for he instituted nothing superfluous: and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind as in both, since the scripture teacheth otherwise.

*Christopherfon.* What if I can prove it by scripture, that we may administer it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles in one or two places, where it is written, that the apostles continued "in prayers and in breaking of bread," which is meant of the sacrament.

*Philpot.* Why, Mr. Doctor, do you not know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole use of the sacrament according to Christ's institution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, *Synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded it?

*Christopherfon.* Nay, that is not so: for I can shew you out of Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical history, that there was a man of God, whom he named, that sent the sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was sick.

*Philpot.* I have read indeed that they did use to give what was left of the communion-bread to children, to mariners, and to women, and so perverture the boy might carry a piece of what was left to the sick man.

*Christopherfon.* Nay, as a sacrament it was purposely sent unto him.

*Philpot.* If it were so, yet you cannot precisely say, that he had not the cup administered unto him also by some sent unto him: but though one man did use it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian noteth many abuses of the sacrament in his time, which rose upon singular men's examples, as using of water instead of wine: therefore he saith, "We must not look what any man hath done before us, but what Christ first of all did and commanded."

*Christopherfon.* Hath not the church taught us so to use the sacrament? And how do we know that Christ is Homousios, that is, of one substance with the Father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prove that otherwise by express words of scripture, and where find you Homousios in all the scripture?

*Philpot.* Yes, that I do in the first of the Hebrews, where it is written that Christ is the express image of God's own substance, *Ejusdem substantiæ*.

*Christopherfon.* Nay, that is not so. That is, there is no more but *Expressa imago substantiæ*, The express image of God's substance, and image is accident.

*Philpot.* It is in the text, Of his substance, *Substantiæ illius*, or his own substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besides this, that which Christ spake of himself in St. John manifesteth the same, saying, I and the Father be one thing, *Ego & Pater unum sumus*. And wherers you say, *Imago* here is an accident, the ancient fathers use this for a strong argument to prove Christ to be God, because he is the very image of God.

*Christopherfon.* Do they? Is this a good argument, Because we are the image of God, therefore we are God?

*Philpot.* We are not called the express image of God, as it is written of Christ, and we are but the image of God by participation; and as it is written in Genesis, We are made to the likeness and similitude of God. But you ought to know, Mr. Christopherfon, that there is no accident in God, and therefore Christ cannot be the image of God, but he must be of the same substance with God.

*Christopherfon.* Tush.

*Morgan.* How say you to the presence of the sacrament? Will you stand here to the judgment of your book, or no? Or will you recant?

*Philpot.* I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be my setting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment.

*Morgan.* Speak, are you of the same mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unless you are become another manner of man than you were.

*Philpot.* What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I will say to you by the way, that if you can prove the sacrament of the mass (as you now use it) to be a sacrament, I will then grant you a presence; but first you must prove the same a sacrament, and afterward treat of the presence.

*Morgan.* Ho, do you doubt that it is a sacrament?

*Philpot.* I am past doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a sacrament.

*Christopherfon.* Yea, do you? Good Lord, doth not St. Augustine call it the sacrament of the altar? How say you to that?

*Philpot.* That maketh nothing for the probation of your sacrament. For so he with other ancient writers do call the holy communion or supper of the Lord, in respect that it is the sacrament of the sacrifice which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, which sacrifice all the altars and sacrifices done upon the altars in the old law did prefigure and shadow, which pertaineth nothing to your sacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and stone.

*Christopherfon.*



*Christopherfon.* Doth it not? I pray you, what signifieth Altar?

*Philpot.* Not as you falsely take it, materially, but for the sacrifice of the altar of the cross.

*Christopherfon.* Where find you it ever so taken?

*Philpot.* Yes, that I do in St. Paul to the Hebrews, the thirteenth chapter, where he saith, "We have an altar, of which it is not lawful for them to eat that serve the tabernacle." Is not altar in this place taken for the sacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and stone?

*Christopherfon.* Well, God blefs me out of your company. You are such an obstinate heretic, as I have not heard the like.

*Philpot.* I pray God keep me from such blind doctors, who when they are not able to prove what they say, then fall to reviling (as you do now) for lack of better proof. In the mean while the bishop of London was talking with some other hard by, and at length came in to supply his part, and said:

*Bonner.* I pray you, masters, hearken to what I shall say to this man. Come hither, Mr. Green: and now, fir, (pointing to me) you cannot think it sufficient to be wicked yourself, but must go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like.

*Philpot.* My lord, he cannot say that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any such matter, as he here can testify.

*Green.* No, you never wrote unto me.

*Bonner.* Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him?

*Philpot.* This letter was written by a friend and not by me; it was not written to Mr. Green, neither was he privy to the writing thereof.

*Bonner.* How say you then, if a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in such a case?

*Philpot.* I am bound to do the best I can to bring him out of it.

*Bonner.* If Mr. Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can?

*Philpot.* Yes, that I am, and will do the uttermost of my power therein.

But the bishop remembering himself, thinking that he would but shrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceased to go any further in his demand, and called Mr. Green aside, and before his register read him a letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithal he gave Mr. Green the book of my disputation in the convocation-house, and afterwards went aside, communing with Mr. Christopherfon, leaving Mr. Morgan, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Cofins, to reason with me in the hearing of Mr. Green.

*Morgan.* Mr. Philpot, I would ask you how old your religion is?

*Philpot.* It is older than your's by a thousand years and more.

*Morgan.* I pray you, where was it fifty years ago?

*Philpot.* It was in Germany apparent by the testimony of Hufs, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliffe, whom your generation an hundred years ago and more did burn for preaching the truth unto you; and before their time and since hath been, although under persecution it hath been put to silence.

*Morgan.* That is a marvellous strange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it.

*Philpot.* It ought to be no marvel unto you to see God's truth through violence oppressed; for so it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by history, and as Christ's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Revelations you may see it prophesied, that the true church should be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions.

*Morgan.* Ah, are you versed in the Revelations? there are many strange things therein.

*Philpot.* If I tell you the truth which you are not able to refute, believe it, and dally not out so earnest

matters: methinks you are more like a scoffer in a play, than a reasonable doctor to instruct a man; you have no fease of shame, but dance naked in a net, and see not your own nakedness.

*Morgan.* I pray you, be not so quick with me, let us talk a little more calmly together.

*Philpot.* I will talk with you as mildly as you can desire, if you will speak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

*Morgan.* Why will not you submit your judgment to the learned men of this realm?

*Philpot.* Because I see they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good conscience settle my faith, more surely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifest word.

*Morgan.* Can they not? It is marvellous that so many learned men should be deceived.

*Philpot.* It is not marvellous to St. Paul, for he saith, "That not many wise, neither many learned after the world be called to the knowledge of the gospel."

*Morgan.* Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?

*Philpot.* I say not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ, have the Spirit of God as well as I.

*Morgan.* How know you that you have the Spirit of God?

*Philpot.* By the faith of Christ which is in me.

*Morgan.* Ah, by faith do you so? I think it is the spirit of the buttry, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I believe went drunken unto it.

*Philpot.* It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the spirit of the buttry than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I must now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such scornors of his word and blasphemers of his people as thou art.

*Morgan.* What, you rage now.

*Philpot.* Thy foolish blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to speak that which I said to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness.

*Morgan.* Why do you judge me so?

*Philpot.* By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blasphemous doctor; for as it is written, "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." I have spoken in God's behalf, and now I have done with thee.

*Morgan.* Why then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art an heretic, and shalt be burned for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell-fire.

*Philpot.* I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I mind not thy threats of fire and faggots, neither, I thank God my Lord, stand in fear of the same: my faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the hell-fire with which thou threatenest me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee, (unless thou speedily repent) and for such hypocrites as thou art.

*Morgan.* What, thou speakest upon wine, thou hast tippled well to-day by appearance.

*Philpot.* So said the cursed generation to the apostles, being replenished by the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God; they said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say, as thou dost now.

*Morgan.* Why, I am of opinion I am able to answer thee.

*Philpot.* So it seemeth, with blasphemies and lies.

*Morgan.* Nay, even with learning, say what thou canst.

*Philpot.* That appeared well at my disputation in the convocation-house, where thou didst undertake to answer those few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet were not able to answer one; but in thine answers did fumble and flammer, that the whole house was ashamed of thee: and the final conclusions of all thine answers



answers was, that thou couldst answer me if I were in the schools at Oxford.

*Morgan.* What, did I so? thou beliefst me.

*Philpot.* I do not belie thee, the book of the report of the disputation beareth record thereto, and all that were present then can tell thou sayedst so, if they list. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to answer that Spirit of truth which speaketh in me for the defence of Christ's true religion.

*Morgan.* Why, have I not answered thee in all things thou hast said unto me? I take them to record.

*Philpot.* Ask my fellow whether I be a thief.

*Cofins.* Hark, he maketh us all thieves.

*Philpot.* You know that phrase of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am sure you will not judge with me against him, speak I ever so true; and in this sense I speak it. The strongest answer that he hath made against me is, that you will burn me.

*Morgan.* Why, we do not burn you, it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we.

*Philpot.* Thus you would (as Pilate did) wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But, I pray you, call upon the secular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, To burn heretics?

*Harpfield.* I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout an heretic as you are, Mr. Philpot.

*Cofins.* Nor I, in all my life.

*Philpot.* You are not able to prove me an heretic, by one jot of God's word.

*Harpfield.* You have the spirit of arrogancy, I will reason with you no more. And so he was departing, and Mr. Cofins also. And with that the bishop and Christopherson came in again, and said:

*Bonner.* Mr. Doctor, how doth this man and you agree?

*Morgan.* My lord, I do ask him where his church was fifty years ago.

*Bonner.* Are you not half agreed? as one man said once to two parties, in whom the one was equally disagreeing from the other.

*Christopherson.* It is but folly to reason with him any further, for he is incurable.

*Bonner.* Well, then let his keeper have him away. And with that Dr. Chedsey led me a way by which we could not pass, and therefore came back again through the bishop's chamber, where all these doctors were clustered together: and as I was passing by, the bishop took me by the gown, and said, Know you what Mr. Christopherson telleth me? I pray you, Mr. Christopherson, rehearse the sentence in Latin; and so he did: the contents whereof were, That an heretic would not be won.

*Christopherson.* St. Paul saith; "Fly an heretic after once or twice warning."

*All the Doctors.* Yea, my lord, it is best you so do, and trouble your lordship no more with him.

*Philpot.* You must first prove me justly to be an heretic, before you use the judgment of St. Paul against me: for he speaketh of such as hold opinion against the manifest word, which you cannot prove by me.

You are the heretics which so stoutly and stubbornly maintain so many things directly against God's word, as God in his time will reveal. As I went out of his chamber, the bishop called me aside, and said:

*Bonner.* What didst thou mean by writing in the beginning of thy bible, "The Spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth?" I suppose you have some special meaning therein.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have no other meaning than as I have told you already, That Christ, since his ascension, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

*Bonner.* Your bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have perused the rest you shall have such as I think good.

*Philpot.* I pray your lordship then, that you would let me have candle-light.

*Bonner.* To what purpose, pray?

*Philpot.* The nights be long, and I would fain occupy myself, and not spend my time idly.

*Bonner.* Then you may pray.

*Philpot.* I cannot well say my prayers without light.

*Bonner.* Can you not say your Pater-noster without a candle? I tell you, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candles you shall have none.

*Philpot.* I had rather have candles than your meat and drink; but seeing I shall not have my request, the Lord shall be my light.

*Bonner.* Have him down.

*Chedsey.* I will bring him to his keeper, my lord. I am sorry you will so wilfully cast yourself away, whereas you might live worshipfully: do you not think that others have souls to be saved?

*Philpot.* Every man shall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am that you are deceived, and maintain a false religion; and as for my casting away, I wish my burning day was to-morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not be dead.

*Chedsey.* You are not like to die yet.

*Philpot.* I am the more sorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory, Amen.

The twelfth examination took place on the 4th of December, before the bishops of London, Worcester, and Bangor, in the chapel of the palace; three of the chaplains having before called him to hear mass, from which he excused himself, as being excommunicate. Having stated that it was for contumacy, and that the bishop would dispense with him if he would come, he replied that the bishop had no power to do it, not being his ordinary. After mass, being brought into the chapel, in the presence of the register, the bishop of London called upon him to say, why sentence should not be pronounced against him as an heretic, though, as Mr. Philpot said, no witnesses had been examined, which was against their own law. After retiring for an hour, he was again sent for, the bishops of Worcester and Bangor being present, they severally addressed him; when he replied particularly to the bishop of Bangor, who had said that the protestant religion had been set forth by violence and tyranny; retorting that their religion was supported by violence; and that the protestant religion was in Germany long before it found its way into England. He admitted, that he agreed with the true catholic church, and held a real and essential presence by the Spirit of God in the right administration. After farther conversation after dinner with the bishop of Worcester, who seemed to incline towards him most, Dr. Chedsey and the archdeacon of Oxford, and others, on his departure, came to him; whereupon Dr. Chedsey proposed to prove, that the church of Rome had its foundation and being, by the scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church, confirmed by the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors. In this Mr. Philpot heartily agreed; but when it came to the proof, which he attempted from St. Austin, he was able to shew none, but for want of it slipped into a by-matter, making himself ridiculous and shameless.

The THIRTEENTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, before the Archbishop of YORK, and other Bishops.

THE Thursday after, I was called in the morning before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester being first come, began to talk with me.

*Chichester.* I am come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the catholic church, and to exhort you to instruct your own judgment, and to learn first to have humility, and by the



same to learn first to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them.

*Philpot.* We must be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that both of your years and great exercise do excel therein: but faith consisteth not in learning, but in the simplicity which God's word teacheth. Therefore I shall be glad to hear both of your lordship, and of any other, (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you that it doth please you to take pains herein.

*Chichester.* You take the first alledged amiss, as though all men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the gospel, but by the authority of the church, and because the same hath allowed it?

*Philpot.* St. Paul saith, "He learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Which is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel taketh not it's authority of man, but of God only.

*Chichester.* St. Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

*Philpot.* Nay, he speaketh of the gospel generally, "which cometh not from man, but from God;" and that the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts.

*Chichester.* Doth not St. Augustine say these words, "I would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto."

*Philpot.* I grant the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the church doth not give the word it's authority; for the word hath it's authority only from God, and not of men; men be but disposers thereof. For first the word had it's being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church, and first is the foundation sure, before the building thereon can be steadfast.

*Chichester.* I perceive you mistake me, I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel.

*Philpot.* I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation. Here came in the bishops of York and Bath; and after they had saluted one another, and communed a while together, the archbishop of York called me unto them, saying,

*York.* Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his prophet, "On whom shall I rest but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my word?" Now if you be so, we shall be glad to travel with you.

*Philpot.* I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me.

*York.* What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?

*Philpot.* My lord, if it shall please your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church and how should we know the truth but by the church?

*York.* Indeed that is the head we ought to begin at, for the church being truly known, we shall sooner agree in particular things.

*Philpot.* If your lordships can prove the church of Rome to be true catholic church, it will do much to persuade me towards what you would have me incline unto.

*York.* Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?

*Philpot.* It is a congregation of people dispersed throughout the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments, and all other things according to the same.

*York.* Your definition is of many words to no purpose.

*Philpot.* I do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is.

*York.* Is the church visible or invisible?

*Philpot.* It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists both of good or bad, using all things in faith, according to God's word.

*York.* The church is an universal congregation of faithful people in Christ throughout the world; which this word catholic doth well express; for what is catholic else? doth it not signify universal?

*Philpot.* The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this wise, "The church is called therefore catholic, because it is truly perfect, and lacketh in nothing."

*York.* Nay, it is called catholic, because it is universally received of all christian nations, for the most part.

*Philpot.* The church was catholic in the apostles time, yet was it not universally received of the world; but because their doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all persons receiving the same, to be counted the catholic church. And St. Augustine in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright.

*York.* If you will learn, I will shew you St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points, which is, universality and succession of bishops, in one apostolical see, from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument.

The church of Rome is universal, and hath her succession of bishops from time to time.

Therefore, it is the catholic church.

How answer you to this argument?

*Philpot.* I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops.

*York.* I will prove it, and with that he brought forth a book, which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St. Augustine, especially out of his epistle written against the Donatists, where St. Augustine manifestly proveth, that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they have no succession of bishops in their opinion, neither universality; and the same force hath St. Augustine's argument against you.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against me, neither cometh it to your purpose; for I will stand to the trial of St. Augustine for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For St. Augustine speaketh of universality joined with verity, and of faithful successors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And so if you can deduce your argument for the see of Rome now, as St. Augustine might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force, otherwise not.

*York.* St. Augustine proveth the catholic church principally by succession of bishops, and therefore you understand not St. Augustine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists, against whom he wrote, can you tell? what country were they of?

*Philpot.* They were a certain sect of men, affirming, among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacraments depended upon the worthiness of the minister; so that if the minister was good, the sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not.

*Chichester.* That was their error, and they had none other



other but that. And he read another authority of St. Austin, out of a book which he brought, even to the same purpose that the other was.

*Philpot.* I challenge St. Austin to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to judgment, taking one place with another.

*Chichester.* If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy.

*Philpot.* I do not deny the church to be certain; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word; and for all controversies the word ought to be judge.

*Chichester.* But what if I take it one way, and you another, how then?

*Philpot.* St. Austin sheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, "That one place of the scripture ought to be understood by the majority."

*York.* How answer you to this argument?

Rome hath known succession of bishops, which your church hath not.

Therefore, that is the catholic church, and your's is not, because there is no such succession can be proved in your church.

*Philpot.* I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by: for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch and Jerusalem, and in other places where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops, succession of doctrine withal, as St. Austin doth, I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church; but a local succession only is nothing available.

*Bath.* If you be of the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the true church hath ever maintained.

*Philpot.* And I, my lord, with the true church, do hold the same in the due administration of the sacrament; but I desire you, my lord, there may be made a better conclusion in our first matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest. In the mean while my lord of York was turning his book for more places to help his cause.

*York.* I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Austin, *De simplicitate credendi*.

After he had read the sentence, he said, that by four special points St. Augustine here proveth the catholic church. The first is by consent of all nations; the second, by the apostolic see; the third, by universality; and the fourth, by this word catholic.

*Philpot.* I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St. Augustine write the same, of Rome, or not?

*York.* Yea, he writeth of the church of Rome.

*Philpot.* I will lay your lordship as much as I have; that it is not so; and let the book be seen.

*Bath.* What art thou able to lay? Thou hast nothing.

*York.* Doth he not make mention here of the apostolic see, whereby he meaneth Rome?

*Philpot.* That is very straightly interpreted, my lord, as though the apostolic see had been no where else but at Rome. But let it be at Rome; and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all the other conditions do go therewith, as St. Augustine doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the apostolic see, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that see now maintaineth hath not the consent of all nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, because it differeth from the catholic churches which the apostles planted, almost in all things.

*York.* Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by universality; and how can you shew your church to be universal fifty or an hundred years ago?

*Philpot.* That is not material, neither any thing against St. Augustine: for my church (whereof I am) were to be accounted universal, though it were but in

ten persons, because it agreeth with the same that the apostles did universally plant.

*York.* I perceive you are an obstinate man in your own opinion; and will not be taught; wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer; you are a member to be cut off.

*Chichester.* I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you what I have heard.

*Philpot.* I trust you see no evil in me by this; I desire of you a sure ground to build my faith on, and if you shew me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well.

*Chichester.* Thou art as impudent a fellow as any I have talked with.

*Philpot.* That is spoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove.

*Chichester.* Why, thou art not God: blasphemy is counted a rebuke to God-ward, and not to man.

*Philpot.* Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, speaking in God's cause, as you now do lay unto me, for speaking freely the truth before God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannously persecuting the truth, which otherwise by just order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors and testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not see the truth.

*Chichester.* Have we these thanks for our good will, in coming to instruct thee?

*Philpot.* My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause; and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonour of God, and to hypocrisy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgment.

The LAST EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, in open JUDGMENT, with his final CONDEMNATION by BISHOP BONNER, in the CONSISTORY at ST. PAUL'S, December 13, 14, and 16.

*Bonner.* **M**R. Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected against you, these three things you were principally charged and burthened with.

The first is, That you being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry.

And the third is, That you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legislative, you have been often by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if you so refuse, I do ask of you whether you have any cause that you can shew, why I now should not give sentence against you.

*Philpot.* Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, wherein you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many



times sworn both in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and good king Edward his son, against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, because I must perform unto the Lord mine oath. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, whereof you be now, I will gladly agree, otherwise not.

Bonner then not able with all his learned doctors to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading him, both by his accustomed promises and threatenings, to return to their church; to which he answered: You and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I wish all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.

Upon these words the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the 16th day of the same month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy. At which day and time Mr. Philpot was again presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Litchfield.

*Bonner.* Philpot, amongst others I have to charge you especially with three things:

First, Where you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could shew unto you.

The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination.

And thirdly, That you have spoken and held against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this:

#### BISHOP BONNER'S EXHORTATION.

**M**R. Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence you did fall in the time of the late schism, here in this realm of England, against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep, to the best of your power, the faith and christian religion observed and kept by all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if you, which heretofore, in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, and 1555, or in one of them have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable: and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar; and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ: if you, I say, will be reconciled as aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, you shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be; if not, you shall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretic (as you be indeed). Now do you chuse what you will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably.

*Ita est quod EDM. BONNER, Episc. Lond.*

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Mr. Philpot turned himself to the lord mayor, and said,

*Philpot.* To you, my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I am glad it is my chance now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word; but I am sorry to see that that authority, which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the command of Antichrist; and you (speaking to the bishops) pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very Antichrists and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say that I am of the catholic church, whereof I never was out, and that your church (which you pretend to be the catholic church) is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not.

As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass; I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your daily sacrifice is reiterated blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses, instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and you shall never prove it by God's word; therefore you have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which you make a masking.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was first brought up by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in Antichrist's name; prove to me that you be of the catholic church (which you never can), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But you are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. You be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail against good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his son, who have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom I have also taken an oath, which, if you can shew me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also he exhibited two books in print; the one was the catechism made in king Edward's days; in the year 1552, the other concerning the report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed.

Moreover he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts; which were both written to him by some of his friends.

#### A L E T T E R,

*Produced by BONNER, written by some FRIEND of Mr. PHILPOT's, and sent to him, concerning the Usage of Mr. GREEN, in BONNER'S House at London.*

**Y**OU shall understand that Mr. Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received; for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two was to dine at my lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed, the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men (who were suiters for him, but



to him unknown) that he in no case should be examined; before which Mr. Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against his singularity and obstinacy; his answer thereunto was thus, To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned, (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have such books as I shall require, and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you. Whereunto the bishop and the rest assented, permitting him at the first to have such books. They at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and ripe in the scriptures and godly fathers, that since they have not only taken from him the liberty of those books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the New Testament. Since, they have beat and used him most cruelly. This Mr. Fecknam reported; saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become farther of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill, I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all as his.

Your own, &c.

*The CONDEMNATION of the worthy MARTYR of GOD, JOHN PHILPOT.*

THESE books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, if the book intitled, "The true report of the disputation," &c. were of his penning, or not? Whereupon Philpot answered, That it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting forth.

The bishops growing weary, and not being able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell with fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he would not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrant you), whether he had any just cause to alledge why he should not condemn him as an heretic. Well, quoth Mr. Philpot, your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, you would fain defend, but you cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmoveable steadfastness in the truth, did openly pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, And you an obstinate, pernicious, and impenitent heretic, &c. Mr. Philpot said, I thank God that I am an heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.

Moreover, whilst Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant, or not. Then Bonner said, (full like himself) O let him alone; and so read forth the sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Pater-noster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, Ah, dear master.

Then Mr. Philpot said to his man, Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again.

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And so the officers thrust him away, and took him to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day; and so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man pushed to go in after his master; and one of the officers said unto him, Hence fellow, what wouldst thou have? And he said, I would go speak with my master.

Then the under keeper said to Mr. Philpot, Is this your man? and he said, Yea. So he gave his man leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a short time, until Alexander, the chief keeper, came unto him; who at his entering, greeted him in these words, Ah, said he, hast thou not done well to bring thyself hither? Well, said Mr. Philpot, I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, said Alexander, I will shew thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me. Then said Mr. Philpot, I pray you shew me what you would have me to do.

He said, If you will recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I will never recant that which I have spoken, whilst I have my life, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood. Then Alexander said, This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics. Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, because he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, What money hath thy master given thee? He answered, My master hath given me none. No, said Alexander, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will search thee.

Do with me as you like, and search me all that you can, quoth his servant; he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, to his brothers and sisters. Ah, said Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, thou art a maintainer of heretics, thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity, but he shall be known well enough. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off. Well, said Alexander, give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still.

Then said Mr. Philpot, Sir, what is your fee? He said, Four pound was his fees. Ah, said Mr. Philpot, I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison. What wilt thou give me then, said Alexander? Sir, said he, I will give thee twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will give you my gown in pledge; for the time is not long I am sure, that I shall be with you; for the bishop said unto me that I should be soon dispatched.

Then Alexander said unto him, What is that to me? And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said to his man, Go to Mr. Sheriff, and shew him how I am used, and desire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me; and so his servant went away, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff, (which was Mr. Macham) and shewed him how Mr. Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff hearing this, took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to that honest man, that came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they came again to the said Alexander, and delivered their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring and said, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters:

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yet



yet at ten o'clock he went into Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Mr. Philpot answered and said, I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection. And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to order, about eight o'clock, and calling for him, he most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him, and said, Ah, dear master, farewell. His master said unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, What, will you make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot. But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me? and then with an obedient heart, full meekly he said the cvi, cvii. and cviii. Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, What have you done for me? And every one of them declared what they had done, and he gave money to them.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to that constant martyr; who, the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed to ashes.

#### EXTRACT of LETTER I.

*From Mr. PHILPOT to a CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION, exhorting them to refrain from IDOLATRY, and to serve GOD after his WORD.*

**I**T is a lamentable thing to behold, at this time in England, the faithless departing, both of men and women, from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immoveable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with Antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh, but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour, for example, did aptly declare in Peter, who exhorteth Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholick church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore whosoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, separations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, "I have hated the synagogue of

the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked." In the Revelations the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people, that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal, where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Also, we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth prophane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of an harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is accounted whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God, than the adventurous abuse of the body.

St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, "If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him;" therefore he saith also, "That we are not such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life." St. John in the Revelation telleth us plainly, that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands, that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth, that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean spirit and rectified body we might serve God justly in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

Finally, in the 18th of the Revelations, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespasses. St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which are written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain: which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used by us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing: and if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to the devil: and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites) with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will say for their vain excuse, God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the scripture teacheth us, That cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is over all his works, and yet upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, "The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him." Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God, that serve him; and to fear God, is to turn from evil and do what is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

Let all vain excuses be set apart; and whilst you have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light, and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but (alas) men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. O that both men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.



But what said I, conscience? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word; and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called *Conscientia*, which soundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, "Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified." And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby. The Lord, who hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word, and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

Letters II. and III. are address'd to Mr. John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench, and Letter IV. to certain godly women who forsook their own country for the Gospel.

#### LETTER V.

*Containing an Exhortation to his own Sister, constantly to stick to the Truth, which she had fruitfully professed.*

**G**OD the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

I have occasion (my own dear sister) to praise God in you for two causes; the one, that to your ability you are ready to shew yourself a natural and loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have often testified being absent, and also present in visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith, after Christ's gospel, I have occasion to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature; for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea to Christ himself, who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal proportion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if in no wise you do shew yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you never will do for any kind of worldly respect. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a sieve of great affliction; for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles we might fall

from the stability of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, "To prepare themselves to suffer temptations."

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand; this Christ, our first-begotten brother, looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number: and the universal church here militant rejoiceth at our constancy, all whom by the contrary we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And, if you see any unwillingness in you, (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God) ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that which tendeth to our salvation.

You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David, Psalm 35. "Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been sanctified, and made pure through the truth: take heed you be not unholy and defiled, lest the last be worse than the worst. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of which I have had so good experience; but because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of each of us to exhort and stir up one another; I am bold to put you (my good sister) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not but you will take that in good part, which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory. None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord will make you one of those faithful virgins that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth; which Christ grant both to you and me. Amen.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel. That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you by all means you can to accomplish my request, that my sureties might be satisfied with what is mine own, to the content of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged: therefore I pray you help to purchase my quietness, that I may depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would make me worthy, as he hath done of long imprisonment, for which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT.  
LET.



## LETTER VI.

From Mr. PHILPOT to certain godly Brethren.

**T**HE grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour, Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds; that you may rejoice and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end, Amen.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; which does not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal you have to his truth, and to his afflicted church. Therefore that you may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations you are like to be assaulted withal, in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wise man to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that you, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well-doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel, "Blessed are they that persevere to the end."

Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for which the wise merchant-man, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath and buyeth the same. God, in Revelations iii. doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers upon earth. From the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word is there called the word of patience; to give us to understand, that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St. Peter telleth us, now we are afflicted with divers trials, as it is need it should be so, That the trial of our faith being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews sheweth us, that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by which God giveth all them, that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the 12th chapter of the said epistle is written, My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth, &c. Christ, in the gospel of St. John, biddeth his disciples to look for afflictions, saying, In the world you shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the 21st of St. Luke, he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, saith he, is at hand. And in the 22d he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, You are those that have continued with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom.

Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say

with David, in all our adversities and troubles, It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly ensamples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, who with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, inasmuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be shewed unto us.

Let us therefore (good brethren and sisters) be merry and glad in these troublesome days, which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hasten the day of our death, in which we might set forth, by true confession, his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, who so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, saying, I am he whom ye seek. It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love best; for to what we love best we shall stick. There is none worthy to be counted a christian, except he can find in his heart, for Christ's sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all that he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this life (as our Saviour said to Peter) and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth who in this life receiveth an hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all; but where is this hundred fold in this life to be found? Yes, truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which the glory, honour, and praise, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth of the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven; and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than an hundred fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us) ten thousand fold more, than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguish, and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in the conscience that never shall rest.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent ballances! Then should we not be dismayed at this troublesome time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible, but rather



rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory: For blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy, If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ, and if we deny him, he will deny us.

O that we would enter into the vail of God's promises. Then should we with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, which is the enlightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we may behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown by these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies, and then death shall be as great a pain to us as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? Why do ye weep? Why are ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us, than when we are in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and no body can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the pricks, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which by patient suffering otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, horribly afflicted, cause us to say, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord, so is it come to pass?" If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac, by interpretation, doth signify mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. So likewise we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify, that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh, entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

And to withstand these present temptations wherewith we are now encumbered, you cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his

example. That if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread, that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands and goods to live on still; you must say, that every man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counsellereth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; you must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God:

Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that you will worship idols in his synagogue, you must say, Get behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only.

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, do require you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, you must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end, Amen.

Your loving and faithful brother

in Christ, in captivity,

JOHN PHILPOT.

#### LETTER VII.

From Mr. PHILPOT to Mr. ROBERT HARRINGTON.

**G**ENTLE Mr. Harrington, I cannot tell what con-dign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pains which you have taken for the relief of me and of our other afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven; and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved for a better place. I thank God for that which I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

Methinks I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the spirit saith, It must be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is the true faith, and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to shew himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified; I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is invited to a glorious feast, desireth his friend may go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me, most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. O what unspeakable condition is that? May any worldly thing hinder us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the favour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be suppled in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment,



sonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore (dearly beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thousand fold greater than the price.

That you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this mart, but you must bring your wife for an usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring you, that we are made worthy, through Christ, of the kingdom for which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and may he give us strength to continue to the end.

Commend me to Mr. Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own. Commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to Mr. Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide for me some ease in prison; and tell them, that though my lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired by the faithful than the queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother. Written in post-haste because of strait keeping.

This day I expect to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the Spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them that I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

Letters VIII, IX, and X. are addressed to the Lady Vane, regretting in the first that the glorious light, which had been displayed to England, was now changed into such huge darkness, and that the plagues hanging over England were great, though the gospel should be again restored. "Happy," says he, "shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them." He advises to rejoice "in the cross of Christ, to be of good comfort, and hold the buckler of faith; for by the strength of the Lord they would shortly meet in eternal glory." This was dated the 10th of December, 1555. Another to the same Lady, who was a great support to him, is dated from the King's Bench prison on the last of May of that year; wherein he remarks, that "neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world, wherewithal she was sufficiently endued above a great many, could separate her from the love of the truth." He exhorts her to "pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England." And in the tenth letter which was written on the 20th of August, wherein, after he had blessed "God that made her so worthy a member in his kingdom," he adds, "for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plentifully in well-doing; although I am most unworthy to receive any such benefits at your hands as in respect of of a pillar of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such an one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star." In this truly primitive and apostolical manner did this faithful servant of Christ employ every moment he could procure, to fulfil the object and discharge the mission of a diligent pastor and faithful martyr. As a true specimen of his manner and sincerity, we have given the following Letter at large.

## LETTER XI.

To the same Lady.

THE mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen.

As your good ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so am I desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bind me. But Satan of late hath hindered me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's-Bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any about London, (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord hath now brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be enlightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness) where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my master, was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my master. I have been already a week in this coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment a while, in which God's will be done.

Pray (dear lady) that my faith faint not, which I praise God is now more lively with me than it hath been in times past, I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do faithfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear sister, I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross are acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. O, how do I rejoice, your ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Methinks I see you mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitation of this body. O how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in God's tabernacle! Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us; let us haste and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord, be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear mother) you need not burden yourself so much (as my last letters did signify) for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me; wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient, and do abound. God's peace be with you for ever. Out of my lord of London's coal-house, the last of October.

Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT.  
LET.



## LETTER XII.

*From Mr. PHILPOT to the said Lady, wherein he partly complains of the Dissimulation and Perjury of Englishmen falling again to the Pope, and partly expresses his Joy in his Afflictions.*

I Cannot but joy with you (my heartily beloved in Christ) of the fall of Sennacherib: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, "The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked." God make this joy perfect; for as concerning myself I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation, and that of such as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here or else in another world he will punish this gross infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which are the earnest-penny of that eternal kingdom which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul, his faithful witness, saith, "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. If we die with him, we shall live with him."

Wherefore (mine own dear bowels) praise God with me most intirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly chastisement into my crown of glory. O good God, what am I on whom he should shew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise and glory therefore, Amen.

This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. The sword which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also goes through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall eternally be comforted: God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for thee, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day I am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all; yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised therefore for ever and ever, and may he pardon mine unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth, to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are by them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God, they being mere foolishness and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto our God, (mine own dear helper) for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, nor for water.

Let us pray for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God. I trust my marriage-garment is ready. I will send you my examinations as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come. Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

JOHN PHILPOT.

## LETTER XIII.

*From Mr. PHILPOT to a Friend of his, Prisoner the same time in Newgate, wherein is debated and discussed the Matter or Question of the Baptizing of Infants.*

THE God of all light and understanding enlighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yesternight from you (dear brother, saint and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel) a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; which is the effect thereof. And before I do shew you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night: while musing on your letter I fell fast asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelation to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed as if I saw a great beautiful city, of the colour of azure and white, four-square, in a beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would wish others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and while they came and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ; and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven; and that according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now on earth: for as the prophet David saith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God." And the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement of the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world; as the prophet affirmeth, saying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house." And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace, which passeth all understanding; as it is written in the Psalms, as of joyful persons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end that under this figure I might have occasion to



move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and establishment of the truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments, and having with a greater fulness than we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the scriptures, according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all, that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church, for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the scripture. Let us not go about to shew in us (by following any private man's interpretation upon the word) another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves. For there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace will assuredly be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and blis, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yesterday's children, and are ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, and they shall teach thee, faith the Lord, and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For as St. Paul writeth, "If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God hath any such custom."

Hitherto I have shewed you (good brother) my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and especially answer to the same by scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, will prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath it's beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Arian sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others that were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the devil, to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can por-

fess their faith. For we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham. "I will set my covenant between thee and me, faith the Lord, and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." To which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws. For Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants, that is, of such as yet believed not, "Let the little ones come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any one of these little ones do perish." Also, "He that receiveth one of these little ones receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face." And what may be said more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father that the infants should perish; whereby we may gather, that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promises, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations; therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, All nations.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, "That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean." But God doth repute children among the faithful: therefore, they are faithful, except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he.

And without all doubt the apostles baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among which infants are reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul said, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize:" not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles: but children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing less than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign, and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded; who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water?

St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, "May any body forbid them to be baptized in water who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants, for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertaineth to infants.

None are received into the kingdom of heaven but such



such as God loveth, and which are indued with the Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants are beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and said, "Let the babes come unto me." Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past which brought their children unto the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and intirely beloved by him. But some will say, Why then did not Christ baptize them? Because it is written, Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

Moreover, circumcision in the old law was administered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be administered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, "By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ, being buried together with him through baptism." Behold, Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a christian man, which is done without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised, although the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people.

To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to administer the sacraments to them for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise; but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in the place of circumcision.

Item, The apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the old Testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism accordingly to circumcision, and baptized children because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women in the holy scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same.

Also the scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households; but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof; therefore we may conclude, the apostles did baptize infants or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the 17th of Genesis; and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither was it instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the scripture by the apostles themselves. Origen, upon the declaration of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, expounding the 6th chapter saith, "That the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles." St. Jerom maketh mention of the baptism of infants in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth, for this purpose, a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople, in his first book against Julian, chap. 2. and he again writing to St. Jerom, epist. 28. saith, "That St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing

the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized." The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his epistle to Fidus.

Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists, in the fourth book, chap. 23 and 24, saith, That the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

Cyril, upon Leviticus, chap. 8, approveth the baptism of children and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do alledge, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to shew how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned," &c.

To this I answer, That nothing is added to God's word by baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require, for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea." Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, Believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace, and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

And that children of faithful parents are sanctified, and that among such as do believe, is apparent in the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you alledge many places out of the Acts, proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the scripture that maketh as well for us. For in St. Mark we read that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise, "All power is given me (saith the Lord) in heaven and in earth," therefore going forth MATTHEWUSATE, that is, Disciple ye, (as I may express the signification of the word) or, Make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, "Baptizing them and teaching;" by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Now then, baptism goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles who never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither would they permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared to shew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true, which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught



taught. Neither here verily is signified who only are to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess that which is preached and taught, but infants cannot: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh nothing here of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism.

It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour must not eat." But who is so barbarous as to think hereby, that children should be famished?

The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up his true religion, unto all nations, unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that was 13 years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

Even so, faithful people who were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized; when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the children of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children in his house." In like manner we read in the Acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called Catechumeni, they were such as with our fore-fathers came from the Gentiles into the church, who being yet rude of faith, they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the same ancient fathers notwithstanding did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, nor in any other contrary to the judgment of Christ's primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the fulness of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas, most miserably torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear to you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days, might take an example by you to dissent from Christ's true church: I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it ever so bitter, be more sweet than this life: then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word,

that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace: to which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith.

JOHN PHILPOT.

Other letters were written by Mr. Philpot to divers persons, but these, as most principal, I have inserted. Amongst which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous gospeller (whose name in her writing doth not appear), who in defending and commending the quarrel of Mr. John Philpot, the famous and worthy martyr of Christ, was therefore troubled and brought before bishop Bonner. And therefore being appointed by the said bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for herself: indeed kept not her day with the bishop, but instead of her appearance, sent him this letter here following:

"Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds of England, that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have cloathed you with the wool; the best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished, the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have ye not healed, the broken have ye not bound together, the outcasts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye used them," Ezekiel xxxiv.

**F**ORASMUCH (my lord) as my business is such that I cannot come to your lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your lordship's demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod according to their promise, but to return home again another way. Now, my lord, I perceive your lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, who to destroy Christ killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more to you; for I see that you are set all in a rage like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat, and general slaughter-house to all the bishops in England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can: especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly; and therefore let them lie still and die with hunger. Therefore (my lord) I thought it good to tarry a while until your lordship's stomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows: but yet, my lord, it were a great deal more for your lordship's honour, if your chaplains



chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea, and when it is something fat, and fair liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choaked, and then your hunting will be greatly hindered, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my lord, that some of the butcherly curs came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning and grudging that they have not meat enough: therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and sisters, that have lain so long upon the butcherly stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more; therefore I perceive now that if I had come again according to my promise, your lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your hell-hounds, would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank God for my deliverance with continual songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse, and not doubting but your lordship would have done the like if you had been in my case.

Now concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle or rather cruel demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good Mr. Philpot, I will answer your lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall come thereof. Truly, my lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he was a very man of God, died a true martyr, and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his dear soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my lord, I do verily believe and know, that your lordship hath committed a most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him, and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather, cruel Cain, did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed, that your lordship doth believe, and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your lordship never did any thing in all your life that did so much redound to your lordship's dishonour, and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your diocese; nor had offended any of your lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say in all places where I come, that your lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellows, bite-sheep bishops I would say; yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your blood-thirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny and cruelty. Believe me, my lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call upon your name and say, Bloody Bonner is bishop of London; and every man hath it as perfectly upon his finger ends as his Pater-noster, how many have you for your part burned with fire, and famished in prison; they say the whole sum amounteth to forty persons within this three quarters of a year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your lordship loves your own honesty, which was lost long ago, you were best to cease from this cruel burning of true christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most; yea, even your old friends, the rankest papists that be. For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than an Heathen, Turk, or Infidel.

These are men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and

the common talk they have of your lordship; therefore I thought to be so bold with your lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for: finally, my lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pentleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious word contained therein is so notably therewith shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your lordship's Judases do set them to sale every where to fill your bags. I put your lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popish pedlary wares.

Thus have I (according to your lordship's command) shewed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of Hosts, who will shortly revenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of your poll-thorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great Antichrist of Rome. The measure of his iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore God will shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then your new made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with filth and dirt (saving your lordship's reverence I should have said first). Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion, the Lord send one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory, Amen.

I signify also unto your lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher shewed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday, against the dear servant of God, good Mr. Philpot, do greatly redound to your lordship's dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world to wonder at you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him, now he is dead? O viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil: full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things are the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder; for those whom you cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof, yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ; for he hath said, "Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my name's sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubtless great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and cease from shedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh was, seeing that with Judas you have sold and



betrayed your master. Take heed, my lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse than he did: for verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long; therefore say not but that a woman gave you warning, if you like to take it. And as for the obtaining your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go the way to work as you do; for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within these twelve months.

It is found very true what one holy doctor saith, The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand do rise from him. And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people shewed unto good Mr. Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adders' brood would have men imagine; but they worshipped God who gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, to the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword; yea, and rather than fail, to furnish men in prison again, as you have done already. It is reported by your own tormentors, that the six prisoners which you have in your prison, are put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my lord, this doth get you a foul name all about the country, and yet all will not help your lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same. For Zorobabel will be found no liar, who said, The truth shall have victory. You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the pricks; the Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought (as knoweth the Lord God), who of his great mercy shortly convert your lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you, Amen.

Your lordship's suppliant, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds, Anno 1556.

Then follows an account of seven martyrs who suffered together at London for the true faith of the gospel, on the 27th of January, 1555; whose names were, Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; Thomas Browne, John Judson, and John Went, artificers; Isabel Forster, a married woman; and Joan Lashford, alias Warne, a single woman, whose parents had suffered martyrdom in the preceding year. To say nothing of their various private examinations in the bishop's house, to which their replies were no way satisfactory; he caused to be prepared nine articles, and to be administered to them in his consistory, which, with their answers, were in substance to this effect. The first respected a catholic church, to which they all agreed, but John Judson and Thomas Brown added, that the church of England, as then used, was no part of that church. The second of the seven sacraments was denied by all of them, who acknowledged but two; and John Went and Judson farther asserted, that the sacrament of the altar, as then used, was an idol, and no sacrament. The third, relative to their baptism in the faith of the catholic church, was admitted as done in the faith of Christ, and the church then taught. The fourth had relation to a departure from their faith, which they asserted they had not; but John Went observed his dislike of the sacrament of the altar seven years before, and John Judson and Isabel Forster to the like effect. The fifth charged them with swerving from the catholic faith, which they denied, as they had only swerved from the church of Rome. To the sixth, on their being reconciled to the unity of the church, they were not averse, but could not be reconciled to the church of Rome. The seventh related to the sacrament of the altar and the real presence, which last they denied. The eighth stated their being delivered over to him for contumacy, which they severally explained; and the ninth, which related to the truth of

the premises, was admitted, as they had respectively answered.

*The History of the Rev. THOMAS WHITTLE, Martyr.*

Having served a parish in Essex, he had been induced to sign a recantation of what he had taught in king Edward's days. After being expelled from this place, he for some time preached as an itinerant, until he was apprehended by a gaping sycophant with the hope of reward and promotion; who first brought him as a prisoner to the bishop of Winchester, and afterwards to the bishop of London. The latter used him very rudely; but, after several conferences, committed him to the care of Dr. Harpsfield, whilst he retired to Fulham. In these intervals he had been found in the coal-house by Mr. Philpot, of whom an account has been lately given; and when Dr. Harpsfield came to him, instead of endeavouring by arguments to convince him, a bill of submission was tendered to him, which his afflictions pressed him to sign. But this had been no sooner done, than he felt much sorrow and remorse for such an act; for as he says, in his own narrative, his mind and conscience told him by God's word, that he had done wrong. On which he makes this important reflection:

Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands take good heed and cleave fast to Christ: for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtil means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith, "A righteous man, though he fall, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." For my own part, I have felt my infirmities, and yet I found God's present help and comfort in time of need, I thank him therefore.

The night after I had subscribed I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil counsel and advice had done amiss. And both with disquietude of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly; lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me: and therefore I pray you, Mr. Harpsfield, (said I) let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me; his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, which shall at the last day stand at his right-hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ, and I by his grace am very willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against Antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

By me THOMAS WHITTLE, Minister.  
Concerning

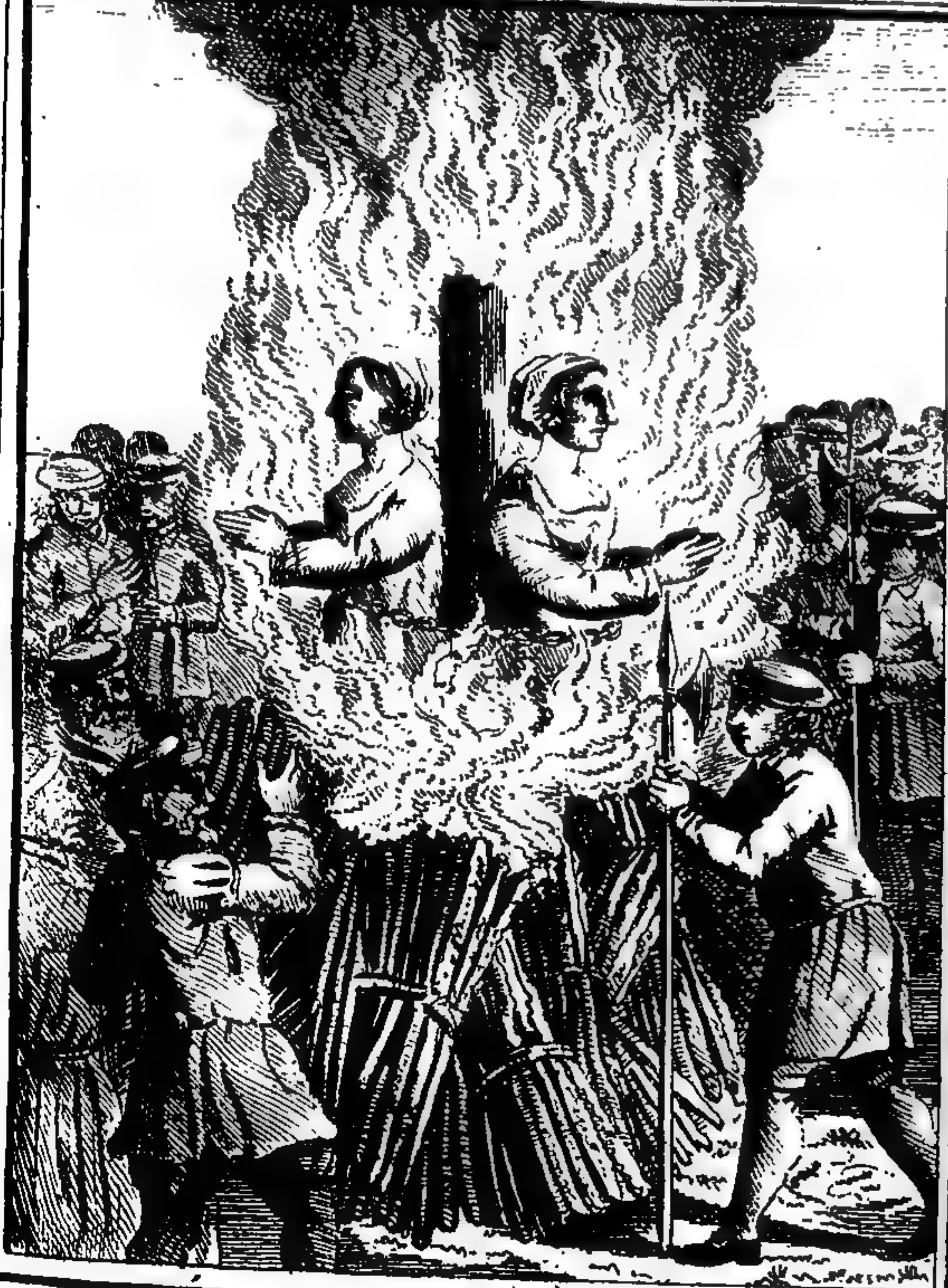




*The Burning of T. Whittle, B. Green, I. Tutton, I. Went, I. Brown, Isabella Foster, & Joan Warne, in Smithfield.*



*The Burning of In<sup>o</sup>. Lomas, A. Albright, C. Catmer, A. Snoth, and I. Sole, at Canterbury.*



*The Burning of Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunchfield, at Ipswich.*



*The Burning of Lytster, Mace, Spencer, Joyne, Nichols & Hammond at Canterbury.*



Concerning the troubled mind of this good man, and rearing his name out of the bill, a report thereof was made to the bishop by Mr. Harpsfield and Robert Johnson, Register.

*The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Mr. THOMAS WHITTLE.*

**A**T his last examination before the bishop upon the 14th day of January, 1556, bishop Bonner, with others sitting in his consistory in the afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: Because you be a priest (said he) as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the right and form of the catholic church, you shall not think but I will administer justice as well unto you as unto others. And then the said Bonner, in further communication, did charge him, that where in times past he said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying, that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again, said, That at such a time as he so said mass, he was then ignorant, &c. adding that the elevation of the sacrament at the mass, giveth occasion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

After this the bishop making haste to the articles came to this, That thou wast in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church.

To this Whittle replied, I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forsake the church of Rome. And you, my lord, do call these heresies which are no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies, and you ground yourself upon that religion which is not agreeable to God's word, &c.

Thomas Whittle was again admonished, and with persuasions intreated by the bishop; who because he would not agree unto the same, the bishop forthwith proceeded first to his degradation. The order and manner of which their popish and most vain degradation, may be seen before in the history of bishop Hooper.

Then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him, after their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said unto them, Paul and Titus had not so much to do with their priests and bishops. And farther, speaking to the bishop, he said unto him, My lord, your religion standeth most with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ.

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed formal proceedings, tried him yet again with words, rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion. Who then refusing so to do, said, As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word.

The bishop then asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar?

Whittle answered and said, It is not used according to Christ's institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also because it is administered but in one kind to the lay-people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Farther, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by scripture.

Well, said Bonner, my lords here and other learned men have shewed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the secular power, &c. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable in what he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so in a few days after brought to the fire with the other six above-named, sealing up the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the truth.

Mr. Whittle wrote several letters during his confinement. Letter I. is addressed to Mr. J. Careless, pri-

soner at the same time; and Letter II. to his friend John Went and other prisoners.

LETTER III.

*From Mr. WHITTLE to all the true Professors and Lovers of GOD's Holy Gospel, within the City of London.*

**D**EARLY beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's passions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of these words of St. Peter I gather more especially these four notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christ's church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole world through persecution, that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a church and people upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death, shall be able to separate them from the love of him. And thus was Abraham tried, and Job tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be so stedfast and strong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he assisted Lot and delivered him out of his enemy's hands; Joseph out of the hands of his brethren, and out of prison; Paul from his enemies in Damascus, and the apostles out of the stocks and prison.

These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen and John Baptist, with many others by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good precedents and examples to us and all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause: as St. James saith, Take, my brethren (saith he) the prophets for an example of suffering adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the name of the Lord: behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrisy or ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with Peter, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with David, Psal. vi. "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed." Abide the trial (dear friends), that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive greater reward in heaven hereafter.

As ye are called christians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear; suffer with him and for his gospel's sake, rather than deny him or defile your faith and conscience with false worshipping of Romish religion.

Take up your cross (my hearts) now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to Jerusalem amongst the bishops, priests, and rulers, if God call you thereto, and they will anon send you to Calvary: from whence (dying in the cause of the gospel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives) your souls (I warrant you) through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and that body shall come after at the last day, and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. O blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake as Christ's people in this Jewish England now doth, for theirs is



the kingdom of heaven. O my beloved, set your minds on this kingdom, where Christ our head and king is; considering that as the brute beast looketh downwards with the face towards the earth; so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, because his conversation should be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul saith, Coloss. iii. Set your mind on things that are above, where Christ is. And again he saith, Phil. iii. Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body. O the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless unto his eternal kingdom through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

The second thing that I note in the aforesaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is: for which of the prophets were not persecuted, with Christ and his apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's sake? Cain killed Abel, Isaac was persecuted of Ishmael, Jacob was hated of Esau, Joseph was imprisoned and set in the stocks, the prophet Isaiah was cut in two with a saw, Jeremiah was stoned, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was sore persecuted, Eleazar, and the woman with her seven sons, were cruelly killed. What Christ and the apostles suffered is well known. So that by many tribulations (as Paul saith, Acts xiv.) we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Christ and his apostles, suffered such afflictions not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ.

This is the ordinance of God (my friends), this is the high way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life, as Christ saith, John v. He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life; and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life. Let us never fear death, which is killed by Christ, but believe in him, and live for ever, as St. Paul saith, Rom. viii. There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh but after the spirit. And again, Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, which hath given us the victory through Jesus Christ.

Besides this, ye have seen, and daily do see, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been shed in the gospel's cause in this sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good bishop Ridley, who like a shepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his sheep. Good St. Paul saith, Heb. xiii. Remember them that have spoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their conversation, and follow their faith.

The devil ever stirreth up false teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our souls with the false doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the silly carcasses of the saints, because they will not deny nor dissemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confess a dead breadly Christ, and honour the same as Christ, God and man, contrary to God's commandment, Exod. xx.

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his own just damnation, would have all mankind to be partakers with him of the same; such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ, with subtil temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his servants the bishops and pharisees to kill his body, whereby notwithstanding the devil lost his title and interest which he had to man's soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the devil, death and hell, to immortality and life everlasting: and so when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Christ, he lost all: and so shall he do in us,

if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end. God grant it for his mercy's sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Amen.

Wherefore (my hearty beloved brethren and sisters) be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Resist the devil, and he will (as St. James saith) flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the pharisees. Touch not pitch lest ye be defiled therewith. Eat no swine's flesh, for it is against the law; I mean, defile not yourselves either inwardly or outwardly with this false and wicked religion of Antichrist: for it is nothing else but pitch and swine's flesh. Beware of the beast's mark, lest ye drink of the cup of God's wrath. If God hath given you knowledge and faith, dissemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as St. John biddeth you, Rev. xviii. and touch no unclean thing, but separate yourselves from the company of the ungodly, as St. Paul commandeth you. Whatsoever you have done amiss heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plentiful redemption.

The third thing and note which I gather out of the aforesaid words of Peter, is this, that he saith, Rejoice, because ye are partakers of Christ's passion. Our sufferings (my well beloved) are Christ's sufferings, and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himself, as he said to St. Paul, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoice in our sufferings, as St. Paul writeth, which we suffer with Christ, and one with another, as St. Peter said, and to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit, his elect must suffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghost, and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness' sake, according to his promise. And therefore I say (my brethren) rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, rejoice. Let us rejoice in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to the world.

And why should we so greatly rejoice in the cross of Christ, which we now suffer? Because (saith St. Peter) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment when we shall be raised again; and then shall they that have sown in tears reap in joy, as Christ saith, Blessed are they that weep here, for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's sake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised (which joy is so great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think, where we shall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the celestial Jerusalem, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as Paul saith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the spirits and souls of all faithful and just men), rejoice and be glad: and seeing ye be called to so great glory, see that you make your election and vocation sure by good works, and especially by suffering adversity for the gospel's sake: for it is given us of God, saith St. Paul, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me, that I may end my course with joy. Have brotherly love amongst yourselves, which is a token that ye be Christ's disciples. Edify and comfort one another in the word



of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, Amen. For your liberality and kindness shewed upon the prisoners and afflicted people of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always, Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the gospel,

THOMAS WHITTLE.

The remaining letters are to the same purport, addressed to other godly and persecuted brethren.

#### HISTORY of the APPREHENSION, SUFFERINGS, &c. of Mr. BARTLET GREEN.

**A**FTER the martyrdom of Mr. Whittle, Bartlet Green the next day was likewise condemned. Mr. Green was of a good house, and had such parents, as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this their child in the same. After some entrance in other inferior schools, he was sent to the university of Oxford; where through exercise and diligent study he so profited, that in a short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry profane sciences, as also now in his last years unto the godly understanding of divinity. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at first an utter enemy, until such time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity-lecture in the same university, so that thereby he saw the true light of Christ's gospel.

When he was called by his friends from the university, he was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm; he continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the gospel; wherein also he greatly profited. For the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, Mr. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth and the gospel of Christ) come home again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But his persuasions took small effect in his faithful heart. He was a man beloved of all men (except the papists, who love none that love the truth), and so he well deserved: for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith, as appeareth, amongst others, by his friendly dealing with Mr. Christopher Goodman, at that time a poor exile beyond the seas. With whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward: who now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget; consequently his letters, by the apprehension of the bearer, fell into the hands of the king and queen's council. Who, at their convenient leisure, perused the whole number; in the contents whereof (amongst other news and private matters) they found these words, The queen is not yet dead. Which words were only written as an answer, to certify Mr. Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit (to some of the council) they seemed very heinous words, but not being able to prove them treasonable, they then examined him upon his faith in religion, and his answers being such as little pleased them after they had detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London as elsewhere, they sent him to Bonner, bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law, as appeareth by their letters sent to the bishop, with the said prisoner also: wherein it may appear that Sir John Bourne (then secretary to the

queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea and an enticer of the council: who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness, if it be his good pleasure, and give all such men true repentance, Amen.

#### A LETTER

Of BARTLET GREEN, written to JOHN PHILPOT, containing, besides other particular Matters betwixt him and Mr. PHILPOT, a brief Rehearsal of his Conferences with Bishop BONNER and others, at his first coming before them.

**T**HAT which was wanting in task (through my default) at your being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at length getting some opportunity and leisure. The 17th day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock in the afternoon, I was presented before my lord of London, and other two bishops, Mr. Deane, Mr. Roper, Mr. Welch, Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and two or three others, all sitting at one table. There were present Dr. Dale, Mr. George Mordaunt, Mr. Dee. Then after the bishop of London had read unto himself the letter that came from the council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was, to hear my examination, whereunto he had authority by the council, and had provided Mr. Welch and another, whose name I know not, (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet desired he my lord, that I might hear the council's letters) to be there if any matters of the common law arise, to discuss them, he intreated my lord to determine all controversies of scriptures; and for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale should take on them.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of my imprisonment: I said, that the occasion of my apprehension was a letter which I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such news as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of questions scattered abroad. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy to the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet: but, after the commissioners had received my submission, I heard nothing thereof. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could be true witnesses, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf, so refused I no punishment, if they of their consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those questions. But my lord affirming that there was another cause of my imprisonment, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written somewhat against the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

Then I desired his lordship to be good unto me, trusting that he would not put answer to new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I stood long in that, Mr. Welch answered, that it was procured that I should so do, right well. For albeit I were imprisoned for treason, if during the time of my confinement I had maintained heresy, that were no sufficient allegation against the ordinary; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take away the former fault. Then my lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for heresy, and the other gentlemen saying, that doubtless I was discharged of my former matter; my desire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accusers.

Then Dr. Chedsey was sent for, who reported, that in the presence of Mr. Mosley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass, and that I affirmed their church was the church of Antichrist.

Is not this true? said my lord. I said, Yea. Will you continue therein? said he. Yea, said I. Wilt thou then maintain it by learning? said he. Therein, quoth I, I should shew myself to have little wit, knowing



mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controversy against so many grave and learned men. But my conscience was satisfied in the truth, which was sufficient to my salvation.

Conscience! said Mr. Roper, so shall every Jew and Turk be saved.

We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in myself, through cold and open air, much dulness of wit and memory. At length I was asked what conscience was: and I said, the certifying of the truth.

With that Mr. Welch rose up, desiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another chamber, said that he was sorry for my trouble, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled that I being a young man, would stand against all the learned men of the realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Christ's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning; I must not think mine own wit better than all men's, but I should believe them that were learned. I promise you (quoth he) I have read all Peter Martyr's book, and Cranmer's, and all the rest of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as the bishop of Winchester, &c. and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those which at any time severed from this unity, were answered and answered again. This was the sum of his tale, which lacked both wit and eloquence.

Mr. Green. Forasmuch as it pleaseth your mastership to use me so familiarly (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal) I shall open my mind freely unto you, desiring you to take it in good part. I consider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would to God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chuseth the weak of the world that they may confound the strong; neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: For, I will have compassion, saith he, on whom I will shew mercy. There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wife or foolish, fisher or basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he list, James i. Neither do I think myself only to have the truth, but stedfastly believe that Christ hath his spouse, the catholic and universal church, dispersed in many realms where it pleaseth him, the Spirit blowing where it listeth: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the person and quality of any one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myself to be a member, trusting to be saved by the faith that is taught in the same. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controversy. And the true marks of Christ's church are the true preaching of his word, and administering of his sacraments. These marks were sealed by the apostles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at length they were, through the wickedness of men and the devil, almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myself, I call God to witness, I have no hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small; but I was persuaded thereto by him, as by an instrument, that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I sought it of him by continual prayer with tears.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, is not needful for me to speak: but one thing, I say, I wish of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many bishops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing-stock, but I value it not a rush; for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him: beside that, I care not for man's pleasure or displeasure.

Mr. Welch. No, Mr. Green, said he, think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your soul's health, as for their own. But,

alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers? Or how can you think yourself to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?

Green. Sir, I have no authority to judge any man; nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howsoever our learned men here judge of me.

Welch. Why, then, do you suppose your own wit and learning better than all their's? If you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall resort unto you, that shall persuade you by the scriptures and doctors.

Green. Sir, God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things, saving my faith: but concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly persuaded, I cannot submit myself to learn, unless it be, as your mastership said, that I perused books on both sides. For so might I make myself an indifferent judge; otherwise I may be seduced.

And here we had a long discourse of the church, wherein his learning and wit was much above mine: but in the end I told him I was persuaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

Welch. Why then, what shall I report to my lord?

Green. Even as it pleaseth you; or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both sides.

So he going in, the bishops (being risen and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He answered, In faith, my lord, he will be glad to learn. Which words when they were spoken, lest they should mistake his meaning and mine, I said, Yea, my lord, so that I have books on both sides, as Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books, and such others. Well, said my lord, I will satisfy thy mind therein also: and they were all in great hopes, that shortly I should become a good catholic, as they call it.

Then I was brought into my lord's inner chamber (where you were) and there was put in a chamber with Mr. Dee, who treated me very friendly. That night I supped at my lord's table, and lay with Mr. Dee in the chamber you did see. On the morrow I was served at dinner from my lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentleman; where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderfully well. Yea, to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his lordship's house: for my lodgings and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better case so long together, and have found so much gentleness of my lord and his chaplains, and other servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this good cheer was often powdered with unsavoury sauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations.

For shortly after supper, the first Monday at night, I was had into my lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these heresies: I said, I was persuaded thereto by the scriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alledged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, while he treated there on that place of the Lord's supper for a month together. But then my lord enforced the plainness of Christ's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the words: but I having no lust to those matters, would have alledged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Oecolampadius: nevertheless, when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense by the manner of speaking, by the circumstance, and by conference of other places of the scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he shewed them (they seeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

Christ affirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true.

Therefore,



Therefore, The words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, *Panis est corpus Christi*, or *Corpus Christi est panis*, is neither *Identica* nor *Accidentalis*, nor *Essentialis prædication*. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the same sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it serve to say, that it was not bread that he affirmed to be his body, and that for two causes.

For whatsoever he shewed, that was bread, for nought else was seen.

But that which he shewed he affirmed to be his body.

The second reason is, For that it was not changed before, seeing *Benedixit*, is *Gratias egit*, or else Christ affirmed no true proposition, and you are without authority.

In the end of this letter there were noted these sentences following, collected for confirmation of his former assertions, viz.

*Eadem locutio poculi*, that is, The phrase is used and spoken upon the cup.

*Dicitur postea panis*. It is called bread in the same place afterwards.

*Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem*, that is, By the same reason as it may be denied to the bread, it may be denied to be the body.

*Ascendit in cælum*, that is, His body ascended into heaven.

*Corpore nobis factus est similis in omnibus post nativitatem. At nostrum corpus non potest esse in duobus locis*. Therefore, &c. In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (sin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once: therefore, neither his.

*Discipuli non stupebant*, &c. His disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

#### The last Examination and Condemnation of Mr. GREEN.

**T**HUS, as it seemeth, for this time they left off. But not long after the bishop perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such, as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains could by the scriptures refute, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument, I assure you, which without the special grace of our God to flesh is insupportable. And therefore using law as a cloak of his tyranny, the 28th day of November, the said bishop examined him upon certain points of christian religion. Whereunto when he had answered, the bishop appointed the register (as their most common manner is) there to draw out an order of confession: which being afterwards read unto Green, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions: the tenor whereof here ensueth.

#### The Confession of BARTLET GREEN.

**B**ARTLET GREEN, born in the city of London, in the parish of Basing-hall, of the diocese of London, and of the age of 25 years, being examined in the bishop's palace the 27th day of November, Anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz. That neither in the time of king Edward, after the mass by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said queen's majesty, he the said Bartlet, two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, sometime reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline, and with one Rimneger, Master of Arts, of Magdalen college, in Oxford: and this examine also saith, that at both the said communions, he and the other before named,

did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread, and sacramental wine, which he saith were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of communion.

In which receiving and using, this examine saith, that the others aforementioned did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examine saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and administered in this church of England, because he saith, that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same: and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, this examine saith, that he heretofore during the said reign, hath refused, and now doth refuse to receive the same, as is now used in this church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also ministered in both kinds; and besides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there administered is to be adored, as the real and true body of Christ. And furthermore this examine saith, that during the said reign he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

BARTLET GREEN.

Many other conferences and examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (seeing his steadiness of faith to be such, against which neither their threatenings, nor yet their flattering promises could prevail) the 15th day of January the bishop caused him with the rest before mentioned, to be brought into the consistory of St. Paul's; where being set in his judgment seat, accompanied by Mr. Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then calling for Bartlet Green, began with these, or the like words:

Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me, that I go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is; that whereas he had been a long time confined in the tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles. Then he read the articles before mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joan Lashford, Bartlet Green.

But when Mr. Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently, and therefore the bishop proceeding, said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him.

Whereunto Green answered, and said, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them.

Upon which words, Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, stood up, and marvelling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors.

Green then said, that he was content to stand to the doctors' judgment.

I will then propound unto you (said Fecknam) the doctors, and interpret them yourself. So he alledged a place



place of Chrysostom, *Ad popul. Antioch.* which was this: *Elias ascendens melotam suam post se reliquit: Christus vero ascendens carnem suam assumpsit & eandem post se reliquit.* "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Christ ascending up took his flesh, and also left it behind him." And he demanded of Green how he understood the place.

Then Green desired him that he would confer the doctor's sayings together, and therefore alledged the same doctor again, writing upon 1 Cor. x. "Is not the bread which we bless the communication of the Lord's body?" Whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and trial were between them.

At last Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion. For, Mr. Green, said he, you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house, and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine.

And Green confessed the same.

Then Fecknam said, that Green told him the said Peter Martyr was a papist at his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine was that he professed, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so inconstant a man as Peter Martyr, who perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith.

Green said, that he grounded not his faith upon Peter Martyr nor any other, nor did believe so because Peter Martyr believed the same; but because he had heard the scriptures, and the doctors of the church, truly and wholesomely expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said Peter Martyr say often, that he had not, while he was a papist, read Chrysostom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the scripture. Which thing (said Green) if you, my lord, would do, I do not doubt but God would open your eyes, and shew you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that faith, "Ask, and it shall be given to you; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," &c.

Then Fecknam asked him what he thought of this article, The holy catholic church.

And Green answered, that he did believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world.

Then Fecknam said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church: and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church.

Green answered, that this church did agree in verity with the true doctrine of Christ, and was known by the true administration of his sacraments.

Whereupon Fecknam said, that he would prove the church whereof he was to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controversy in their religion. For, said he, Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or sayings, nor Oecolampadius with Cirolostadius, nor Carlostadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, &c. for Luther, writing upon the sacrament of the altar, said, that in this bread, or under this bread we receive the body of the Lord. Zuinglius controuling him, said, Under the sign of the bread we receive the body of the Lord. And the other controuled him in like case.

Then Mr. Green proved their opinions of the sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed, and though their words did not sound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Then Fecknam desired him that he would not so wilfully cast himself away, but to be rather conformable to reason, and that my lord bishop there present would be good unto him, and grant him respite for a

fortnight or three weeks, and that he should chuse any learned man whom he would, and should go with him home to his house.

Then bishop Bonner said, that he was a proud and an obstinate boy; and therefore he desired Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more Mr. Green: for (said he) you ought not to call an heretic master.

After this Dr. Pendleton alledged to him this text out of the xxii of Luke, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." Here, said he, you must confess your opinion to be false, else you must say that Christ was a liar: for Christ said, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." If Christ did eat no more the bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar: for he did eat bread after with his disciples, before he ascended. But if you say he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the scriptures, nor with good reason.

Then Green answered, and said, that this was spoken by an anticipation, as one of their own bishops (who is now dead) did say.

Then Dr. Pendleton said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor no sufficient answer for him in this case: for, said he, it is well known that that bishop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good christian man.

To which words Green said, I do not call him to witness in this case, as though he were a sufficient man to prove my saying to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him against you, as Paul did the scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, against themselves, To the unknown God.

These, with many other words, were between them, which I pass over, because it were too long to stand upon recital of every thing. Last of all the bishop asked him if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. But, my lord, said he, in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such times as bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience; yea, insomuch that St. Augustine wrote, and commanded that no man should be put to death for his opinion.

Then Bonner said, that when Augustine saw what inconveniences followed that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies.

But, said Green, he ordered not to put them to death.

He said, punish them, quoth Bonner.

Yea, said Green, but not put them to death.

That they should be punished, quoth Bonner, again.

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to his Romish mother. Which when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate.

And as he was going thither, he met two gentlemen, his special friends, minding alike to comfort this their persecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said, Ah, my dear friends, is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his most quiet peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always much in godly meditations, until the 28th day of January, when he with his other before-mentioned brethren, endured cheerfully the torments of the fire.

There were divers letters and other works of this servant of God, particularly notes and extracts in Latin out of the doctors and other authors, for



for his memory, whereby is declared how studious he was in the searching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profession was the temporal law. Where I would to God he were not among the lawyers such a phenix, that he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witnesses do daily spring up of the same profession, to such forwardness and godly zeal, that some hope already appeareth shortly to come to pass, that this godly phenix shall not fly alone. These aforesaid notes and gatherings of his out of the doctors, were taken from him by bishop Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but the last of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterwards burned with other martyrs the 27th of the same month.

Of the other five martyrs, who suffered with Whittle and Green, we have only to add to what has been said on the nine articles, that Thomas Brown, a native of Histon parish in Ely diocese, was a married man, and then lived in St. Bride's parish in Fleet-street, London, aged 37, who was presented for not coming to his parish church. On his final examination, Jan. 15, he avowed his assertion that bishop Bonner was a blood-sucker; and on being interrogated again about the articles and forsaking heresy, he called on the bishop to prove that his opinions were heresies, and that done, he would relinquish them. But this impossibility was not even attempted; and when promises and allurements of pardon had no better effect, sentence of condemnation was passed, and he was committed to the sheriffs.

John Tudson also was condemned on the same day. He was a native of Ipswich in Suffolk, but then resided in London in the parish of St. Mary Botolph; and before his condemnation, was interrogated in a similar manner, and similar alluring promises made, but to no purpose.

John Went, aged 27 years, a native of Langham in Essex, within the diocese of London, was consigned by Dr. Story to the bishop, after being examined on the sacrament of the altar. He was treated exactly in the same way, and the same allurements held out, with no better effect; on which he was condemned to suffer with the rest, and committed to the custody of the sheriffs.

Isabel Foster, the wife of John Foster, cutler in St. Bride's parish, Fleet Street, London, but a native of Grafestock in Carlisle diocese, aged 55, was imprisoned for absenting herself from their church, after various examinations, was brought to her final one on the same 15th of Jan. To the usual interrogatories she resolutely answered, that she would not go from her former answers; and, on her persisting therein, was in like manner condemned.

Joan Lashford, alias Warne, a native of Little St. Allhallows in Thames Street, London, who had ministered to the wants of her father and mother in prison, being then about 20 years of age, was first imprisoned, on suspicion of her religion, in the Poultry Compter for five weeks, and afterwards in Newgate for some months. On her examinations she was very pointed against the popish doctrines of the sacrament of the altar, confession, and absolution; and was sentenced to suffer with the rest.

*The History of five Martyrs who were burnt at Canterbury, at two Stakes in one Fire.*

THESE five martyrs suffered for the truth of the gospel at Canterbury on the 31st day of January, being one man, and four women, whose names and examinations here follow:

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenderden, a young man; Anne Albright; Joan Catmer, of the parish of

Hith, wife of George Catmer, burned before; Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden; Joan Sole, wife, of the parish of Horton.

They were all interrogated in the same way as the seven whom we have just noted; on confession and the sacrament, on the 17th of January, but persisting in their doctrines, with many severe remarks on the doctrines and practices of the papists, they were all condemned the next day.

These five persons were burnt at two stakes in one fire, together at Canterbury, on the 31st of January following; who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing psalms. Whereat the good knight, sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight.

The judges and other assistants which sat upon her and the other four before mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker, the notary.

*The History of the Reverend Pastor and Prelate, THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, burnt at Oxford, for the Confession of Christ's true Doctrine, under Queen MARY, March 21, 1556.*

CONCERNING the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the original cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopal dignity, who by many hath been thought to have procured the same by friendship only, and by some others esteemed unworthy of so high a vocation: it is first therefore to be noted and considered, that the same Thomas Cranmer, coming of an ancient parentage, from the conquest to be deduced, and continuing since in the name and family of a gentleman, was born in a village called Arselacton, in Northamptonshire; of whose said name and family there remaineth at this day the manor and mansion-house in Lincolnshire, called Cranmer-hall, &c. sometime the heritage of the said stock and family. He being from his infancy kept at school, and carefully brought up, from school he was sent unto the university of Cambridge, and there prospering in good knowledge among the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus-college in Cambridge. And so being master of arts, and fellow of the same college, he married a gentleman's daughter, by which he lost and gave over his fellowship, and became a reader in Buckingham-college; and because he would with more diligence apply himself to his office of reading, he placed his said wife in an inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the woman of the house being a relation of her's. By reason whereof, and his often going to see his wife in that inn, he was much noticed by some popish merchants: on this arose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, reporting abroad every where, that he was but an ostler, and therefore deficient in all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter present: while Mr. Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham-college, his wife died in child-bed. After whose death the masters and fellows of Jesus-college, desirous again of their old companion, namely, for his eminent learning, chose him again fellow of the same college. Where he remaining at his study, became in a few years after the reader of the divinity lecture in the same college, and in such universal estimation and reputation with the whole university, that when doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the most learned men) to examine such as yearly proceed in commencement, either bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whose approbation the whole university licensed them to proceed unto their degree, and again by whose non-approbation the university



university also rejected them for a time to proceed, until they were better furnished with knowledge.

Now, Dr. Cranmer, ever favouring the knowledge of the scripture, would never permit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially versed in the history of the bible; by means whereof certain friars and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors, without regard had to the authority of the scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was greatly, for that his severe examination, by the religious sort much hated, and had in great indignation; and yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them thus compelled to study the scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; insomuch that when they became doctors of divinity, they could not too much extol and commend Dr. Cranmer's goodness towards them, who for a time had put them back, to initiate themselves in better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. Barret, a white friar, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was handled after that manner, giving him no less commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apish and popish sort of ignorant priests may well understand, that this his exercise, kind of life, and vocation, was not altogether ostler-like.

Well, to proceed; as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, he was very much solicited by Dr. Capon, to be one of the fellows in the foundation of cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxford, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding he foresaw that which after happened, to the utter confusion of many well-affected learned men there, without consideration (because man's glory was there more sought for than God's), he stood the danger of the said indignation, which turned out more prosperously unto him within a few years after than he expected. While he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weighty cause of king Henry the Eighth's divorce with the lady Katherine Dowager of Spain, came into question; which being many ways for the space of two or three years amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men, diversly disputed and debated, it came to pass that the said Dr. Cranmer, on account of the plague being in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham-Abbey, to one Mr. Cressley's house there, whose wife was a relation of the said Dr. Cranmer. He had two sons of the said Mr. Cressley with him at Cambridge as his pupils; he continued at Waltham-Cross, at the house of the said Mr. Cressley, with the said two children, during the summer-time while the plague reigned.

During this summer cardinal Campeius and cardinal Wolsey, being in commission from the pope, to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between the king and the queen, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the summer-time until the month of August in hearing the said cause in controversy debated. When August was come, the said cardinals little minding to proceed to give sentence, took occasion to finish their commission, and to determine no further therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time: which sudden stoppage and giving up of the said commission by both the cardinals, unknown to the king, so much enraged him, that he taking it as a mock at the cardinals hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to dispatch immediately home to Rome cardinal Campeius: and in haste removed himself to Waltham for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich: by this means it happened that the harbingers, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, secretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, (who were the chief furtherers, preferers, and defenders on the king's behalf in the said cause) to lodge in the house of the said Mr. Cressley, where Dr. Cranmer also lodged and resided. When supper-time came, the three doctors met together; Dr. Stephen Gardiner, and Dr. Foxe were very much surprised at Dr. Cranmer's being there. He declared the cause, namely, because the plague was in Cambridge: as they were old acquaint-

tance, the secretary and the almoner very well entertained Dr. Cranmer, intending to understand his opinion concerning the great business they had in hand. And as this good occasion served, while they were at supper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the king's cause, requesting him to give his judgment and opinion of what he thought therein.

Wherefore Dr. Cranmer answered, That he could say little to the matter, as he had not studied or looked for it. Notwithstanding he said, that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. It were better, as I think, said Dr. Cranmer, that the question, Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no? were discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year by unnecessary delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unsettled by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the scripture will soon declare, make open and manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation, the authority whereof will soon compel any judge to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might that way have made an end of this matter long since. When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two liked well his device, and wished they had proceeded so before, and thereupon conceived some matter of council to instruct the king with, who was then thinking to send to Rome again for a new commission.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, recollecting in himself how he had been used by the cardinals, in thus deferring his cause, his mind was very uneasy, and desirous to see an end of this long and tedious suit, he called unto him the two principal managers of his cause, namely, Dr. Gardiner, and Dr. Foxe. What now, my masters, said the king, shall we do in this infinite cause of mine? I see there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

When the king had declared somewhat of his mind herein, Dr. Foxe, the almoner, said to the king, we trust that there shall be better ways devised for your majesty than to send any more to Rome in your highness's cause, which by chance was put into our heads last night at Waltham. The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by a better or more expeditious method of proceeding in our said cause? Then said Dr. Foxe, We happened to lodge last night at one Mr. Cressley's house in Waltham, your highness being there, where we met with an old acquaintance of our's, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highness's cause, he thought that the best way was, first to instruct and quiet your majesty's conscience by trying your majesty's question by the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence. With this report the secretary was displeased with the almoner, because they did not take the glory of this invention to themselves. And when the secretary endeavoured by colourable words to make it appear to the king that it was a project of their own devising, the king immediately cried out, Where is this Dr. Cranmer, is he still at Waltham? They answered, that they left him there. Then, said the king, I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for immediately. I perceive (said the king) that that man hath found out the true mode of proceeding. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been a great saving of money to me, and extricated me out of much disquietude.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was sent for, but having removed from Waltham to Cambridge, was going to see his friends in Nottinghamshire, when the post overtook him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that he through their means was thus troubled, and brought thither to be encumbered in a matter which he had not studied, but



was intirely unacquainted with: and therefore intreated they would instantly go and make his excuse in such a manner that he might be dispatched home again, and not be required to come into the king's presence. They promised; and took the matter upon themselves to do, if by any means they could accomplish it. But all was in vain; for the more they excused Dr. Cranmer's absence, the king insisted to have him brought into his presence out of hand, so that no excuse serving, he was obliged immediately to wait on the king at court, whom the gentle prince benignly received, demanded his name, and said unto him, Were you not at Waltham at such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner? Dr. Cranmer confessing the same, the king said again, Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question after this sort? repeating the manner and order thereof. That is right true, if it please your highness, quoth Dr. Cranmer. Well, (said the king) I well perceive that you have the right sense of this matter. You must understand that I have been long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Mr. Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless because you are a subject, I charge and command you (all your other business and affairs set apart) to take some pains to see this my cause furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God: for otherwise there never was any other cause to move me to seek any such extremity. Never was there a prince had a more gentle, a more obedient loving companion and wife than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy a woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen; assuring you that for the singular virtues wherewith she is indued, besides the consideration of her noble family, I would be right well contented still to remain with her, if so be it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God. And thus highly commending her many and amiable qualities, the king further said, I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as in you lieth, that you will for your part forward this matter for the discharging of both our consciences.

Dr. Cranmer unwilling by himself to meddle in so weighty an affair, besought the king's highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. You speak well, said the king, and I am content therewith. But nevertheless, I will have you particularly to write your mind thereon. And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, said, I pray you, my lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham-Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him want neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study. And thus after the king's departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire unto his house, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the king's question: adding to the same, besides the authorities of the scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, but also his own opinion, which was this, That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the scripture. When Dr. Cranmer had written this book, and committed it unto the king, the king said unto him, Will you stand to this that you have here written before the bishop of Rome? That I will do, by God's grace, quoth Dr. Cranmer, if your majesty will send me thither. Indeed, said the king, I will send you unto him in a sure ambassage.

And thus by means of Dr. Cranmer's handling of this matter with the king, not only certain learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom, to dispute the question, but also the same being by commission disputed by the divines in both the

universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, That no such matrimony was by the word of God lawful.

Whereupon a solemn ambassage was then prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome, then being at Bonony, wherein went the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

And when the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop sitting on high in his cloth of state, and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, offering, as it were, his foot to be kissed by the ambassadors; the earl of Wiltshire disdainig thereat, stood still, and shewed no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from this wicked idolatry.

However, one thing is not to be omitted here, as a prognosticate of our separation from the see of Rome, which then happened through a spaniel which belonged to the earl of Wiltshire. For he having there a great spaniel which he brought with him out of England, it stood between the earl and the bishop of Rome. And when the said bishop, that servant of the servants of God (as he in great humility stiled himself), offered his foot to be kissed, and while they stood still and declined it, the said spaniel seeing the foot shining with gold and jewels, caught hold of it, taking it to be some kind of repast, and bit it. The pope disdainig the affront, in haste pulled in that glorious foot, and kicked the dog with the other, while the Englishmen smiled in their sleeves at the omen. The pontifical bishop, knitting his brows, demanded the cause of their embassy. Which being declared, the earl of Wiltshire delivered Cranmer's book to the pope; telling him withal, That there were learned men come along with him from England, who were ready to defend what was contained in that book, by the holy scriptures, the councils, and the writings of the orthodox fathers, against all who should contradict it.

The pope often promised the ambassador to appoint a day for the disputation: but it was a promise which he never performed; by affected delays spinning out the time, as his cardinals had before done in England. So giving the ambassadors most honourable and court-like entertainment, and having made Cranmer (whom he either knew or supposed to be the author of that book concerning the king's marriage with Katharine) his penitentiary in England, Ireland, and Wales; being mighty timorous, and equally afraid of the emperor, the French king, and our's, he durst not come to any resolution in a matter of such moment, but dismissed the assembly, without determining, or even proposing any thing about it.

From hence, while the rest returned home, Cranmer by the king's private order, made the emperor and the princes of Germany in his way. At that time the emperor was engaged in an expedition against the Turks, who were engaged in the siege of Vienna, the capital of Austria. Whom when Cranmer attended, and asked him in the king's name, which of his domestics or others that he knew would contradict him? Cornelius Agrippa was mentioned; a man better versed in the secrets of philosophy than divinity. But he being easily brought over to Cranmer's side of the question, did readily join in persuading the other learned men of the emperor's retinue, not to oppose Cranmer; who, he said, had brought the truth along with him. Therefore meeting with no opposition, he took his leave of the emperor. From whence taking a tour throughout Germany, he brought home with him to the king the opinions and judgment of the most learned men there, as well in the universities; as in the courts of princes, all agreeing with his own.

This matter thus prospering on Dr. Cranmer's behalf, as well touching the king's question, as concerning the invalidity of the pope's authority, bishop Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, whereby that dignity then being in the king's gift, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as



worthy, for his good services, of such a promotion. Thus much concerning the preferment of Dr. Cranmer, and by what means he arrived at this dignity: not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means; which thing I more at large discoursed, to stop the railing mouths of such, who being themselves obscure and unlearned, are not ashamed most scurrilously to attack so learned a man with the nickname of ostler, whom, for his godly zeal to sincere religion, they ought with humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Now as concerning his behaviour and method of living towards God and the world, being now entered into his said dignity, and forasmuch as the apostle St. Paul writing to two bishops, Timothy and Titus, setteth out unto us a perfect description of a true bishop, with all the other properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto which pattern it is rare in these strange days to find the image of any bishop correspondent; yet, for example's sake, let us take this archbishop of Canterbury, and try him by the rule thereof, to see either how near he cometh to the description of St. Paul, or else how far off he swerveth from the common course of others in his time, of his calling. The rule of St. Paul is found, 1 Tim. iii. also in his epistle to Titus, chap. i. in these words:

"A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort," &c.

Unto this rule and touch-stone, to lay now the life and conversation of this archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written.

*A Bishop must be faultless, as becometh the Minister of God.*

As no man is without sin, and as every man carrieth about him his peculiar vice or failings; yet nevertheless the apostle meaneth, that the bishop and minister must be faultless in comparison of the common conversation of men in the world, who seem to live more licentious at their own liberties and pleasures, than a bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard to the giving of good example; which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, lest by his dissolute life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of; to avoid which, and the better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man gave himself to continual study, strictly observing the order that he in the university commonly used, that is, to be by five o'clock in the morning at his book, and so continuing in prayer and study till nine: he then applied himself (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner-time to hear suiters, and to dispatch such matters as appertained to his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, to his officers: so that such things were never impediments either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in communion, he associated himself with learned men for sifting or bolting something or other for the advantage and profit of the church of England. By means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle; besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow an hour or two of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

After dinner, if any suiters were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and dispatch them in such an obliging manner, that every one admired and commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that sometimes divers of them were committed by him to prison. And having no suiters after dinner, for an hour, or thereabouts, he would play at chess, or behold such as were at play. That done, then again

to his ordinary study, where he commonly stood (seldom sat down) till five of the clock, which hour he bestowed in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking, or using some innocent recreation till supper-time. At supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup), yet he would sit down at table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing his gloves on his hands, because he would, as it were, thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet entertaining the company with such edifying discourse as did much delight the hearers; so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms-chest well maintained for relief of the poor. After supper he would spend, at least, one hour in walking, or some other harmless pastime, and then again till nine of the clock at his study: so that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the advantage of the church. By all which he gained a good report amongst men, so that his conversation, in comparison with other men, seemed to be faultless, as the minister of God.

*That a Bishop ought not to be stubborn.*

Secondly, It is required, "That a bishop ought not to be stubborn." With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged; whose nature was such, as none more gentle, or sooner won to an honest suit or purpose, especially such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either gentleman or nobleman, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earnest defence in the parliament-house above three days together, in disputing against the six articles of Gardiner's device, can testify. And though the king would needs have them upon some politic consideration to go forward, yet he so handled himself, as well in the parliament-house, as afterwards by writing, so obediently, and with such humble behaviour towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the author of all truth, that the king did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council whilst the act should pass and be granted, for safeguard of his conscience; which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his majesty, in process of time, would revoke them again); but also after the parliament was finished, the king perceiving the zealous affection that the archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which many ways, by scriptures and manifold authorities and reasons, he had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his trouble in that parliament, had shewed himself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged for any thing that was passed contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked the king's majesty for his great goodness towards him, and them for all their pains, saying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place to the glory of God and the advantage of the realm; in the mean time I will satisfy myself with the honourable consent of your honours, and the whole parliament.

Here it is to be noted, that this man's stout and godly defence of the truth herein so bound the prince's conscience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authority and power; and therefore this way God working in the prince's mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said six articles as they ought to have been, for else the prince might



might have had a just cause to have borne his great indignation towards the archbishop. Let us pray that the like stoutness may be perceived in all ecclesiastical and learned men, where the truth ought to be defended, and also the like relenting and flexibility may take place in princes and noblemen, when they shall have occasion offered to manifest the same, so that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by self-will, power, and authority. Now in the end this archbishop's constancy was such towards God's cause, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without respect of any worldly treasure or pleasure. And as concerning his stoutness in his prince's cause, the contrary resistance of the duke of Northumberland against him proved right well his good mind that way; which chanced by reason that he would not consent unto the dissolving of chantries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his royal estate, than to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage. Which stoutness, joined with such simplicity, surely was thought by divers of the council a thing incredible, especially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realm, as few or none would or durst withstand him.

So dear to him was the cause of God, and of his prince, that for the one he would not keep his conscience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwise (as it is said) his very enemies might easily intreat him in any cause reasonable; so that he was altogether free from the vice of stubbornness, and rather culpable of over-much facility and gentleness.

*Not angry.*

Then followeth, *Not angry.* Surely, if over-much patience may be a vice, this man may seem to offend rather on this side than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot say: for the most part such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them; that lesson never went out of his memory. It was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own defects, but only for the sake of his religion: and yet whosoever he was that fought his hindrance, either in goods, estimation, and life, or upon conference would seem ever so slenderly to relent and excuse himself, he would both forget the offence, and ever afterwards familiarly entertain the offender: insomuch that it became a common proverb, "Do unto my lord of Canterbury a displeasure, or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend whilst he liveth." Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revenge, amongst many examples thereof, I shall repeat one.

It happened, an ignorant priest and parson in the north parts, (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was kinsman to one Chersey, a grocer in London; being one of those priests that used more to study at the alehouse, than in his chamber) to sit on a time with his honest neighbours at the alehouse in his own parish, where they were talking in the praise of my lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury: and this priest envying his name only for religion's sake, said to his neighbours, "What make you of him, he was but an ostler, and hath no more learning than the gossins that go yonder on the green," with such like slanderous and uncomely words. His honest neighbours not much liking his irreverent speech, articulated against him, and sent their complaint to the lord Cromwel, then vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, who sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet, intending to have made him recant those slanderous words publicly at Paul's Cross. However the lord Cromwell, having great affairs of the prince then in hand, forgot his prisoner in the Fleet: so that the said Chersey, the grocer, understanding that his kinsman was in confinement, only for speaking words against my lord of Canterbury, consulted with the priest, and between them devised to

apply rather to the archbishop for his deliverance, than to the lord Cromwel, before whom he was accused: well knowing the difference of their tempers, the one gentle and full of clemency, the other somewhat more severe and rigid, especially against a papist; so that Chersey took upon him first to try my lord of Canterbury's benignity, inasmuch as his cousin's offence was only against him, and none other. Whereupon the said Chersey came to one of the archbishop's gentlemen (whose father bought all his spices and fruit of the said Chersey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman), and acquainted him with the trouble his kinsman was in, desiring him to be a means to my lord his master, to hear his suit in the behalf of his kinsman.

The matter was moved. The archbishop, like a good-natured man, would never shew himself strange to the meanest petitioner: he immediately sent for the said Chersey, who appearing before him, declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleet, a priest of the north country, and as I may tell your grace the truth (quoth Chersey) a man of small civility and of less learning: and yet he hath a parsonage there, which now (by reason that my lord Cromwell hath laid him in prison) being in his cure, is unserved, and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no answer, and knows not when he shall come to any end; so that this imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undo him, unless your grace be his good lord.

I know not the man, said the archbishop, nor what he hath done why he should be thus in trouble.

Said Chersey again, He only hath offended against your grace, and against no man else, as may well be perceived by the articles objected against him; the copy whereof the said Chersey then exhibited to the said archbishop of Canterbury; who well perusing the said articles, said, This is the common talk of all the ignorant popish priests in England against me. Surely, said he, I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his confinement I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the prince or any of the council, I will, at your request, take order with him, and send him again to his cure to do his duty; and so thereupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, desiring him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper, in the afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the hour appointed, and Chersey had well instructed his cousin in any wise to submit to the archbishop, confessing his fault, whereby that way he should most easily have an end, and win his favour: the parson was carried into the garden at Lambeth, and there the archbishop sitting under the vine, demanded of the parson what was the cause of his confinement, and who committed him to the Fleet. The parson answered and said, that the lord Cromwell sent him thither, for that certain malicious parishioners of his parish had wrongfully accused him of words which he never spake nor meant. Chersey hearing his foolish cousin so far out of the way from his former instruction, said, Thou dastardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promise thou madest to me? Are there not a great number of thy honest neighbours' hands against thee, to prove thee a liar? Surely, my lord, (quoth Chersey) it is a pity to do him good. I am sorry I have troubled your grace thus far with him.

Well, said the archbishop unto the parson, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my lord Cromwell hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend, and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do somewhat for your friend's sake here. If you have not offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came.

Hereupon his kinsman Chersey made a great ado with him, calling him all kinds of opprobrious names! In the end my lord of Canterbury seeming to rise and go his



his ways, the priest fell on his knees, and said, I beseech your grace to forgive me this offence, assuring your grace that I spake those words being drunk and not well advised.

Ah, said my lord, this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkenness always uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is sober, alledging a text or two out of the scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenness, which cometh not now to remembrance.

Now therefore (said the archbishop) that you acknowledge somewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day?

The priest answered and said, that he never saw his grace in his life. Why then, said the archbishop, what occasion had you to call me an ostler, and that I had not so much learning as the gossins which then went upon the green before your face? If I have no learning, you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore, I pray you, examine me, either in grammar, or in other liberal sciences, for I have at one time or other tasted partly of them. Or else if you are a divine, say somewhat that way.

The priest being amazed at my lord's familiar talk, answered and said, I beseech your grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latin tongue, but very simply. My only study hath been to say my service and mass, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any priest in the county where I dwell, I thank God.

Well, said my lord, if you will not examine me, I will make bold to try you, and yet as easily as I can devise, and that only in the story of the Bible now in English, in which I suppose you are daily exercised. Tell me therefore who was king David's father, said my lord. The priest stood still pausing a while, and said, In good faith, my lord, I have forgotten his name. Then said my lord again to him, If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's father? The foolish priest, without all consideration of what was demanded of him before, made answer, Good my lord, bear with me, I am no further seen in the Bible, than is daily read in our service in the church.

Then the archbishop said, This my question may be found well answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever you have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and superstitious priests, to slander, back-bite, and hate all such as are learned and well affected towards God's word and sincere religion. Common reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reason, that a prince having two universities within his realm of well learned men, and desirous to be resolved of as doubtful a question as in these many years the like was not moved within Christendom, should be driven to that necessity for the defence of his cause to send out of his realm an ostler, being a man of no better knowledge than a gossin, in an embassy to answer all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperor's court, in so difficult a question as touching the king's matrimony, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were men of any reasonable consideration, you might think it both unseemly and uncomely for a prince so to do. But look, where malice reigneth in man, there reason can take no place: and therefore I see by it, that you all are at a point, that no reason or authority can persuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but both your advantage and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds.

With these words the priest seemed to weep, and desired his grace to pardon his fault and frailty, so that by this means he might return to his cure again, and he would certainly recant those foolish words before his parishioners, as soon as he came home, and would become a new man. Well, said the archbishop, so had

you need: and giving him a godly admonition to forbear haunting the alehouse, and to bestow his time better in the continual reading the scriptures, he dismissed him from the Fleet.

The lord Cromwell, perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to Lambeth to the archbishop, and, in a great heat, said to him, My lord, I understand that you have dispatched the northern priest home again, that I of late sent to the Fleet for railing against you, and calling you an ostler.

Indeed I have done so, said the archbishop, for that in his absence the people of his cure wanted their divine service. It is very devout divine service that he saith, quoth the lord Cromwell: it were more meet for him to be an ostler than a curate, who stuck not to call you an ostler. But I thought so much what you would do; and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit, henceforth, they shall cut your throat before that I say any thing more to them on your behalf. Why, what would you have done with him? quoth the archbishop; there was nothing laid to his charge, other than words spoken against me, and now the man hath repented, and is well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, said my lord Cromwell, I meant that he should have preached a recantation at Paul's cross, before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the archbishop, for then you would have all the world to wonder at me as well as at him. Well, well, said lord Cromwell, we shall bear so long with these popish knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondered at of all the world.

This example among others serveth to declare, that there remained small desire of revenge in the said archbishop. But what should I say more? His quietness and mortification this way was such, that it is reported by all that knew him, that he never raged so far with any of his household servants as once to call the meanest of them varlet or knave in anger, much less to reprove a stranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike, in this part to the property (as it seemeth), of some other inferior bishops of this realm, which have not spared to fly in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and scourge with rods the bodies of gentlemen, both married men and others, having almost nothing else in their mouths, but fools and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, think themselves good perfect bishops, after the rule which followeth, and faith,

*No Striker, no Fighter.*

From which kind of vice, the nature of this archbishop was so far off, as was his doctrine which he professed, and death which he suffered, far from all condition and example of blind popery. After the prohibition of these foresaid vices, succeedeth the mother of all good virtues necessarily required of all christians, but chiefly of spiritual prelate; which is,

*Not given to filthy Lucre.*

The contrary whereof was so odious unto St. Paul, that he esteemed the same no less than a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God so far, and instead of him to worship their treasure. How little this prelate we speak of was infected by this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the seas and on this side, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition great sums of money, as others, both gentlemen, mean men, and poor men, who had in their necessity that which he could conveniently spare, lend, or make, can well testify. And albeit such was his liberality to all sorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet, nevertheless, such was again his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed to the Tower by queen Mary, he owed no man living a penny, that could or would demand any of



of him, but satisfied every man to the uttermost; whereas several sums were owing him by divers persons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave them, and suppressed before his attainder.

*A Lover of Hospitality.*

Touching his hospitality, so little was this property lacking in him, that some men disliking the same, thought it rather a house of too much lavishing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can be so well done, which by others shall not be maligned and detracted; so neither did this man want his accusers, some finding fault with his great prodigality, some on the contrary complaining of his scanty house-keeping, and strict order, much beneath his revenues and calling. It should be considered, the time wherein he served; which was when reformation of religion first began to be advanced. Then the whole weight and care of the same chiefly depended upon him. During which season almost for the space of sixteen years together, he entertained a number both of learned men and commissioners, from time to time appointed for deciding ecclesiastical affairs.

For the relief of the poor, impotent, sick, and such as came from the wars at Bullen, and other parts beyond the seas, he provided, besides his mansion-house at Beckisborn, in Kent, the parsonage barn well furnished with certain lodgings for the sick and wounded soldiers. To whom were also appointed the almoner, a physician, and a surgeon to attend upon them, and to dress and cure such as were not able to go home to their own countries, having daily from the bishop's kitchen hot broth and meat; for otherwise the common alms of the household was bestowed upon the poor neighbours of the shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient money to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here fit not in silence to be suppressed, whereby others may be moved, according to their vocation, to walk in the steps of no less liberality, than in him in this behalf appeared.

*One that loveth Goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.*

As concerning these qualities, the business of his life before joined with his benign and gentle disposition, do testify that he could not be void of these virtues reigning in him, which was so abundantly adorned with the other, as we have before declared.

*To cleave fast unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome Learning, and to reprove them that say against it.*

Then concludeth St. Paul with the most excellent virtue of all others to be wished in a prelate of the church. For if he be void of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, neither shall he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for dread or reward, affection or favour, he swerve from the truth. The constancy of this worthy archbishop never shrunk from any storm; but was so many ways tried, that neither the fear nor favour of his prince, nor any other respect could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel.

At the time of setting forth the six articles, this archbishop was the man, and the only man that opposed them, and disputed with the whole parliament three days together against them. Insomuch that the king, who could not dislike his reasons, and yet would needs have the articles pass, required him to absent himself for a time out of the chamber while the act should pass, and so he did; and soon after the king sent all the lords to Lambeth to comfort and cheer up his heart, that he might not be discouraged.

After the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, the adversaries of the gospel thought all things sure on their

own side, and appointed ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, to come to the archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain articles, which the papists then thought to enforce against the said archbishop, who stood alone against them all in defence of the truth; consequently certain of the council, by the enticement and provocation of his old enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness farther to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise, as might incur horrible commotions and uproars, as was the case in some parts of Germany not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much as to the archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains, had filled the realm with divers and pernicious heresies. The king would needs know his accusers. They answered, forasmuch as he was a counsellor no man durst take upon him to accuse him: but if it would please his highness to commit him to the tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enough against him: for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear, and therefore your highness (said they) must needs give us the counsel, liberty and leave to commit him to prison.

The king perceiving the importunate suit against the archbishop, (but yet meaning not to have him wronged and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came the king sent sir Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himself at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked and tarried for him, his highness said, Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me and the council, that you to-morrow, by nine of the clock, should be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm, such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contentions and commotions will arise thereby among my subjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no man dare come forth, as witness in these matters, you being a counsellor.

When the king had spoke his mind, the archbishop kneeled down, and said, I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your highness's commandment, and I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be those that have many ways slandered me, and now by this way I hope to clear myself of such report.

The king perceiving the man's uprightness, joined with such simplicity, said, O Lord! what manner of man be you! what simplicity is in you! I thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such imprisonment. Do you not know what state you be in with the whole world, and how many enemies you have? Yet notwithstanding, to-morrow when the council shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if, in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, (because you are one of them, a counsellor) that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further confinement, and use for yourself as good arguments that way as you may devise; and if no intreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop), and say unto them, If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person, by this his token unto you all; for



(said the king to the archbishop) as soon as they shall see this my ring, they will know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof.

The archbishop perceiving the king's benignity so much towards him, had much ado to forbear tears, and humbling himself with thanks, took his leave of his majesty for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council sent a gentleman-usher for the archbishop, who, when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in, but was compelled there to wait among the pages, lacquies, and serving men. Dr. Butts, the king's physician, resorting that way, and seeing how my lord of Canterbury was used, went immediately to the king's highness, and said, May it please your grace, my lord of Canterbury is well promoted: for he is now become a footman: yonder he hath stood this half hour at the council-chamber door amongst them. Sure it is not so! (quoth the king) the council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of all the realm in that manner, especially being one of their own number. But let him alone (said the king), you shall hear more by and by.

At last the archbishop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alledged, as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered as the king had before advised him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or intreaty could serve, he delivered the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. At this the whole council were much amazed; they all arose, and carried the king his ring, surrendering the matter, as the order and custom was, into his own hands.

Now when the king's highness had thus benignly and mercifully dispatched the said archbishop from this fore accusation by the council laid against him, all wise men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter against him: but yet look where malice reigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and displeasure against him, ceased not to persecute him by all possible means. Then brought they against him a new kind of accusation, and caused sir John Gostwike, knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuse the archbishop openly in the parliament-house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should be contained manifest heresies against the sacrament of the altar, &c.

After further vain attempts, his enemies devised that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of the peace in the shire should accuse him and article against him; which in very deed was most substantially brought to pass, and the articles both well written and subscribed, were delivered to the king's highness, who, when he had perused the book, wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve; and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge, furnished with his musicians, along by Lambeth-bridge towards Chelsea. The noise of the musicians brought the archbishop to the bridge to do his duty, and salute his prince. Ah, my chaplain (said the king to the archbishop), come into the barge to me. The archbishop told his highness that he would take his own barge, and wait on his majesty. No, said the king, you must come into my barge, for I want to talk with you.

When the king and the archbishop were both together alone in the barge, the king said to the archbishop, I have news out of Kent for you, my lord. The archbishop answered, Good, I hope, if it please your highness. Marry, quoth the king, it is so good that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent, and with that pulled the book of articles out of his sleeve against both the archbishop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, desiring him to peruse the same. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so uncourteously handled of his own church

whereof he was head, I mean the prebendaries of his cathedral, and of such his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, I mean the justices of the peace, it much grieved him. Notwithstanding he kneeled down to the king, and besought his majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highness, for them to try out the truth of this accusation. In very deed, said the king, I do mean so to do, and you yourself shall be chief commissioner, to adjoin to you such two or three more as you shall think good yourself. Then it will be thought, quoth the archbishop, that it is not fair and impartial that I should be my own judge and my chaplains also. Well, said the king, I will have none other but yourself, and such as you will appoint: for I am sure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuse yourself, and I know partly how this affair proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a pretty conspiracy devised against you. Whom will you have with you, said the king? Whomsoever it shall please your grace to name, quoth the archbishop. I will appoint Dr. Belhouse for one, name you the other, said the king, meet for that purpose. My chancellor, Dr. Cox, and Hufley, my register, said the archbishop, are men expert to examine such troublesome matters. Well, said the king, let there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings.

They came into Kent, and there they sat about three weeks to find out who was the first occasion of this accusation, for thereof the king would chiefly be informed. Now the inquisition being begun by the commissioners, every man shrunk in his horns, and no man would confess any thing to the purpose. For Dr. Cox and Hufley, being friendly to the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by the archbishop's secretary, he wrote immediately to Dr. Butts and Mr. Deny, declaring, that if the king did not send some other to assist my lord, than those that then were there with him, it were impossible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that Dr. Lee, or some other spirited man that had been exercised in the king's ecclesiastical affairs in his visitations, might be sent to the archbishop. Upon these letters, Dr. Lee was sent for to court by the king, and having the king's mind farther declared unto him when he came to court, he departed immediately into Kent, so that on All-hallow-eve he delivered to the archbishop the king's ring, with a declaration of his highness's farther displeasure: and after his message was delivered, he advised the archbishop to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, such as had both discretion, wit, and penetration, to whom he gave in commission from the king, to search both the purses, chests, and chambers of all those that were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters and writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and him.

These men thus appointed, went in one hour and instant to all the houses and places they were appointed to; and within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London, at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with others; so that the first beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where likewise letters were found tending to this purpose. Amongst others, two letters came to my lord's hands, the one wrote by the suffragan of Dover, and the other by Dr. Barber, a civilian, whom the archbishop continually retained in his house for the expedition of matters in suit before him, as a counsellor in the law, when need required. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, he used ever in such familiarity, that when the suffragan, being prebendary of Canterbury, came to him, he always had him at his own mess, and the other



other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, in any case of care and penitiveness. But that which they did was altogether counterfeit, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my lord had gotten these their letters into his hands, he one day, when the suffragan happened to come to him at his house at Bekisburn, called him into his study along with Dr. Barber, saying, Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter. When they were both with him in his study, he said to them, You two are men in whom I have had much confidence and trust; you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or two, to whom I have trusted all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. I require you, therefore, with your good advice to instruct me how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I have always used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter? said the archbishop.

Marry, quoth Dr. Barber, such villains and knaves (saving your honour) are not worthy to live, but ought to be hanged out of hand without any other law. Hanging were too good, quoth the suffragan; and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself.

At these words, the archbishop, being astonished, cast up his hands to heaven, and said, O Lord most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days! It is most true which is said, "Curst is he who putteth his trust in man, and in his own strength." There was never man used as I am: but, O Lord, thou hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and master (meaning the king) without whose protection I were not able to stand upright one day without being overthrown, I praise thy holy name therefore: and with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and said, Know ye these letters, my masters? Then they fell upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring, how they a year before were tempted to do the same; and so, very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, said the gentle archbishop, God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands: but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men.

Now, when all these letters and accusations were found, they were put into a chest, the king's majesty minding to have perused some of them, and to have punished the principals of them. The chest and writings were brought to Lambeth; at which time began the parliament; and much ado there was to procure the king a subsidy, that thereupon might ensue a pardon, which indeed followed, and so nothing was done, other than their falsehood known. This was the last push that was attempted against the archbishop during king Henry the Eighth's days; for never after durst any man alledge any matter against him while he lived.

Other endeavours were also used to inflame the king's mind against preachers in Kent, especially against Richard Turner, of Chatham, who was curate to Mr. Morrice, the archbishop's secretary; the said Mr. Morrice wrote a letter of apology concerning him to Sir William Buts and Sir Anthony Deny, to be shewed unto the king. In this letter are set forth Mr. Turner's assiduity in accusing the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority on one hand, and advancing the king's majesty's supremacy on the other: by which he had procured the hatred of all those who were inimical to the latter, and by secret and open means caused him and other preachers to be hardly dealt with, and bribes and other artifices were not neglected to prejudice the magistracy of the county and other persons of note against him. But he defended himself before the commissioners at Lambeth with such honesty and zeal, that he was discharged freely, and without any imposition or restraint: which was highly displeasing to the popish clergy, who forged a malicious tale of his pompous return, with a retinue of 500 persons, who had

collected on the road to welcome him home, which they caused to be reported to the king.

On his being again sent for by the archbishop, at the king's command, who desired that he might be whipped out of the country, Mr. Morrice then states the malicious report, and Mr. Turner's returning privately from London, to avoid uproar and commotion, faint and weary from travelling on foot through the woods; and the archbishop again pacified the king's resentment, and Turner again, without the smallest blemish of character, returned to his cure. Twice delivered from the hands of his enemies, they despaired of success in Kent; and now devised means of accusation before he came into Canterbury diocese, on which he was again seized and bound, brought up to London, and for some time imprisoned, but was at last ordered into Kent to the archbishop to recant his former doctrines. And then follows an appeal to the king's clemency, not to suffer a man to be thus daily insulted for maintaining his majesty's supremacy, by those malicious papists who deny it; that it now remained with the king to release him from prison, the archbishop having released him so often already, besides having been accused to the king of maintaining and supporting all the heretics in the realm.

It then proceeds to state that if the king should not discharge Turner of recantation, on account of his teaching the supremacy, the very act of requiring it would be in effect a dereliction of that authority, which was sanctioned by parliament. And in the next place that he had been indicted for offending against the six articles, seven or eight months before, by persons who were absent at the very time, and could know nothing of the charges exhibited against him. Finally, that they would use their influence with his majesty for Mr. Turner's release, as a matter of importance for the maintenance of the king's supremacy, for which he was a most zealous advocate, which at this crisis was of the greatest magnitude.

Dr. Buts, who was a friend to Mr. Turner's principles, had soon an opportunity of bringing forward this letter for the king's notice; by whose order it was twice deliberately read, on which the king gave orders for his being retained within the kingdom as a faithful subject, and the enemies of this worthy man were once more disappointed.

As for Dr. Cranmer, he constantly experienced the king's protection, by which he defeated the conspiracies of his enemies; though it seems doubtful, whether he had then so thoroughly persuaded himself in the right knowledge of the sacrament, as he was soon after his conference with bishop Ridley. In king Edward's time he more openly opposed the doctrines of transubstantiation and the corporal presence, and all the other papistical doctrines of the mass; and in conclusion wrote five books for the public instruction of the church of England, which instruction to this day standeth, and is received in the church. He had some controversy with bishop Gardiner, who was then in the Tower: to whose cavilling sophistry he replied openly, and was followed on the same side by Peter Martyr.

Afterward, this king Edward, a prince of most worthy qualifications, falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to the popish religion, bequeathed the succession of this realm to the lady Jane (a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to king Henry the Eighth by his sister) by consent of the council and lawyers of the realm. To this testament of the king's, when all the nobles of the realm, estates, and judges had subscribed, they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he excusing himself in this manner, said, That it was otherwise in the testament of king Henry his father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as then the next heir; by which oath he was so bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it.



The council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conscience as well as he; and moreover, that they were sworn to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more peril of perjury than the rest.

To this the archbishop answered, that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own: and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not commit his conscience unto other men's facts, or cast himself into danger, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. And as concerning the subscription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The king therefore being demanded of the archbishop concerning this matter, said, that the nobles and lawyers of this realm counselled him unto it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could nothing hinder, but that this lady Jane might succeed him as heir, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen. Who then demanding leave of the king that he might first talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed that by law of the realm it might be so, returning to the king, with much ado he subscribed.

Well, not long after this king Edward died, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. After whose decease, immediately it was commanded that the lady Jane (who was unwilling thereunto) should be proclaimed queen. Which thing the common people much disliked, not that they did so much favour the lady Mary, before whom they saw the lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some whom they could not favour.

Besides this, there happened also other of discord between the nobles and common time: for what injuries of commons and inordinately held, with other inordinate pollings and charitable dealings between the landlords and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that the lady Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and shifting for herself, was so assisted by the commons, that she soon prevailed. Who being established in the possession of the realm, not long after came to London: and after she had first caused the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland, and the duke of Suffolk, to be beheaded (as has been already related,) she likewise caused the lady Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent of this crime, after she could by no means be turned from the constancy of her faith, together with her husband, to be beheaded.

The rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted: who though he desired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none: insomuch that the queen would not once vouchsafe to see him. For as yet the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbishop as the cause thereof.

While these things were doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to gain favour with the queen, had promised to say a dirge mass after the old custom, for the funeral of king Edward, her brother. Neither wanted there some who reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury; which mass indeed was said by Dr. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stop, gave forth a writing of his purgation: the tenor whereof being before expressed, I need not here again recite.

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Mr. Story, then bishop of Rochester, who after he had read and perused the same, required the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop granting the same, and by Mr. Story's lending it to another friend, there were divers copies taken, and the thing published abroad

among the common people, insomuch that almost every scrivener's shop was occupied in copying out the same: and so at length some of these copies coming to the bishop's hands, and so brought to the council, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and so he commanded to appear.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer appeared at the day prefixed, before the said commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, made mention of the bill; My lord, said he, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again; we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad.

To whom the archbishop answered, As I do not deny myself to be the author of that bill or letter, so must I confess here unto you, concerning the same bill, that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. Story got the copy from me, and it is now come abroad, and as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry that it so passed my hands: for I intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on St. Paul's-church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereunto.

At which words, when they saw the constancy of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at present to say unto him, but that shortly he should hear farther. The said bishop declared afterwards to one of Dr. Cranmer's friends, that notwithstanding his attainder of treason, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his archbishopric, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of religion. But how true that was I have not to say. This is certain, that not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned for treason. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and especially, seeing he last (of all others) subscribed to king's Edward's request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy, which the archbishop liked well, and came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not his own, but Christ's; not the queen's, but the church's. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be removed from the Tower where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was sent before to them of Oxford to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest shew of disputation the murder of the man might be covered. Neither could their hasty speed of revenge abide any long delay; and therefore in all haste he was carried to Oxford.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, because it hath been sufficiently declared, we intend now therefore to proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the 12th day of September, 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer, as is before-mentioned. The story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who being both present thereat, and also a devout favourer of the see and faction of Rome, can lack no credit (I think) with such who seek what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their fancied religion of Rome.

After the disputations done and finished in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and the three worthy bishops, Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer,



ye heard then how sentence condemnatory, immediately upon the same, was administered against them by Dr. Weston and others of the university; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and so committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law, (for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land) therefore a new commission was sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned men aforesaid. In which commission, first was Dr. James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's sub-delegate, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, commissioners in the king and queen's behalf for the execution of the same.

Here is to be understood, that at the coming down of the aforesaid commissioners, which was upon Thursday the 12th of September, 1555, in the church of St. Mary, and in the east end of the said church, at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold for bishop Brooks aforesaid, representing the pope's person, ten feet high. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him sat Dr. Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, who were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, scribes and pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a number of such others.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificals, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself. He came forth of the prison to the church of St. Mary, set forth with bills and spears for fear he should start away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity used to wear in the university. Who, after he came into the church, and did see them sit in their pontificals, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called.

Then one of the proctors for the pope, called Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, appear here and make answer to what shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinence, and heresy; and make answer here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person.

Upon this he being brought nearer unto the scaffold, where the aforesaid bishop sat, he first well viewed the place of judgment, and espying where the king and queen's majesties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he first humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other. That done, beholding the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the bishop being offended, said unto him, that it might beseem him right well, weighing the authority he represented, to do his duty unto him.

Dr. Cranmer answered, That he had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could willingly have honoured as well as any of the others, if his commission had come from as good an authority as their's. This he answered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the pope's person.

*The Oration of Dr. BROOKS, Bishop of Gloucester, unto Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Church of St. Mary, at Oxford, March 12, 1556.*

**M**Y lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by

our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's holiness, partly from the king and queen's most excellent majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort if you will yourself. We come, not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and may be. Neither come we to dispute with you; but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you.

And first, as charity doth move us, I would think good somewhat to exhort you, and that by the second chapter of St. John in the Revelations, "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works, or if not,"—and you know what followeth. Remember yourself from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the universal and catholic church of Christ, from the very true and received faith of all Christendom, and that by open heresy. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have fallen from your sovereign prince and queen by open treason. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seen. Wherefore, when I say, Remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind, not only of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were some time, as I and other poor men, in a mean estate; God take to witness, I speak it to no reproach or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you an ambassador, metropolitan of all England, and pastor of his own flock: such great trust did he put you in, in his church; what could he do more? for even as he ordained Moses to be a ruler over his church of Israel, and gave him full authority of the same; so did he make you over his church of England. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to have more conscience of a vow-making, and observing the order of the church, more earnest in the defence of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar than you were? and then all things prospered with you; your prince favoured you; yea, God himself favoured you, your candlestick was set up in the highest place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church. I would God it had so continued still.

But after you began to fall by schism, and would not acknowledge the pope's holiness and supreme head, but would stoutly uphold the unlawful requests of king Henry the Eighth, then began you to fancy unlawful liberty; and when you had exiled a good conscience, then ensued great shipwreck in the sea, which was out of the true and catholic church into the sea of desperation. When you had forsaken God, God forsook you, and gave you over to your own will, and suffered you to fall from schism to apostacy, from apostacy to heresy, and from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of our sovereign prince. Cast not yourself away, spare your body, spare your soul, spare them also whom you have seduced, spare the shedding of Christ's blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the prescript word of God, to the catholic church of Rome, to the received verity of all Christendom. Wed not yourself to your own self-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit. Think not yourself wiser than all Christendom is besides you. Leave off this unjust cavil. Believe as the catholic church doth believe and teach you. Persuade with yourself, that without the church there is no salvation. And thus much have I said of charity. If this poor simple exhortation of mine may sink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I said as I would have said, otherwise not as I would, but as I could for this present.

And thus bishop Brooks finishing his oration, sat down. After whom, Dr. Martin taking the matter in hand, began thus:



*The Oration of Dr. MARTIN.*

**A**LTHOUGH there are two governments, the one spiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the keys, and the other the sword, yet in all ages we read, that for the honour and glory of God both these powers have been adjoined together. For if we read the Old Testament, we shall find that so did Josias and Ezekias. So did the king of the Ninevites compel a general fast through all the whole city. So did Darius in breaking the great idol Bell, and delivering godly Daniel out of the den of lions. So did Nebuchadonofor make and institute laws against the blasphemers of God. But to let pass these examples, with a great number more, and to come to Christ's time, it is not unknown what great pains they took to set forth God's honour: and although the rule and government of the church did only appertain to the spirituality, yet for the suppression of heresies and schisms, kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. First, Constantine the Great called a council at Nice for the suppression of the Arian sect, where the same time was raised a great contention among them. And after long disputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting down the Arians, they referred their judgment to Constantine. God forbid, said Constantine: you ought to rule me, and not I you. And as Constantine did, so did Theodosius against the Nestorians, so did Marcianus against Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man should marry with a nun, that had wedded herself to the church.

So had king Henry the Eighth the title of Defender of the Faith, because he wrote against Luther and his accomplices. So these nine hundred years the king of Spain had the title of Catholic, for the expulsion of the Arians; and, to say the truth, the king and queen's majesties do nothing degenerate from their ancestors, taking upon them to restore again the title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir hereof, the pope's holiness.

Therefore these two princes, perceiving this noble realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and catholic church, which you and your confederates do and have renounced; perceiving also that you do persist in your detestable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the same, have made their humble request and petition to the pope's holiness, Paul the Fourth, as supreme head of the church of Christ, declaring to him, that whereas you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, and at your consecration took two solemn oaths for your due obedience to be given to the see of Rome, to become a true preacher or pastor of his flock, yet contrary to your oath and allegiance, for unity have sowed discord; for chastity, marriage and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, you have been the author of all mischief. The pope's holiness, considering their request and petition, hath granted them, that according to the censure of this realm process should be made against you.

And whereas in this late time you both excluded charity and justice, yet hath his holiness decreed, that you shall have both charity and justice shewed unto you. He willeth you should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in your behalf, and that you shall here come before my lord of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his holiness, to the examination of such articles as shall be proposed against you, and that we should require the examination of you in the king and queen's majesties' behalf. The king and queen as touching themselves, because by the law they cannot appear personally, [*quia sunt illustres personæ*] have appointed as their attornies, Dr. Story, and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good lordship our proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England, and offer myself to be proctor in the king's majesty's behalf. I exhibit here also certain articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury: also books of heresy made partly by him, and partly set forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal to answer to your good lordship.

Thus when Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop began as follows.

*Crammer.* Shall I then make my answer?

*Martin.* As you think good, no man shall hinder you.

And here the archbishop kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said the Lord's prayer. Then rising up, he recited the articles of the creed. Which done, he entered his protestation in form as follows.

*The Faith and Profession of Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, before the Commissioners.*

**T**HIS I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm, for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's laws. By the scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king hath both. Therefore he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, he is perjured; for the pope's and the judge's laws are contrary.

A priest indebted, by the laws of the realm shall be sued before a temporal judge; by the pope's laws contrary.

The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law; and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the week at the least, for the people to come to the church and hear the word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrary; for he willeth the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived; the pope will not. When the priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God will have them to confess altogether; the pope will not.

Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar: for if it can be proved by any doctor, above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it. I believe that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporally that sitteth in heaven.

Now Christ commanded all to drink of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the laymen: and yet one saith that if Christ had died for the devil, that he should drink thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the king, but the bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore unless he be Antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ, If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the bishop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes either by election, or by succession, or by inheritance obtain their crown, he saith that they should have it of him.

Christ saith, that Antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth, he that advanceth himself above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort beside the pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichrist.

*Story.* Pleaseth it you to make an end?

*Crammer.* For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense



dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea and with apostasy.

The pope would give bishoprics, so would the king. But at last the king got the upper hand, and so are all bishops perjured, first to the pope, and then to the king.

The crown hath nothing to do with the clergy. For if a clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any laws. For if the judge should put him to execution, then is the king accursed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore say I, that he is neither true to God, nor to the king, that first received the pope.

*Martin.* As you understand, then if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.

*Cranmer.* I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths do stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory saith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the universal church, is worse than the Antichrist. If any man can shew me, that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, and kifs his feet (as kings do), then will I kifs his feet also.

And you for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm.

*Gloucester.* You were the cause that I did forsake the pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave to king Henry the Eighth, that he ought to be; and this you made me do.

*Cranmer.* To this I answer: You report me ill, and say not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessor, archbishop Warham, gave the supremacy to king Henry the Eighth, and said, that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would agree therewith. And upon the same was there sent to both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to king Henry the Eighth to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. Whereupon you were at that time doctor of divinity, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you mis-report me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourself. All this was in archbishop Warham's time, and while he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a year ere ever I had the archbishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here you have reported of me that which you cannot prove, which is ill done.—All this while his cap was on his head.

*Gloucester.* We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us.

#### Dr. STORY's Oration.

**P**LEASETH it your good lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queen's majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your good lordship, to give me somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the stedfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weak and simple: yet because he saith, he is not bound to answer your lordship sitting for the pope's holiness, because of a premunire, and the word of God as he termeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust hath done much good. And as the king and queen's majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him: so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And where he alledgeth divinity, mingling right and wrong together, he should not have been heard. For shall it be sufficient for him to alledge, the judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the common law it is not lawful

for a man in Westminster-hall to refuse his judge? and shall we dispute against one that denies principal? Although there be here a great company of learned men, that know it unmeet so to do, ye have, I hear, a plain canon wherein he declareth himself convicted, *ipso facto*. The canon [as we have translated it into English] is this: "Let it be to their own destruction whosoever acts contrary to the apostolic decrees, let them have no place among the priests, but be put out from the holy ministry, neither be capable of holding any cure, seeing they are condemned by the holy apostolic church for their disobedience and presumption; but let them be cast out by the greater excommunication, to whom the discipline of the holy church being committed, not only ought to obey themselves, but also teach others to do so, yet will resist her divine and pontifical services, and so disobey the apostolical precepts."

He hath alledged many matters against the supremacy, but maliciously. You say the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof; for you know Constantinus the emperor was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are (as St. Paul saith) to obey your rulers, and kings have the rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have the cure of souls: for if you argue from the more powerful, the head may do that which the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot; therefore the king is not head.

It was licensed by Christ to every man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to Peter.

And where the apostles call upon men to obey their princes, to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom; they perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

And again, where you say the bishop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the realm; that is not true: for this is a maxim in the law, That which is true in a part, cannot be false in the whole.

Now as touching that monstrous talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that you profess; it is but private judgment, choice, and opinion. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by God's laws that you ought not to answer to the pope's holiness.

The canons which be received of all Christendom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound so to do. And although this realm of late time, through such schismatics as you were, hath exiled and banished the canons, yet that cannot make for you; for you know yourself, that equal things produce equal things, nor can a part oblige the whole. Wherefore this island, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding the same laws, being put away by parliament, are now received again by a parliament, and have as full authority now as they had then, and they will now that you answer to the pope's holiness; therefore by the laws of this realm you are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the king and queen's majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such articles as we shall lay against him, and on refusal your lordship is to excommunicate him.

*Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers annexed to the same.*

**I**INTERROG. First was objected, That Thomas Cranmer, before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black, or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that whether she



was called Black, or Brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. Interrog. That after the death of the aforesaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the pope.

Answer. He received (he said) a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was made archbishop by him.

3. Interrog. Item, That he being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named Anne.

Answer. To this he granted.

4. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Henry the Eighth, he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

Answer. Hereunto he also granted, affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

Answer. He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of this realm did so permit him.

6. Interrog. Item, That he shamed not openly to glory himself to have had his wife in secret many years.

Answer. And though he so did (he said), there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. Interrog. Item, That the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also did compile, and cause to be set abroad divers books.

Answer. Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not such books which he was the author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet he did approve and well like the same. As for the catechism, the book of articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

8. Interrog. Item, That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same articles.

Answer. He exhorted, such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.

9. Interrog. Item, Forasmuch as he ceased not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament should there be held.

Answer. To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. Interrog. Item, That in the said city of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and was there convicted for the same.

Answer. He defended (he said) there the cause of the sacrament; but that he was convicted of the same, that he denied.

11. Interrog. Item, When he persevered still in the same, he was by the public censure of the university pronounced an heretic, and his book heretical.

Answer. That he was so denounced he denied not, but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

12. Interrog. Item, That he was and is notoriously infamed with the note of schism, as one who not only receded himself from the catholic church and see of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to the same.

Answer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (said he) was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no manner of any schism.

13. Interrog. Item, That he had been twice sworn to the pope; and with that Dr. Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had any thing else protested.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. Interrog. Item, That he, the said archbishop of Canterbury, did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the said see, he consecrated bishops and priests.

Answer. He granted that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at whatever time it was permitted him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. Interrog. Item, That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he only persisted in his error.

Answer. That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denied.

16. Interrog. Item, That all and singular the premises be true.

Answer. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had objected.

*The Oration of Bishop Brooks, in closing up his Examinations against Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

**M**R. Cranmer, (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy) I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry to hear such words escape your mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I supposed that this obstinacy of your's came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble that it is far otherwise. You are so puffed up with vain-glory, there is such a notorious mark of heresy crept into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition. Who can save what will be lost? God would have you to be saved, and you refuse it. Thy perdition is only upon thyself, O Israel; only in me is thy salvation, saith the Lord by the prophet. You have uttered such erroneous talk, with such open malice against the pope's holiness, with such open lying against the church of Rome, with such open blasphemy against the sacrament of the altar, that no mouth could have expressed more maliciously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

To reason with you, although I would of myself to satisfy this audience, yet may I not by our commission, neither can I find how I may do it with the scriptures: for the apostle doth command, that such a one should not only not be talked with, but also shunned and avoided; saying, An heretical person after once or twice conferring, shun, knowing that he is perverse and firmeth, being of his own judgment condemned. You have been conferred with not once nor twice, but oftentimes; you have often been lovingly admonished, you have often been secretly disputed with. And the last year in the open school, in open disputations, you have been openly convicted, you have been openly driven out of the school with hisses: your book which you brag you wrote seven years ago, and no man answered it, Marcus Antonius hath sufficiently detected and confuted, and yet you still persist in your wonted heresy.

Wherefore being so often admonished, conferred with, and convicted, if you deny you are the man whom the apostle noteth, hear then what Origen saith, who wrote above 1300 years ago, and interpreteth the saying of the apostle in this wise, in *Apologia Pamphili*: "All those ought to be esteemed heretics, who professing to believe in Christ, judge otherwise of his truth, than the ecclesiastical tradition." Even now you have professed a kind of christianity and holiness unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and said the Lord's prayer (God knows like an hypocrite), and then standing upon your feet, you rehearsed the articles of your faith, but to what end I pray you, but to cloak that inward heresy rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, simple, and unlearned people's eyes? For what will they say or think, if they do not thus say? Good Lord, what mean these men to say that he is an heretic,



heretic, they are deceived, this is a good christian, he believeth as we believe.

But is this sufficient to escape the name of an heretic? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient, but for you that have professed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your belief.

Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an object and an out-cast from God's favour, yet because you have uttered, to the annoying of the people, such pestilent heresies as may do harm among the rude and unlearned, I think proper to say something herein.

And first (as it becometh every man to purge himself first before he enter with any other) where you accuse me of an oath made against the bishop of Rome, I confess it, and deny it not; and therefore do say with the rest of this realm, good and catholic men, the saying of the prophet, "We have sinned with our fathers, we have done unjustly and wickedly. The sins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember." I was then a young man, and as young a scholar here in the university.

I knew not then what an oath did mean, and yet to say the truth, I did it compelled, compelled I say by you, Mr. Cranmer; and here were you the author and cause of my perjury, and are to be blamed, and not I. Now where you say I made two oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not so, for the oath I made to the pope's holiness appertaineth only to spiritual things; the other oath that I made to the king pertaineth only to temporal things; that is to say, that I do acknowledge all my temporal livings to proceed only from the king, and from none else. But all men may see, as you agree in this, so you agree in the rest of your opinions.

Now, sir, as concerning the supremacy which is only due to the see of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Christ appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a most evident place. When Christ demanded of his apostles whom men called him, they answered, some Elias, some a prophet, &c. But Christ replied unto Peter and said, Whom sayest thou, Peter, that I am? Peter answered, Thou art Christ the Son of God: and Christ replied, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church. The doctors interpreting this place, Upon this rock, expound it thus, Not only on the faith of Peter, but upon Peter himself.

Again, where Christ demanded of Peter, being amongst the rest of his apostles, three times over, Peter, lovest thou me? he gave him charge over his sheep, Feed my sheep, feed my lambs. For as in the old law were appointed two heads over the people of Israel, Moses and Aaron; Moses as chief, and Aaron next head under him; so in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Christ and Peter.

Now as touching the pope's laws, where you say they are contrary, because the service which should be (as you say) in English, is in Latin; I answer, Whosoever will take the pains to peruse the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, shall find, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and by the way only of praying.

Again, where you say, that the pope's holiness doth take away one part of the sacrament from the lay-men, and Christ would have it under both, you can say no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what followeth, And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be so froward with you, he might say that Christ gave it only to his disciples, in whose places succeeded priests, and not lay-men.

And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authority to change that, as well as others. It was a precept that the sacrament should be administered after supper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received fasting. And where Christ did break the bread, we receive the whole host. Christ administered sitting at the table, we standing at the altar.

If then the church may change things that are so expressed in the scriptures, she may also change the form of receiving of lay-men under both kinds.

But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you else, but only to pervert and contradict the commandment of the church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither. And we having but one, believe both kinds.

And thus the prelate ended his worshipful tale, After whom Dr. Story took the matter, and thus inferred in words, as followeth.

Mr. Cranmer, you have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the see apostolic. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and so it is released; if you made it to his successors, well, sir, the true successors have the empire, and they will you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's church again, and it standeth well with charity.

To this the archbishop answered again, but that answer was suppressed; he then returns to the words of Dr. Story, who imperiously turning his speech again to the archbishop, said as follows:

Hold your peace, sir, and so it shall right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is to say, judgment, righteousness, and truth.

Then Dr. Story immediately called for witnesses to be produced, who should be sworn upon the book, to utter and declare the next day what they knew, or could remember to be inferred against Dr. Cranmer's heresy. The names of the witnesses are these following:

Dr. Marshall, commissary, and dean of Christ-church.

Dr. Smith, under commissary,

Dr. Tresham.

Mr. Curtop,

Dr. Crook,

Mr. Warde,

Mr. London,

Mr. Serles.

After the depositions of which witnesses being taken, Dr. Story admonished the archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses were to be refused. The archbishop refused them all, as being men perjured, and not in christian religion. For if to swear, said he, against the pope, were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives, than their oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before. Nevertheless, this answer of the archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpose appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his first coming in, paid low obedience to Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, the queen's commissioners, but took no notice of the bishop of Gloucester, the pope's delegate; upon which all the others rose up, and departed every one to his own.

The answers being recited by report of a papist, seem to be partially handled, we shall now more amply declare what speech the archbishop used for himself, by the faithful relation of others, who were present.

*A more full Answer of Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the first Oration of Bishop BROOKS.*

MY lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently, in your oration, put me in remembrance of many things touching myself, wherein I do not mean to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge God's goodness to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this state wherein I find myself now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperity; and it is not the loss of my promotions that grieveth me. The greatest grief I have ever had in all my life is to see the king and queen's majesties, by their proctors, here to become my accusers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power.

Alas! what hath the pope to do in England; whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of



this realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The laws also are so diverse, that whosoever sweareth to both, must needs incur perjury to the one. On the day of the coronation, the queen took a solemn oath to observe all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, and also took an oath to the bishop of Rome, promising to maintain that see. The state of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the pope, it is impossible but she must needs be forsworn in the one. Wherein if her grace had been faithfully advertised by her counsel, then surely she would never have done it.

The laws of this realm are, that the king of England is supreme governor of all his countries and dominions; and that he holdeth his crown and sceptre of himself, by the ancient laws, customs, and descents of the kings of the realm, and of none other; that all bishops and priests offending in cases of felony or treason, are to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the realm; that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws ecclesiastical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a premunire.

These things and many more examples he alledged, which (he said) stirred him, that he could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemy into the realm, subverting its dignity and ancient liberties.

And as for heresy and schism, wherewith he was charged, he protested, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an heresy to deny the pope's authority, and the religion which the see of Rome hath published to the world these latter years, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apostles, and Christ himself taught heresy; and he desired all then present to bear him witness, that he took the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole scripture.

For it was most evident that he had advanced himself above all emperors and kings of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their estates and empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure; setting his feet on the emperor's neck, having others to hold his stirrup; others he had displaced and removed from their empires and seats royal: and not content herewithal, more insolent than Lucifer, he hath occupied the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, and hath further presumed to sit in the seat of Almighty God, which is the conscience of man.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, contrary to the doctrine of the holy scripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom,

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is so evidently pointed out in the scriptures by such manifest signs and tokens, which all so clearly appear in him, that except a man will shut his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore, for my part, I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this church of England. While he thus made his answer, ye heard before how Dr. Martin and Dr. Story interrupted him divers times with blasphemous talk, and would fain have had the bishop of Gloucester to put him to silence: who notwithstanding did not, but suffered him to end his tale at full. After this you heard also how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chief was, that at the time of being created archbishop of Canterbury, he was sworn to the pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and then promised to maintain the authority of that see, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather stick to his first oath, and return to his old fold again, than to continue obstinate in an oath forced in time of schism.

To that he answered, saving his protestation, (which term he used before all his answers,) That at such time archbishop Warham died, he was ambassador in Germany for the king.

He then stated what measures he had taken to avoid the promotion intended for him, and delayed his return home for half a year; that he interested his friends, after that return, to request some smaller living for him, and by every proper means he could devise, to shift off the appointment to so weighty a charge. And when the king would have no denial, he declared that he neither could or would ever receive it at the pope's hands; on which it was answered, that he might do it by way of protestation and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in his name. The archbishop then said, that whoever did this, should do it *super animam suam*, and that he himself did not acknowledge the pope's authority any further than as it agreed with the express word of God; and that it might at all times be lawful for him to controvert his errors. This protestation he had caused to be enrolled.

They objected to him also that he was married, which he confessed. Whereunto Dr. Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him, if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, saying, I trust you will make my children's causes no worse.

A number of other trifling and foolish objections were made, with a repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader. Thus after they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answers.

On Dr. Martin's quibbling objections about the supreme head of the church, the archbishop observed that Christ was supreme head of the universal church, but the king of the people of England, ecclesiastical as well as civil. He was afterwards cited to appear at Rome within fourscore days, there to make his personal answers; but, instead of being sent there by the king and queen, to which he assented, he was carried back to prison, and there confined, and within twenty days after a letter executory was sent from the pope to degrade and deprive him, contrary to all law and justice, and at the end of the fourscore years he was declared contumacious, and for such absence condemned to die.

A definitive letter or sentence from the pope of the 1st of January, was received in England, appointing Dr. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, commissioners to deprive and degrade him; and afterwards to excommunicate him; for which purpose the archbishop was ordered to appear on the 14th of February. Of the character of the former, it ought to be remarked, that the archbishop had ever been his principal supporter, and most liberal benefactor; with the latter, the reader has been too well acquainted already. On the day appointed, they read their commission, reciting the causes which had produced it, falsely and unblushingly asserting that witnesses had been heard on his behalf, and that he wanted nothing to his necessary defence; after which they invested him in canvas robes, with a mitre and pall, in solemn mockery, when Bonner thought fit in these taunting words to address him:

This is the man that hath ever despised the pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.

Thus Bonner went on in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the archbishop, beginning every sentence with, This is the man, this is the man, till at length every man grew tired of his unmannerly usage of him in that time and place; insomuch that the bishop of



of divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had intreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crozier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted; and prayed divers of the standers-by, by name, to be witnesses, and especially Mr. Curtop, to whom he spake twice.

The copy of which appellation, because it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in form here followeth.

*The TENOR of the APPEAL of the Archbishop of CANTERBURY from the POPE to the next GENERAL COUNCIL.*

**I**N the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

First, my plain protestation made, that I intend to speak nothing against one holy catholic and apostolical church, or the authority thereof, (which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by slipperiness of tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine adversaries, be spoken or done otherwise than well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

Although the bishop of Rome (whom they call pope) beareth the room of Christ in earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unfinnable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edify the congregation. Therefore if he shall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently, and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be resisted, even as Paul withstood Peter. And if he, being aided by the help of princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion, or with evil counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is nevertheless one remedy of appealing, (which no prince can take away) uttered by the law of nature: forasmuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

And whereas the laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, insomuch that the inferior cannot make laws of not appealing to a superior power; and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy general council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the holy catholic church, is above the pope, especially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make decrees that men shall not appeal from him to a general council: therefore I, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, or in time past ruler of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, doctor in divinity, do say and publish before you the public notary, and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the persons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer myself in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confess, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad myself, or license of a notary and witnesses. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the laws.

1. First, I say and publish, that James by the mercy of God, priest, called Cardinal of the Pir, and of the title of our lady in the church of Rome, judge and commissary specially deputed of our most holy lord the pope, (as he affirmed) caused me to be cited to Rome, there to appear fourscore days after the citation served

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on me, to make answer to certain articles touching the peril of my state and life: and whereas I was kept in prison with most strait ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of prison (and in so grievous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a proctor); and though I would ever so fain send my proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I should bear my proctor's costs and charges, is quite taken from me); nevertheless the most reverend cardinal aforesaid doth sore threaten me, that whether I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless yet proceed in judgment against me; wherein I feel myself so grieved, that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further from reason.

2. Secondly, The reverend father James Brooks, by the mercy of God, bishop of Gloucester, judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the most reverend cardinal, caused me to be cited at Oxford, (where I was then kept in prison) to answer to certain articles, concerning the danger of my state and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the laws, desired counsel of the learned in the laws, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein again I feel myself most wrongfully grieved.

3. And when I refused the said bishop of Gloucester to be my judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheless went on still, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say, A judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, but to leave off. And when he had required of me answers to certain articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said I would gladly make answer to the most renowned king and queen's deputies or attornies then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine should be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer; but my answer was sudden and unprovided for: and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might add to, take away, change, and amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, contrary to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the said reverend father bishop of Gloucester (as I hear) commanded mine answers to be enacted contrary to the equity of the law. In which thing again I feel myself much grieved.

4. Furthermore, I could not, for many causes, admit the bishop of Rome's usurped authority in this realm, nor consent to it: for my solemn oath hindering me, which I made in the time of king Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, according to the laws of England. Secondly, because I knew the authority of the bishop of Rome, which he usurpeth, to be against the crown, customs, and laws of this realm of England, insomuch, that neither the king can be crowned in this realm, without the most grievous crime of perjury, nor may bishops enjoy their bishoprics, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this realm, except by the bishop of Rome's authority, be accursed both the king and queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and customs, with all that consent to them. Finally, the whole realm shall be accursed.

5. Moreover, that heinous and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishoprics, provisions, annuities, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other merchandize of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this realm, all which things should follow again by recognizing and receiving of that usurped authority unto the infinite loss of this realm.

6. Finally, it is most evident by that usurped authority, not only the crown of England to be under the yoke, the laws and customs of this realm to be thrown down, and trodden under foot, but also the most holy decrees of councils, together with the precepts both of the gospel and of God.

When in times past the Sun of righteousness being risen in the world, christian religion, by the preaching of



of the apostles, began to be spread very far abroad, and to flourish, insomuch that their sound went out into all the world; innumerable people, which walked in darkness, saw a great light, God's glory every where published did flourish, the only care and care of the ministers of the church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ; the people to embrace and follow Christ's doctrine. Then the church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily the mother of other churches, forasmuch as then she first begat to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable, she rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of miseries, was laughed to scorn, whilst thro' the examples of Romish martyrs, men did every where press forward to the life to come. But afterward, when the ungraciousness of damnable ambition, never-satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the see of Rome, there followed every where almost the deformities of all churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and heinous usages.

For the aforefaid and many other griefs and abuses, (which I intend to prove, and to proffer myself in time convenient to prove hereafter) since reformation of the above-mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the bishop of Rome, neither can I hope, by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause: therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the pope, having no good council, and from the above named pretences, commissions, and judges, from their citations, processses, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all others whatsoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of schism, of heresy, adultery, deprivation, degrading by them, or by any of them, in any manner or way attempted, done, and set forward to be attempted, to be done and to be set forward hereafter (saving always their honours and reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical, and violent, and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for myself as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side; unto a free general council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place, where I, or a proctor deputed by me, may freely and with safety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, privilege, custom, or otherwise, challenge and appeal.

And I desire the first, the second, and third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling, abuse, inequality, and unrighteousness, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choice and liberty reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion; saving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred scripture, and of the holy catholic church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced other-

wife than I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy catholic church, desiring none other thing, than meekly and gently to be taught if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

And I protest and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament, and of my other doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge of those things, as the catholic church, and the most holy fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I am only accused for an heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in scripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of pure and old religion. Yea, even, &c.

This appeal being put up to the bishop of Ely, he said to the archbishop, My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, *omni appellatione remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why (quoth the archbishop) then you do me the more wrong; for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is immediately between the pope and me, and none otherwise: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted, it shall, and so received it of him. And then he began earnestly to persuade the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not been the king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, else on worldly advantages should have made him to have done it; concluding that to be one of the sorrowfullest things that ever happened unto him. The archbishop gently seeming to comfort him, said, he was very well content withal: and so they proceeded to his degradation; the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereunto appertaining, taken out of the pope's pontifical, we have already described.

To be short, when they came to take off his pall, (which is a solemn vesture only belonging to an archbishop) then said he, Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall? which imported as much as they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them answered, confessing that as they were but bishops they were inferior to him, and therefore not competent judges; but, as being the pope's delegates, they had authority to take his pall, which accordingly they did; and, so proceeding, took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, All this, quoth the archbishop, needed not; I had myself done with this gear long ago. Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into a jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as ill-shaped as one might probably see, and a townsman's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake lord Bonner, saying to him, Now are you no lord any more: and so whenever he spake to the people of him, (as he was continually barking against him) he ever used this term, This gentleman here, &c.

And thus, with great compassion and pity of every man,



man, in this evil favoured gown was he carried to prison. Whom there followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire, with the archbishop's own gown, who standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the bishops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, said, the bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears. Yet (said he) he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been worse thought on, for I have well deserved it: and going up into the prison with him, asked him if he would drink. He answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had a better will to eat: for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is past, my heart (said he) is well quieted. Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being doubtful of the law, and fearing Mr. Farmer's case, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said that if they were good men they would bestow it on him (for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him), and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was detained by Bonner and Ely, for giving him this money: and but for the help of his friends, he had been sent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time; that men could not do good without punishment.

Mean time, while the archbishop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in prison almost the space of three years), the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could about Dr. Cranmer, to persuade him to recant, endeavouring by all the crafty practices and allurements they could invent to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him the more easily, they entertained him in the dean of Christ-church's house, in the said university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. And besides all this, they secretly suborned certain men, who when they could not prevail by arguments and disputation, should by intreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to a recantation, perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood steadfast in this sentence; and again on the other side, what great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily priests flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, intreating and promising, and all other means; especially Henry Sydal, and Friar John de Villa Garcina, a Spaniard, to the end to drive him, to the uttermost of their possibility, from his former sentence to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his soul's health the same should be. They added moreover, how the council and the noblemen bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying, it was but a small matter, and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there should be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he liked, without all public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the queen was so purposed that she should have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer. Therefore he should chuse whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life until the course of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years yet remained in this his so lusty age; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health than he was himself; saying, that this was agreeable to his learning and notable virtues: which being adjoined with his life would be profitable both to himself and to many others: but being extinct by death, should be fruitful to no man: that he should take heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to restore all things safe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would have him lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he would not refuse it, he might hereafter seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and such torments is most grievous of all. With these and like provocations these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all possible means they could to draw him to their side; whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

It might be supposed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may since perceive by a letter of his sent to a lawyer, the greatest cause why he desired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun: but howsoever it was plain to be against his conscience. The form of which recantation, made by the friars and doctors, whereto he subscribed, was this:

#### The COPY and WORDS of Dr. CRANMER's RECONTATION.

**I** THOMAS CRANMER, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all christian people ought to be subject.

And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

And in the other six sacraments, also (like as in this) I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the catholic church and church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church, and also I desire and beseech all christian people to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus



Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

And to conclude, as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others.

This recantation of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription, then followed the witnesses of his recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John de Villa Garcina. All this time Cranmer had no certain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors: but after they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death she would nothing relent.

Now was Dr. Cranmer in a miserable case, having neither inwardly any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that he could neither die honestly, nor yet honestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the mean time while these things were doing (as I said) in the prison amongst the doctors, the queen taking secret council how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew not of her secret hate, and not expecting death) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sent him away.

Soon after the lord Williams, of Tame, and the lord Shandois, sir Thomas Bridges, and sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Dr. Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would be daily more confirm'd in the catholic faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole coming to him, asked him if he had any money, to whom when he had answered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and so exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business, as to his sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they were about. Then because the day was not far spent, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said in-

strument with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof which should remain with him, and that he did also. But yet the archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put his prayer and his exhortation written in another paper secretly into his bosom, which he intended to recite to the people before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest if they heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine o'clock, the lord Williams, sir Thomas Bridges, sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen, that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation: for first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should establish the vanity of their opinion: the other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he who by continued study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of the desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

During this great expectation, Dr. Cranmer at length came from the prison of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, because it was a foul and rainy day, the chief church in the university, in this order. The mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, which mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*; and entering into the church, the psalm-singing friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over-against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Dr. Cole made ready for his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man was a sorrowful spectacle to all christian eyes that beheld him. He that lately was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and the king's privy counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary; whom after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts (according to the solemn custom of the schools), intending to speak first of the mercy of God: secondly, of his justice to be shewed: and last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the begin-



beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reprov'd him, that he being one endued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrine, fell into a contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same to go altogether unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden to chuse of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all: and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, seeing he repented of his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

First, That being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the king and queen, her father and mother: besides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was metropolitan.

Secondly, That he had been an heretic, from whom as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinion, that so many years have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the late duke of Northumberland, made even with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher, of Rochester: and because that Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up their part of equality.

Besides these, there were other just and weighty causes, which appeared to the queen and council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bid all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men and spareth none: therefore they should beware and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the queen's majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause would she spare other men, that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into such great misery, as they might see, being a person of such high degree, sometime one of the chief prelates of the church, and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm a long time, a man thought in great assurance, having a king on his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a counsellor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him; briefly so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the

archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of scripture, as with these and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive what the thief did, to whom Christ said, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise:" and out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength:" by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew; adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew on his cross, the patience of St. Laurence in the fire, assuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he said), and also did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soul.

All this time with what great grief of mind Cranmer stood hearing this sermon, the outward shews of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They that were present do testify, that they never saw in any child more tears than came from him at that time, during the whole sermon; but especially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

After Cole had ended his sermon, he called back the people to prayers that were ready to depart. Brethren (said he) lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now which you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed. I will do it (said the archbishop), and that with a good-will; who, by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people.

Good christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many forever my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down he said the following prayer.

*The PRAYER of Dr. CRANMER, Archbishop of CANTERBURY.*

“ O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven



and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great. but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son (O Heavenly Father) unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, O Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. And then he rising, said:

Every man (good people) desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

First, It is a heavy cause to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: That you set not your minds overmuch upon this deceitful world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, "That the love of this world is hatred against God."

The second exhortation is, That next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself ever so much in God's favour.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, That they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture: one is of our Saviour himself, who saith, Luke xviii. "It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." A fore saying, and yet spoken by him who knoweth the truth.

The second is of St. John, 1 John iii. whose saying is this, "He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?"

The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man, after this manner, "Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day." Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

And now forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my

life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand hath offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to shew her face.

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, and amazed, and looked upon one another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falshood.

Briefly, it was strange to see the doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation.

As soon as they heard these things, they began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been ever so well pleased; being ever so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed by them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falshood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered, Ah, my masters (quoth he), do you not take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falshood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled; and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and especially Cole cried out upon him, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. What madness (say they) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell? To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saying that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply to his book diligently; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming,





*The Most Rev.<sup>d</sup> DR THO<sup>s</sup> CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, pulled down from the Stage, by Fryars & Papists, for the True Confession of his Faith, in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, and led immediately from thence to the STAKE.*



was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti?* Didst thou it not?

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, bishop Latimer and bishop Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garment to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was so long and thick, that it covered his face with marvellous gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer with stedfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Mr. Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and especially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly, and chid those sergeants and citizens, who had not refused to give him their hands. This Mr. Ely was a student in divinity, and lately made a priest, being then one of the fellows in Brazen-nose college.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, and they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, he stretched forth his right hand, which had signed his recantation, into the flames, and there held it so stedfast that all the people might see it burnt to a coal before his body was touched. In short, he was so patient and constant in the midst of these extreme tortures, that he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and often he repeated his unworthy right hand, so long as his voice would suffer him; and as often using the words of the blessed martyr St. Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to silence, he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of like constancy, have been common here in England, he ran to the lord Williams of Tame, crying that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, who was not ignorant of the archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and as it were by silence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting, God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Mr. Allen, or if there were any other, with whose burning or blood his hand had been any thing before polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst the martyrs of Christ, and much more worthy of the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falsely before did canonize.

And thus you have the full story concerning the life and death of this reverend archbishop and martyr of God, Thomas Cranmer, and also of divers others, of whom this archbishop was the last that suffered in the middle of the reign of queen Mary, and almost the middle man that was burnt in her time.

Now we proceed to exhibit the letters which this worthy martyr left behind him, beginning first with his famous letter to queen Mary, which he wrote immediately after he was cited up to Rome by bishop Brooks and his fellows, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

## L E T T E R I.

*The Archbishop of CANTERBURY to Queen MARY.*

MAY it please your majesty to pardon my presumption that I dare be so bold to write to your highness. But very necessity constraineth me, that your majesty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing than by other men's reports. So it is, that upon Wednesday, being the 12th day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the king and your most excellent majesty, which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, your majesty's proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject to be accused of the king and queen of his own realm; and especially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any person out of this realm: where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain and require justice at a stranger's hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms against their own subjects; but they must seek it at strangers hands in a strange land, the like whereof (I think) was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries: and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God, I do own all obedience, to be mine accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and outward power. But forasmuch as in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, your grace's father, I was sworn never to consent, that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England, therefore lest I should allow his authority contrary to mine own oath, I refused to make answer to the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, lest I should run into perjury.

Another cause why I refused the pope's authority, is this, that his authority, as he claimeth it, is repugnant to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same: which every true subject is bound to defend. First, for that the pope saith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as to be always at his commandment and beck.

But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

Moreover, to the imperial laws and customs of this realm the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, be sworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws, and declareth accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs, as it appeareth by many of the pope's laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the decrees, Dict. 10. it is written thus, "The constitution or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of none effect." Also, "We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their favourers, receptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be



be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, except they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Also we excommunicate the statute-makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potestates, powers, consuls, governors, and counsellors of places, where such statutes or customs shall be made or kept; and also that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notify in public form the matter so adjudged."

Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be naught, and as well your majesty, as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed amongst heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope hath such power as he claimeth) until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law-books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks by the pope's laws are so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where sued, but before their ordinary.

Also the pope by his laws may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual; which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into lapse.

By the pope's laws, *jus patronatus* shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge; but by the laws of the realm it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's, like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire*; so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever hindereth the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power standeth accursed: so that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they do give place unto his laws.

But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do still execute the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the pope's power be of force, and for the same we stand excommunicate, and shall do until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm standeth accursed before God, if the pope have any such authority.

These things (as I suppose) were not fully opened in the parliament-house when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial, as well to the crown as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himself as it were a god. These seek to maintain the pope whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and so being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration (I think), some that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the

crown and whole realm, they should have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and shewed the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

And if I should agree to allow such authority within this realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious highness, and also your realm should ever continue accursed, until ye shall cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm; I could not think myself true either to your highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which he challengeth every where, is to the crown-laws and customs of this realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

Another cause I alledged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this: That by his authority he subverteth not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God: so that whosoever be under his authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command.

And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all christian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained holydays, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as an harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is played, who can dance after it? for all the sound is vain. So it is in vain, and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not; "For else he may profit himself, but profiteth not the people," saith St. Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that St. Paul spake only of preaching, that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching availeth nothing: but if the preaching availeth nothing, being spoke in a language which the people understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he speaketh by name expressly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say Amen; which they use not in preaching, but in other divine service; that whether the priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make suit and request unto God for any thing; then all the people understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say, Amen, that is to say, allow what the priests say; that the rehearsal of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people, might ascend up into the ears of God altogether, and be as a sweet favour, odour, and incense in his nose: and thus was it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension.

But the foresaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in a language not known, and so they (or their clerk in their name) say Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul saith, "How can the people say Amen to thy well saying, when they understand not what thou sayest?" And thus was St. Paul understood by all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new, school authors and others that I have read, until above thirty years past. At which time one Eckius, with others of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.



But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts, were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paul in the fourteenth chapter to the Corinthians was so to be understood. And so St. Paul was understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor, in a synod writeth in this manner: "We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayer used in holy baptism, not after a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard by the faithful people, so as the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so St. Paul teacheth also in the epistle to the Corinthians, If the Spirit do only bless (or say well) how shall he that occupieth the place of a private person say Amen, to thy thanksgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou sayest: thou dost give thanks well, but the other is not edified." And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thousand and five hundred years continually together, have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said in the church; but also reason saith the same, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as St. Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church shall hear they know not what, and shall answer they know not whereto; taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

And again I said; whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received by all christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, "Drink ye all of this:" the pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation; as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertaineth not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whose works St. Jerome did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them; yet the pope denieth the cup of Christ to christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.

But I was answered hereunto (as they commonly answer), that under the form of bread is both Christ's flesh and blood: so that whosoever receiveth the bread, receiveth as well Christ's blood as his flesh. Let it be so, yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drank, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh; but of his blood only. And so the pope keepeth from all lay-persons the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone: so that the lay-people receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ's death is represented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temporal sword; by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes; so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, affailing the subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made unto their true

kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

One John, patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. To whom St. Gregory writeth, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, the bishop of Alexandria, and of Antioch: which three were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and were brethren one to another. But (saith St. Gregory) if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same passeth in pride. But now the bishop of Rome exalteth himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to set up and pull down as he shall think good. And as the devil, having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him; in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

And moreover, his lawyers and glossers so flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he lighteth from his horse, and to be his footmen: and that if any emperor or king give him any thing, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may dispense against God's word, against both the Old and New Testament, against St. Paul's epistles, and against the gospel. And furthermore, whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himself into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, because he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he sitteth in the temple of God as if he were a god, and nameth himself God's vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play Antichrist's part, I cannot tell what Antichrist is, which is no more to say, but Christ's enemy and adversary? who shall sit in the temple of God advancing himself above all other, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion, shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christ's religion shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of Antichrist. Now if any man list himself higher than the pope hath done, who listeth himself above all the world; or can be a greater adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws; and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man must needs be taken for Antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may very easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

Wherefore seeing the pope thus to overthrow both God's laws, and man's laws, taking upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, especially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same; I see no reason how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your majesty, and my love and affection to this realm.

This that I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predecessors in these latter days.

Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounded duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England, but most especially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Christ, who said, "Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the soul, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire." He that for fear of losing this life will forsake the truth, shall lose the life



everlasting: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, will find everlasting life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with him here; which comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly set his heart on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

And as touching the sacrament, I said; Forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood;" then surely Christ in these words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not bread his body, but a substance uncertain, nor spoke figuratively: herein I said, I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have alledged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that saith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth any author that saith in most plain terms as I do, yet saith the other part, that the authors meant not so; as much as to say, that the authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author, that saith in words as they say; yet say they, that the authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all impartial hearers; yea, the old church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the sacrament, as the church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and a sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into new doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so foolish and uncomfortable, that I marvel how any man would allow it, if he knew what it was. But howsoever they hear the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort.

For by their doctrine, of one body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural having a distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament (teach they), and goeth into the mouth in the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, and tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digesting. So that when the form of bread is digested, that body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men are as long in digesting as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed?

It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body: which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they

have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as I judge) a sound doctrine, according to God's word, and sufficient for a christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be shewed unto me that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shewed), then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I shall with all humility submit myself unto the pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

Another cause why I refused to take the bishop of Gloucester for my judge, was the respect of his own person, being more than once perjured. First, for that he being divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they are: contrary to that lawful oath the said bishop sat then in judgment by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as judge.

The second perjury was, that he took his bishopric both of the queen's majesty and of the pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths are so contrary that the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declareth himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm, whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my judge.

## LETTER II.

*From the SAME to the SAME.*

I Learned by Mr. Martin, that on the day of your majesty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to administer to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not but by report) then I beseech your majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to compare and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your majesty's conscience shall direct you: for I am surely persuaded, that willingly your majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for any thing.

But I fear that there are contradictions in your oaths, and that those which should have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from the company of learned men, from books, from counsel, from pen and ink, except at this time to write unto your majesty, which were all necessary for a man in my case. Wherefore I beseech your majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your majesty's pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his truth there as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your majesty's pleasure.

## LETTER III.

*From ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, to Dr. MARTIN and Dr. STORY.*

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promised, I have sent my letters unto the queen's majesty unsigned, praying you to sign them, and deliver them with



with all speed. I might have sent them by the carrier sooner, but not surer. But hearing Mr. Bailiff say, that he will go to court on Friday, I thought him a safe messenger to send my letters by. For better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the queen's majesty inclosed and sealed; which I require may be so delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it be delivered into her grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the bishop of Gloucester's own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more than I said, which I would have answered to the bishop, if you would have suffered me.

You promised I should see mine answers to the sixteen articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon mine oath, nor repeated, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*, as I protested; nor to the bishop of Gloucester as judge, but to you the king and queen's proctors. I trust you deal sincerely with me, without fraud or craft, and use me as you would wish to be in like case yourselves. Remember, that what measure you mete, the same shall be measured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit to induce you into truth.

THOMAS CRANMER.

Ye heard before how archbishop Cranmer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the bishop of Ely, and bishop Bonner. In time of which his degradation he put up his appeal.

In this his appeal, because he needed the help of some good lawyer, he writeth to a friend of his about the same: the copy of which letter I thought good here to insert as follows.

#### LETTER IV.

*From ARCHBISHOP CRANMER to a LAWYER, for the Drawing out of his APPEAL.*

THE law of nature requireth all men, that so far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one should seek to defend and preserve his own life. Which thing when I about three days ago be-thought myself of, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from pope Leo the Tenth to a general council (lest I should seem rashly and unadvisedly to cast away myself), I determined to appeal in like sort to some lawful and free general council. But seeing the order and form of an appeal pertaineth to the lawyers, where I myself am ignorant, and seeing that Luther's appeal cometh not to my hand, I purposed to break my mind in this matter to some faithful friend, and skilful in the law, whose help I might use in this behalf, and you only among others came to my remembrance, as a man the most proper in this university for my purpose. But this is a matter that requireth great secrecy, so that no man know of it before it be done. It is so that I am summoned to make mine answer at Rome, the 16th day of this month, before which day I think it good, after sentence pronounced, to make mine appeal. But whether I should first appeal from the judge delegate to the pope, and so afterward to the general council, or else leaving the pope, I should appeal immediately to the council, herein I stand in need of your counsel.

Many causes there are for which I think good to appeal. First, because I am by an oath bound never to consent to the receiving of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm. Besides this, whereas I utterly refused to make answer to the articles objected unto me by the bishop of Gloucester, appointed by the pope to be my judge, yet I was content to answer Martin and Story with this protestation, that mine answer should not be taken as made before a judge, nor yet

in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all: moreover, after I had made mine answer, I required to have a copy of the same, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good: which, though both the bishop of Gloucester, and the king and queen's proctors promised me, yet have they altogether broke their promise with me, and have not permitted me to correct my said answers according to my request; and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registered the same as acts formally done in place of judgment.

Finally, forasmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon me, for my departing from the bishop of Rome, and from the popish religion, so that now the quarrel is between the pope himself and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent judge in his own cause; it seemeth (methinks) good reason, that I should be suffered to appeal to some general council in this matter; especially seeing the law of nature (as they say) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in such cases.

Now, since it is very requisite that this matter should be kept as close as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect skill herein you shall have need of further advice; then I beseech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Christ, that you will open to no creature alive whose the case is. And forasmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beseech you, that laying aside all other your studies and business for the time, you will apply to this my matter only, till you have brought it to pass. The chief cause in very deed (to tell you the truth) of this mine appeal is, that I might gain time (if it shall so please God) to live until I have finished mine answer against Marcus Antonius Constantius, which I have now in hand. But if the adversaries of the truth will not admit mine appeal, as I fear they will not, God's will be done; I pass not upon it, so that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Christ's quarrel, and to reign with him, than here to be shut up and kept in the prison of this body, unless it were to continue yet still a while in this warfare, for the advantage and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancing of God's glory. To whom be all glory for evermore, Amen.

There is also yet another cause why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to answer there for myself, I am notwithstanding kept here fast in prison, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: and moreover, forasmuch as the state I stand in, is a matter of life and death, so that I have great need of learned counsel for my defence in this behalf: yet when I made my earnest request for the same, all manner of counsel, and help of proctors, advocates, and lawyers, was utterly denied me.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CRANMER.

#### LETTER V.

*From Archbishop CRANMER, to Mrs. WILKINSON, exhorting her to fly in the Time of Persecution.*

THE true Comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath company enough if he were in a wilderness all alone: and he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you seek your dwelling there where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? If you are loth to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do

his



his Father's will. Where we find therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can want neither friend nor kindred.

If you be loth to depart for the slander of God's word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the scribes and pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were persecuted in one place they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas! And what wisdom and policy he used from time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, although when it came to such a point, that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutor of God's true religion, then they shewed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good; and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they shewed how little they dreaded death; how much they feared God more than man; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this short and miserable life.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your's and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God, and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And what you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go, and all that be godly will say, Amen.

Unto these former letters of Dr. Cranmer, archbishop, written by him unto others, it seemeth to me not much out of place to annex withal a certain letter also of Dr. Taylor, written to him and his fellow prisoners; the tenor of which letter here followeth.

*To my dear Fathers and Brethren Dr. CRANMER, Dr. RIDLEY, and Mr. LATIMER, Prisoners in Oxford for the faithful Testimony of God's holy Word.*

**R**IGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus Christ; and God be praised again for this your most excellent promotion, which you are called unto at this present, that is, that you are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christ's recorders and witnesses. England hath had but a few learned bishops, that would stick to Christ, *ad ignem*, inclusively. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my heart for you three such captains in the foreward under Christ's cross, banner, or standard, in such a cause and skirmish, when not one or two of our dear Redeemer's strong holds are besieged, but all his chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traiterously assaulted. This your enterprize, in the sight of all that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of nobility than to be in the fore-front in wordly warfares. For God's sake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, his name be praised, and we doubt not but you be so in Christ's own sweet school. Heaven is all and wholly of our side; therefore, rejoice always in the Lord: and again, rejoice and be glad.

Your assured in Christ,  
ROWLAND TAYLOR.

*The HISTORY of AGNES POTTEN, and JOAN TRUNCHFIELD, MARTYRS, persecuted in Suffolk.*

**I**N the history of Robert Samuel mention was made before of two godly women of the same town of Ipswich, who shortly after him suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom: the name of the first was Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten; and another, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a shoemaker, both dwelling in one town: who, about the same time that the archbishop aforesaid was burnt at Oxford, suffered likewise in the aforesaid town of Ipswich, either in the same month of March, or (as some say) in the end of February before.

Their opinion or persuasion was this, that in the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: for (said they) Jesus Christ is ascended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the scriptures, and not in the sacrament, as he was born of the virgin Mary.

For this they were burnt. In whose suffering their constancy was worthy to be wondered at; who being simple women, so manfully stood to the confession and testimony of God's word and verity: insomuch that when they had prepared and undressed themselves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the scripture they earnestly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions, despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish Antichrist, with all his superstitions and rotten religion; and so continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands and called unto God constantly so long as life did endure.

This Potten's wife, one night a little before her death, being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the side of the fire she thought there stood a number of queen Mary's friends looking on. Then being asleep, she seemed to muse with herself whether her fire should burn so bright or no: and indeed her suffering was not far unlike her dream.

This also I thought further to note, how these two being always together in prison, the one which was Michael's wife, seemed to be nothing so ardent and zealous as Potten's wife was, although (God be thanked) they did both stoutly stand to the confession of the truth; but when the said Michael's wife came to the stake, and saw nothing but present death before her, she much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; although both of them did so joyfully suffer, that it was marvelled at by those who knew them, and did behold their end. And thus these two martyrs ended their lives with great triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like, Amen.

*The HISTORY of JOHN MAUNDREL, WILLIAM COBERLY, and JOHN SPICER, MARTYRS, persecuted in the Diocese of Salisbury.*

**J**OHAN MAUNDREL was the son of Robert Maundrel of Rowd, in the county of Wilts, farmer; he was from his childhood brought up in husbandry, and when he came to man's estate, he dwelt in a village called Buchampton, in the parish of Kevel, in the county aforesaid, where he lived in good repute with his wife and children. After the scripture was translated into English by William Tindal, this John Maundrel became a diligent hearer thereof, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much, as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good memory, so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament; his life and conversation being very honest and charitable, as his neighbours could testify.

So it was, that in the days of king Henry the Eighth, at which time Dr. Trigouion and Dr. Lee did visit the abbey,



abbeys, the said John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trigonion at an abbey called Edyngton in Wiltshire; where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such like ceremonies, and for the same did wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the market, in the town of the Devizes, which is in the said county. Nevertheless his fervency did not abate, but by God's merciful assistance he took better hold, as the sequel thereof did declare.

For in the days of queen Mary, when popery was restored again, and God's true religion put to silence, the said John Maundrel left his own house and went into Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom, as a servant to keep their cattle, he there did remain with one John Bridges, or some other at Kingswood; but after a time he returned to his own country, and there coming to the Devizes to a friend of his named Anthony Clee, had talk and conference with him in a garden, of returning home to his house.

And when the other exhorted him by the words of scripture, to fly from one city to another, he replied again by the words of the Revelations xxi. of them that be fearful, and said, that he must needs go home, and so did. Where he with Spicer and Coberly used at times to resort and confer together.

At length upon the Sunday following they agreed together to go to the parish church, called Revel, where the said Maundrel, and the other two, seeing the parishioners in the procession following and worshipping the idol there carried, advised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, particularly speaking to one Robert Barkisdale, head man of the parish, but he paid no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his head-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory: the said John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, that was the pope's pin-fold, the other two affirming the same. After which words, by command of the priest, they were had to the stocks, where they remained till the service was done, and then were brought before a justice of peace, and the next day were all three carried to Salisbury, and presented before bishop Capon, and William Geffrey, being chancellor of the diocese. By whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined concerning their faith, in their houses, but seldom openly. And at the last examination these were the articles which the chancellor alledged against them, being accompanied by the sheriff of the shire, Mr. St. Johns, and other popish priests in the parish church of Fisherton Anger, demanding how they did believe.

They answered, as christian men should and ought to believe: and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelations.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he proposed them in particular articles: First, whether they did not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it), after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary. Whereunto they answered negatively, saying that the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing, that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly administered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth; they answered negatively, saying, that the bishop of Rome doth usurp over emperors and kings, being Antichrist, and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, Will you have the church without a head? They answered, Christ was head of his church, and under Christ the queen's majesty.

What, said the chancellor, a woman head of the church? Yea, said they, within her grace's dominions.

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardon, and the suffrages of the church.

They said, they believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they feared nothing of the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed unto and worshipped.

They answered negatively, John Maundrel adding, that wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.

Those articles thus answered (for their articles were one, and their answers in manner alike), the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff. Then spake John Spicer, saying, O master sheriff, now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord. This was the 23d day of March, 1556, and the 24th day of the same month, they were carried out of the common gaol to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where were two posts set for them to be burnt at. Which men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together, and then being unclothed to their shirts, John Maundrel spake with a loud voice, Not for all Salisbury. Which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake John Spicer, saying, This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw. Thus were the three burnt at two stakes: where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for the testimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberly, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper's house at the same time that her husband was in prison. Where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had secretly heated a key fire-hot, and laid it in the grass in the back-yard. So speaking to Alice Coberly to fetch her the key in all haste, the said Alice went with all speed to bring it, and taking it up in haste did piteously burn her hand. Whereupon she crying out on the sudden burning of her hand, Ah thou drab, quoth the other, thou that canst not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body? and so she afterward revoked.

But to return again so the story of Coberly, who being at the stake, was somewhat long a burning as the wind stood: after his body was scorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the flesh being burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the chain, and with the right hand, which was less injured, knocked upon his breast softly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose upright with his body again. And thus much concerning these three Salisbury martyrs.

#### *An ACCOUNT of the DEATH of SIX other MARTYRS suffering at LONDON, whose Names follow.*

**A**BOUT the 23d day of April, 1556, were burned in Smithfield, at one fire, these six constant martyrs of Christ, suffering for the profession of the gospel, viz. Robert Drakes, minister. William Tyns, curate. Richard Spurge, sheerman. Thomas Spurge, fuller. John Cavel, weaver. George Ambrose, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and so of the diocese of London,



don, and were sent up, some by the lord Rich, and some by others at sundry times, unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England, about the 22d day of March, 1555; who after a short examination, sent them, some unto the King's Bench, and others unto the Marshalsea, where they remained almost the whole year, until the death of the said bishop of Winchester, and had during that time nothing said unto them. Whereupon, after that Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellor, four of these persecuted brethren, being now weary of this their long imprisonment, made their supplication unto the said Dr. Heath, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the copy whereof here followeth.

To the Most Reverend FATHER in GOD, THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP of YORK, LORD CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND.

MAY it please your honourable good lordship, for the love of God to tender the humble suit of your lordship's poor petitioners, whose names are subscribed, who have lain in the Marshalsea for ten months or more at the commandment of the late lord chancellor, to their utter ruin, with their wives and children. In consideration whereof your lordship's said supplicants do most humbly pray and beseech your good lordship to suffer them to be brought before your honour; and there if any man of good conscience can lay any thing to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocence against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign punishments to satisfy the law according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy towards us and all men, according to your godly office, and in which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of Almighty God, Amen.

This supplication was sent (as is said) and subscribed with the names of these four under written:

RICHARD SPURGE. GEORGE AMBROSE.  
THOMAS SPURGE. JOHN CAVEL.

#### RICHARD SPURGE.

UPON the receipt hereof, it was not long after, but sir Richard Reed, knight, then one of the officers of the court of Chancery, the 16th day of January, was sent unto the Marshalsea to examine the said four prisoners; and therefore beginning first with Richard Spurge upon certain demands, received his answers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the parson at Bocking; unto the lord Rich, for not coming to their parish church of Bocking, where they had inhabited; thereupon he was, by the said lord Rich, sent unto the late lord chancellor, about the 22d of March, 1555.

And farther, he said, that he came not to the church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin (Christmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted), and that because he misliked both the same and the mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Moreover he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unless it pleased the lord chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

#### THOMAS SPURGE.

THOMAS SPURGE being then next examined, made the same answer in effect that the other had done; confessing, that he absented himself from the church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered in such sort as was prescribed by the same word. And being further examined of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he said, that if any could accuse him thereof, he would then make answer as God had given him knowledge therein.

#### GEORGE AMBROSE.

THE like answer made George Ambrose, adding moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, *De vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, inveighing both against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he did set much less by their doings than before.

#### JOHN CAVEL.

JOHN CAVEL agreeing in other matters with them, answered, that the cause why he did forbear coming to the church, was, that the parson there had preached two contrary doctrines. For first, in a sermon that he made at the queen's first entry to the crown, he did exhort people to believe the gospel; for it was the truth, and if they did not believe it, they should be damned. But in a second sermon, he preached that the Testament was false in forty places, which contrariety in him was a cause, amongst others, of his absenting from the church.

#### ROBERT DRAKES.

ABOUT the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes was also examined, who was parson of Thundersley, in Essex, and had there remained for the space of three years. He was first made deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley, at the commandment of Dr. Cramer, late archbishop of Canterbury. And within one year after (which was the third year after king Edward) he was, by the said archbishop and Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established; and was presented to the said benefice of Thundersley by the lord Rich, at the suit of Mr. Causton and Mr. Treheron; and now notwithstanding was sent up by the said lord Rich, with the others before-mentioned; and at his coming to the bishop of Winchester, was by him demanded whether he could conform himself like a subject to the laws of this realm then in force. To whom he said, he would abide all laws that stood with the laws of God; and thereupon was committed to prison, where he, and the rest above-named did remain ever since.

#### The HISTORY of WILLIAM TYMS, DEACON, and CURATE of Hockley, in Essex.

IN the days of queen Mary there were two sermons preached in the woods at Hockley, which woods belonged to one Mr. Tyrel; one was called Plumborough Wood, and the other Beches Wood, and there was at the same sermons an honest man and his wife, whose name was John Gye, and servant to Mr. Tyrel at the farm called Plumborough. Shortly after it was known to Mr. Tyrel that his woods were polluted with sermons, which he took very ill, and much matter did arise about it as an unlawful assembly, which was laid to John Gye's charge, because he did not disclose that unlawful act to his master, being then in the commission of the peace, appointed at that time to keep down the gospel, which he did to the utmost, as it may appear to many of his acts.

Soon after Mr. Tyrel came to Hockley to sift out this matter, and to know who was at these preachings: And there were found many faulty; for it is supposed there were an hundred persons at the least. So it pleased Mr. Tyrel to begin first with John Gye, and asked where that naughty fellow was that served their parish, one Tymes; for it is told me, said he, that he is the cause of these naughty fellows coming into the country. Therefore I charge thee, Gye, to fetch me this naughty fellow Tymes; for thou knowest where he is. No, said Gye, I do not know. So in no wise could he make him fetch him.

Then stepped forth another of Mr. Tyrel's men, willing to please his master, whose name was Richard Sheriff, and said to him, Sir, I know where he is. Well, said his



his matter, go to the constables, and charge them to bring him to me.

So this Richard Sheriff being very diligent, made sure work, and had him brought by the constables (whose names were Edward Hedge and John James) before his master.

Then Mr. Tyrel commanded all the rest to depart; and it was wisely done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tyms without reproach; and there he kept him about three hours. But there were some that listened at the walls, and heard Mr. Tyrel say thus to Tyms.

Methinketh, said he, when I see the blessed rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why, sir, said Tyms, if an idol that is made with man's hands doth make you remember God, how much more ought the creatures of God, as man being his workmanship, or the grasse, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So Mr. Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms, as it were in a heat, calling him a traitorous knave.

Why, sir, said Tyms, in king Edward's days you affirmed the truth that I do now.

Affirm! quoth Tyrel, nay, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart.

Well, said Tyms, I pray you, Mr. Tyrel, bear with me, for I have been a traitor but a while, but you have been a traitor six years.

After this Tyms was sent to London to the bishop, and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's Bench, and then was Mr. Tyrel's rage over with them that were in the woods at the sermons. So Mr. Tyrel took away Gye's coat, and gave it to John Traiford, and sent him to St. Tosies to see good rule kept there.

When Tyms came before the bishop of London, there was at that time the bishop of Bath, and William Tyms was examined of his faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had wherewith to answer them both; for the constables said, that brought them before the bishop, that they never heard the like. Then the bishop (as though he would have had Tyms to turn from the trial) said to the constables, I pray you give him good counsel, that he may turn from his error. My lord, said the constables, he is at a point, for he will not turn.

Then both the bishops began to be weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishops began to pity Tyms's case, and to flatter him, saying, Ah, good fellow, (said they) thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit, we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit. I thank you, my lords, said Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good spirit to your learning.

So thus they broke up, and sent Tyms to the bishop of Winchester, and then were Edward Hedge and John James the constables aforementioned discharged, and Tyms was commanded to the King's Bench, where he was mightily strengthened with the good men that he found there.

And thus hitherto you have heard, first upon what occasion this William Tyms was apprehended, how he was treated by Mr. Tyrel the justice, and by him sent up to the ordinary of the diocese, which was bishop Bonner; who, after some talk, and debating with the said Tyms, at length directed him to the bishop of Winchester, being then lord chancellor, and was commanded by him upon the same to the King's Bench.

Here by the way is to be understood, that Tyms as he was but a deacon, so he was but simply, or at least not priestly appareled, forasmuch as he went not in a gown, but in a coat; and his hose were of two colours, the upper part white, and the nether stocks of sheep's russet. Whereupon the prelate sending for him to come before him, and seeing his simple attire, began to mock him, saying, Ah, sirrah, are you a deacon? Yes, my lord, that I am, quoth Tyms. So methinketh, said the bishop, you are decked like a deacon. My lord, said Tyms, my vesture doth not so much vary from a deacon: but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an apostle.

So then there spake one of the bishop's gentlemen, My lord, (said he in mockery) give him a chair, a toast, and drink, and he will be lusty. But the bishop ordered him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But Winchester, for lack of leisure, or because of sickness growing upon him, or for what cause else I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary bishop from whence he came. So William Tyms being put off again to bishop Bonner, was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs above-named, and with them brought together to public examination before the bishop the 21st day of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the said bishop, after his accustomed manner proceeded against them, inquired of them their faith upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom they answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest: of which opinion they had been a long time, some later, some sooner, even as God of his mercy did call upon them unto the knowledge of his gospel.

Then the bishop's chaplains began to reason with them, but with no great authorities either of the scriptures or of the ancient fathers, as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

#### Another EXAMINATION of W. TYMS and R. DRAKES, &c. before the Bishop of LONDON.

THE 23d day of the same month of March, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and *ex officio* did object unto them certain articles, the sum and manner whereof were the same which before were objected to Whitte, Green, Tudson, &c. And the 26th day of the same month he sent for the other four, administering to them also the same general articles. Unto which they all in effect answered in matters touching their faith, as did the said Bartlet Green and the rest. Other appearings they had, as the bishop's common manner of proceeding was more (as I have often said) for order and form of law, than for any zeal of justice.

But in conclusion, the 28th day of the said month, William Tyms and Robert Drakes, with the other four above named, were brought to the open consistory in St. Paul's before the said bishop of London, to be condemned for heresy.

The bishop first began in this manner: Tyms, said he, I will begin with thee first, for thou art and hast been the ringleader of these thy companions, thou hast taught them heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and hast endeavoured as much as in thee lieth, to make them like unto thyself. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Christ, in the 18th of Matthew, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldest not have heard me, I would not so have left thee, but I, with two or three others, would have exhorted thee; if that would not have served, then would I have told the church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifest to the world, and thou thyself remainest stout in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. Paul speaketh, 1 Tim. v. "Such as sin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear." For this cause art thou brought before me in the face of this people to receive judgment according to thy deserts. Let me see what thou canst say, why I should not proceed against thee as thine ordinary.

My lord, quoth Tyms, will you now give me leave to speak? Yea, quoth the bishop. Then said Tyms, My lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have said shall shortly appear: for there is none of all these my brethren, which are brought hither as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prison,



prison, they dissented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this present; and for that cause they are now prisoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until such time as I, by their commandment, was prisoner with them; how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? so that all the world may see how untruly you have spoken. And as for my fault which you make so grievous, whatsoever you judge of me, I am well assured that I hold none other religion than Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for which you have cruelly burnt them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed on hardly, by what rule you will, I oppose not, neither refuse you for mine ordinary.

Then, said the bishop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How sayest thou, wilt thou submit thyself to the catholic church as an obedient child? In so doing thou shalt be received, and do well enough, otherwise thou shalt have judgment as an heretic.

Then one of the prisoners (whose name is not certainly known) said, My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own lust. But if you will judge us according to the holy Testament of Christ, which is the word of truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that word we wholly submit ourselves. But as for your judgment without the truth, God shall condemn. This was very earnestly expressed, insisting that they should be judged by the word of God.

At this the bishop was offended, calling him busy knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or else he should be had away to a place of smaller ease.

Then Tyms answered and said, My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporal oath promised never to consent to the same. Contrary to which you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falsely perjured and forsworn all the sort of you. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you burn men that will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head.

Have I? quoth the bishop, where have I written any thing against the church of Rome?

My lord, quoth Tyms, the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, intituled, *De vera Obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish authority: unto which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falshood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.

Then was the bishop somewhat ashamed, and looking upon those that were present, spake very gently, saying, Lo, here is a good matter indeed. My lord of Winchester being a very learned man, did write a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and I also did write a preface before the same book, tending to the same effect. And thus did we because of the perilous times that then were. For then it was made treason by the laws of this realm, to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger it was to be suspected a favourer of the see of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to comply with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it.

And then turning his tale upon Tyms, he said, But since that time, even since the coming in of the queen's majesty, when we might be bold to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my lord of Winchester shamed not to recant the same at Paul's Cross. And also thou thyself seest that I stand not in it, but willingly have submitted myself. Do thou also as we have done.

My lord, quoth Tyms, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well approved

by the scriptures. But that which you now do, is against the word of God, as I can well prove.

Then another, I suppose it was Dr. Cooke, said, Tyms, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou speakest much of the scripture, and yet understandest it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayst be compared: thou art like to one who intending to go a hunting, riseth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth up to the hills, and down into the valleys; he passeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he searcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh, weary of his travel, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it with thee. Thou labourest in reading of the scriptures, thou takest the letter, but the meaning thou knowest not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man that I spake of even now.

Sir, quoth Tyms, you have not well applied your similitude; for I praise God, I have not read the scriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me so much as I doubt not is sufficient for my salvation.

Then said the bishop, You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of scripture, and you know not what scripture is. I pray thee tell me; how knowest thou that thing to be the word of God, which thou callest scripture?

To this answered Robert Drakes, that he knew it to be the word of God, because it shewed unto men their salvation in Christ, and doth revoke and call all men back from their wicked lives, unto a pure and undefiled conversation.

The bishop replied, that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the scripture, and yet their writings are not esteemed to be God's word.

Then said Tyms, The Old Testament beareth witness of those things which are written in the New; for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Testament but it was fore-shewed in the law and the prophets.

I will deny all, quoth the bishop, I will deny all; what sayest thou then? Then Robert Drakes alledged a sentence in Latin out of the 59th chapter of Isaiah's prophecy: *Spiritus meus qui est in te*, &c. that is, "My Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of the seed of thy seed from henceforth even for ever;" meaning thereby to prove, that he who had the Spirit of God, could thereby discern and judge truly which was God's word: but before he could explicate his mind, he was interrupted by the bishop, who spoke unto Dr. Pendleton, saying,

Mr. Doctor, I pray you say something to these folk that may do them some good. Then Dr. Pendleton leaning near the bishop, covered his face with both his hands, to the end he might the more easily devise what to say; but another conversation was presently brought forward, so that for that time he said nothing.

And thus much William Alsbury, witness here being present thereat, so far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was said, (for he had not yet made an end) because he departed thence out of the house, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the bishop, after this, and such like communication, proceeded at length in form of law, causing both the articles and his answers to the same to be read and there openly read; the sum of which his confession recorded and left in his own hand-writing, is in effect as follows.

*The ARTICLES for which WILLIAM TYMS, of Hockley, in Essex, was condemned in the Consistory of St. Paul's, the 28th of March, with his ANSWERS and CONFESSION upon the same.*

**F**IRST, I did truly confess, and believe that I was baptized in the true catholic church of Christ;



when I was baptized, there was the element and the word of God, according to Christ's institution. And my godfathers and godmothers did promise for me, that I should forsake the devil, and all his works, and that I should keep God's commandments, and believe all the articles of the christian faith; all which I do believe at this day, and with God's help I trust to do while I live; for it was not the wickedness of the minister that made the sacrament of none effect, &c.

Item, I confessed two sacraments, and but two in Christ's true church; that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and that Christ is present with his sacraments, as it pleaseth him.

Item, I confessed, that Christ hath a visible church, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the sacraments truly administered.

Item, I confessed the see of Rome to be as the late bishop of Winchester hath written in his book *De vera Obedientia*, to which I said unto the bishop of London, that he had made a godly preface; and also John Bale hath plainly declared in his book, called, *The image of both churches*, even so much as I believe thereof.

Item, I confessed the mass to be blasphemy to Christ's death and passion.

Item, I confessed that in the sacrament of the altar, Christ is not present either spiritually or corporally; but as they use it, it is an abominable idol.

Last of all, I confessed the bishop of London to be mine ordinary.

After this the bishop fell to intreaty and persuasions, earnestly exhorted him to revoke his heresies (as he termed them), and to reform himself unto the church of Rome, and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the scriptures, but to use the interpretations of the old fathers.

To which Tyms answered, I will not reform myself thereunto. And I thank God for this day; for I trust he will turn your cursings into blessings.

And furthermore asking this question, he said; And what have you to maintain the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but only the bare letter?

We have (quoth the bishop) the catholic church.

No, said Tyms, you have the popish church of Rome for you, for which you are perjured and forsworn. And the see of Rome is the see of Antichrist; and therefore to that church I will not conform myself, nor once consent unto it.

Then the bishop seeing his constant boldness to be unmoveable, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced the sentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the secular power.

Afterwards calling for Robert Drakes, he used towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before.

To whom Drakes replied, As for your church of Rome, I utterly defy and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the devil and all his works.

The bishop then using his accustomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at last gave him the like blessing that Tyms had, and so charged the sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the catholic church, said as follows; As for your church of Rome, I do utterly deny it: but to the true catholic church I am content to return, and continue in the same, whereof I believe the church of Rome to be no part or member.

Then in short, calling the rest in their turn, and upon the like demands receiving the like answers, the said bishop gave unto each of them their several judgments; and so ridding his bloody hands, committed them unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they all went most joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good time, wherein they should seal this their faith with the shedding of their blood; which they most stoutly and willingly performed, in the month of April.

## L E T T E R I.

From WILLIAM TYMS to his faithful Sister in the Lord, AGNES GLASCOCK, Parishioner in the Town of Hockley.

THE grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved sister, yea mother, I might right well call you for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have most heartily commended myself unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire nor sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go on Friday next to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the 20th day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. However I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you till we meet in heaven; and hasten you after.

I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you are so long making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merrily singing, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my journey's end. Therefore now (my dear heart) make good haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night take you, and so you be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now (my sister) in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from Antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests, Amen.

These words following were written with his own blood.

Continue in prayer.

Ask in faith.

And obtain your desire.

By me W. TYMS, in  
the King's-Bench  
for the Gospel of  
Christ.

## L E T T E R II.

From WILLIAM TYMS, comforting his Sister GLASCOCK, being in great Sorrow and Repentance for going to the Mass.

GOD be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and send you faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom, Amen.

My dear sister, I have me most heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that idolatrous priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoiced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy shewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourself, but since your denial he hath shewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to yourself, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart would either have been hardened, or else you would have despaired of the mercy of God.



God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you as he hath been, be ye not unthankful unto him for the same. For I certify you that your sorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the blood-shedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as Peter, after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so, my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the papists; and as they do bear witness with their father the devil, by going to the church, and shedding the innocent blood of those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there: for all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their brethren's blood, that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christ's sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may always have affiance in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory to your everlasting comfort in Christ, Amen. Thus fare you well. From the King's-bench, this 28th of August.

By me,  
WILLIAM TYMS.

### LETTER III.

*From WILLIAM TYMS to certain godly WOMEN of his Parish, Followers of the Gospel.*

**G**RACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear sisters, I have me most heartily recommended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness shewed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment, and not only unto me, but also unto my poor wife and children; and also for the great kindness that you shew unto all the living saints that are dispersed abroad, and are obliged to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

Dear sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers godly women, as Susannah, Judith, Esther, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions saved both her husband's life, and all her household, when David had thought to have slain him for his churlish answer that he sent him. Also I do remember Rahab that lodged the Lord's spies, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to God's people. So I do believe that when the Lord shall send his angel to destroy these idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but spare your whole households for your sakes. Also I remember Mary Magdalen, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed martyr, Anne Askew, in our time, and follow her example of constancy, and for the love of God take heed that in no case you consent to idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her seven sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them, yea, and last of all suffered death herself, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to send you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as she did, and then you shall be sure of the same kingdom that she is sure of; to which kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me,  
prisoner in the King's-bench,  
WILLIAM TYMS.

### LETTER IV.

*From WILLIAM TYMS to his FRIENDS in HOCKLEY.*

**T**HE grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you my dear brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have shewed unto me, seven-fold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his word, even so I beseech him to give you grace to love your own souls, and then I trust you will flee from all those things that should displease our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship God any otherwise than is contained in his holy word. And beware of those masters of idolatry, that is, these papistical priests. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, which I am now ready to seal with my blood. I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And, dear hearts, I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but to remember well what I have simply by word of mouth and writing taught you. Which although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own conscience beareth me record: and therefore in any case take heed that you do not that thing which your own conscience doth condemn. Therefore come out of Sodom and go heavenward with the servants and martyrs of God, lest you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation from which the Lord God defend you, and send us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven; unto which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me as yet.

By me in Newgate, your poorest and most unworthy brother in Christ,  
Newgate, April 12. W. TYMS.

### LETTER V.

*From WILLIAM TYMS to his PARISHIONERS, giving Thanks for their Charity shewed to his Wife, being brought to Bed of a Child in his Captivity.*

**T**HE everlasting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, be with you, my dear brethren and sisters, both now and ever, Amen.

My most dear brethren and sisters in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I have me most heartily commended unto you with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have shewed unto me, and especially now in the time of my necessity, when that God hath sent my poor wife a child in my captivity; which is no little care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both the child and my wife from the antichristian-church: which thing I thank my God, through his most gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God, and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable to them as I have been, and especially you my dear brethren, I being so unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance: but such is the merciful goodness of God, so as to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts so to do, even so I beseech God to give you power to forsake and reject all things which are displeasing in his sight, to do all things which are requisite to a christian



christian; and fend you grace to go forwards in the same, as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor sword. And, my most dear hearts, remember well the simple plain doctrine which I have taught you, and also written unto you, which was the truth, and for a testimony of the same I trust that you shall shortly hear, or else see that I will seal the same with my blood.

And in the mean time I desire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with God's help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Christ's sake, will so finish the days of our pilgrimage, that we may rest together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, to which I beseech the eternal Lord for his Christ's sake to bring both you and all your's, Amen.

By me, WILLIAM TYMS.

## LETTER. VI.

From WILLIAM TYMS to his Sisters COLFOX  
and AGNES GLASCOCK.

**G**RACE and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and intirely beloved sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least ought to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, which are the priests, and take good heed of them, for they serve a crafty master; yea, and as St. Peter saith, He sleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they see that you will not run into the idol's temples with them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, that ye run not to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter saith, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

But, my dear sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not seem a strange thing unto you. But when they do so, remember wherefore it is, and for whose sake, even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is God's cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his sake, think yourselves most happy. For if you suffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, then shall ye be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants have always persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself hath promised that they shall do unto the end of the world.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen, who for favouring, maintaining, and defending the same doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ's apostles were diversly afflicted all over the world for the same by this viperous generation. Antipas the faithful witness of Christ was slain at Pergamus. Jason for receiving Paul and Silas, with other disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council at Thessalonica, and accused for a seditious traitor against Cæsar. No marvel therefore though at this day we are vexed on the same sort, maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true servants of God now, than hath been aforesaid? No surely, for so hath Christ promised. And if they have persecuted him, they needs must persecute his members; if they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, so will they do his household; "You shall be hated of all men, (saith Christ) for my name's sake."

It is no new thing, my dear hearts, to see the true members of Christ handled as in our days they are, as it is not unknown to you how they are cruelly treated, and

blasphemed without any reasonable cause. For heretics must they be taken, who follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ an heretic, for he never went a procession with the cope, cross, or candlestick. He never censured image, nor sang Latin service. He never sat in confession. He never preached of purgatory nor of the pope's pardons. He never honoured saints, nor prayed for the dead. He never said mass, mattins, nor even-song. He never commanded to fast Friday nor vigil, lent nor advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palms, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curseth all those that add to his word such beggarly shadows, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. St. Paul saith, they have no portion with Christ, which entangle themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

Therefore, my dear hearts, seeing that our good God hath, by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, bring not yourselves again into the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which, as St. Peter saith, "will come as a thief in the night." And our captain Christ saith "If the good man of the house knew what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch."

Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage ever so sore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who according to his promise for the weakness of our nature hath so assuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren that have gone before us, to the fight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and say with St. Paul, Rom. viii. "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? as it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long," &c.

Therefore, my dear sisters, if to save your lives, any dissembling gospellers would have you to go to the idol's temple with them, say unto them, No; for my master Christ saith, Matth. x. "He that would save his life shall lose it." And in another place to comfort us, he saith, "There shall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your heavenly Father's will." And therefore say that you will not be of that sort, that be neither hot nor cold, lest God should spue you out of his mouth. But make them this answer, saying, St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. vi. "Bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers. For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, what company hath light with darkness, what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God, with images?" And ye are the temple of God, as God saith, I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord."

Thus mine own bowels in the Lord, as I began, so make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your cross, and follow your captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution, and then you shall be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlasting kingdom, which he himself hath purchased with his own most precious blood: to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

By me, WILLIAM TYMS.



## L E T T E R VII.

From WILLIAM TYMS, *exhorting all GOD's faithful Servants to eschew the SOCIETY of IDOLATERS, and GOD's ENEMIES.*

**G**RACE be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladness, because of the fellowship which ye have in the gospel, from the first day that I knew you, until this day; and I am surely certified of this, that he who hath begun a good work in you, shall go forth with it, until the day of Jesus Christ, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increase more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I most heartily desire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile earthly body in this time of persecution, so he will strengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my imprisonment do not discomfort, but rather strengthen and comfort you, to see the goodness of God shewed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three such bishops concerning worldly wisdom, he gave me both mouth and wisdom; inasmuch that the bishop of London went away in a great haste from me; and after that he sent his man with a Bible, turning to the 9th chapter to the Hebrews, and the bishop of Bath looking on it, said, What meaneth my lord? this maketh nothing for his purpose. Then I looked on it, and said, My lord seeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me; for here he hath condemned the sacrifice of your mass: for you say that you offer a daily sacrifice in your mass, both for the quick and the dead; and here St. Paul saith, "Without blood-shedding there is no forgiveness of sins;" therefore that is here condemned. He answered, Yea, saith he so? So say all such heretics, and so forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbours that heard them can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written that you should not be afraid, but call upon God as he hath commanded us to ask and we shall have; seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you. Also he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promised to hear us. Therefore if we have not mouth and wisdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedness, and amend our lives, or else we be unfaithful, and believe not the promises of God; and so we ourselves are the cause that this wisdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any case, as I have always said unto you, since I first knew you, so say I now, beware of idolatry, and of your good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Israel had made them a golden calf, did not God say they had marred all, and would have destroyed them, had not Moses earnestly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry: therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep unstained from it. You have example out of the Old Testament, how loth the godly fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: and yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any christian man's heart to weep. God send us more grace.

First look in the 11th. and 12th. of Genesis; Abraham, because he would not be partaker of their idolatry, fled from the people of Chaldea, being his native country. And in the 19th. of Genesis, Lot at the commandment of the angels departed from Sodom, lest he tarrying with the Sodomites should have been consumed with them. In the 21st. of Genesis, Sarah would not suffer Ishmael, who was given to mocking, to keep company with her son Isaac, lest he should also become a mocker. Look in the 16th. of Numbers; Moses at God's appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling-

places of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, lest they also should be all wrapped in their sins, and so perish among them. So do I, even as Moses commanded them that they should not keep company with those wicked people, lest the vengeance of God should light on them; so do I (I say) give you warning that you should not keep company with the idolaters, in their idolatrous temples, lest the wrath of God come upon you to destroy you.

Look what St. Paul saith in the second epistle, and the sixth chapter to the Corinthians: "Set yourselves (saith he) therefore at large, and bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as saith God; I will dwell among them, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing."

Good brethren, mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. Syrach saith, "He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled therewith; and he that keepeth company with the proud, shall clothe himself with pride." Even so he that is familiar with idolaters, cannot be unstained with idolatry; except he do it to win them to Christ, as there be but a few that do. Yea, it may not be where idolatry is openly committed, as for an example; Peter, so long as he continued with Christ and Christ's disciples, continued in the truth, preached the truth, confessed openly Christ to be the Son of the living God, and promised that he would not only go to prison, but also to very death with him: but when he came once into the court of the bishop's house, he straightway was stricken with such fear, by a poor maiden, and a simple ruffian (such a one as my lord of London hath, that said, By God's blood, if I meet with any of these vile heretics, I will thrust an arrow in him) that when, I say, he was amongst them, he denied his master, swore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confessed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the unbelieving Jews, commanding them, among other his godly exhortations, to save themselves from that untoward generation. How many of our priests before this storm of persecution, when the gospel was truly preached, were bold, and could say, They would die rather than deny their master! but when they come once into the bishops houses, they preach no more Christ, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or else send them more grace and strength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

Paul, all the while he was among the bishops, was a cruel persecutor; but after he was called by God from the bishops, he became a true preacher: therefore God keep all christian men out of the hands of our bishops. St. Paul, in the fifteenth to the Romans, saith, I dare not speak any of those things that Christ hath not wrought by me. He saith also, Rom. xvi. "I beseech you, brethren, mark them that make division, and give occasion of evil, contrary to the doctrine that ye have learned, and avoid them: for they that are such serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and with sweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the simple." Our master Christ himself hath given us warning which they be; for he hath set the plain mark on them, in the 24th. of Matthew, "If they say, here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not. If they say he is in the desert, go not forth. If they say he is in the secret place, believe them not." And I pray you where can he be more secret, than in so small a piece of bread? For my lord of London, like a liar, said to me, that after the words be spoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wine. Then I asked him what he said to David, where he saith, "Thou shalt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption." How say you to that? Will not the sacrament of the altar putrify or corrupt? He answered, Yes. I asked him, what it was that did corrupt,



corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He answered, and said the accidents. I said unto him, It was a mad accident without substance: for you say, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to corrupt; with many such like arguments.

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with such arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, because you have had so much warning. Repent ye betimes of your sinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or else take them away, or else he will give us that which he promised to his disciples, if we be contented to take the same reward they had. And if we disdain the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be the father's heir, must be contented to receive his father's correction. For St. Paul saith in the 12th to the Hebrews, "If we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we bastards and not sons."

And you know what belongeth to a bastard; he shall not be his father's heir. And if we remember ourselves well, how negligent we have been to our father's commandment, we shall find ourselves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuse his correction, he will refuse us to be his sons. I pray you look what he promised to his disciples, and I pray you also look how willingly they received it: and so must we do if we will be partakers with them. First let us see what Christ promised to his disciples. Look in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, and there shall you see these words, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves. Be wise therefore as serpents, and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to the councils, and shall scourge you in their synagogues: ye shall be brought before the head-rulers and kings for my name's sake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought how or what you shall speak: for it shall be given you in the same hour what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father," &c. Read the whole chapter, for it is very comfortable to a christian man; and mark it well, and you shall find what we ought to do in the time of persecution. Also look into the fourth chapter of the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, where it is said, "For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might appear in our mortal flesh." Thus have you heard that St. Paul doth boast of persecution; even so should we, for it is the way to bring us to rest.

Therefore let us strive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the saying of St. Paul in the 21st chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, when he was going to Jerusalem. When he was in the house of Philip the Evangelist, there came in a prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, saying, "Thus shall they do with the man that owneth this girdle, when he cometh to Jerusalem." When the disciples heard that, they would have persuaded him that he should not go thither. Here you shall see what answer this pastor made them; he was a faithful shepherd; "What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not only ready to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus."

Yet I think there are some that will say, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I say unto them, that the shrinking away of so many of our shepherds as are gone, maketh so many of the flock to scatter; which will be required at their hands, by the master of the sheep. What will he say to them on the day of account, when they shall come to receive their wages? He shall say to them, Depart from me ye wicked hirelings, for when ye saw the wolf come, ye ran away, and left my sheep in the wilderness. If you had been good shepherds, you would rather have lost your lives than have lost one sheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what case are the sheep in, when the shepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth so well.

Therefore let us pray God to send us faithful shepherds, and also obedient sheep, that will not hear a stranger's voice. I would all men would mark well the saying of St. Paul in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, where he thus saith, "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep appointed to be slain: nevertheless, we overcome strongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am sure, that neither death nor life, neither angels nor rule, nor power, nor things present, nor things to come, neither height nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God," &c. Also he saith in another place, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution," 2 Tim. iii. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father's rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us.

Yet hear what St. Peter saith in his first epistle, and the fourth chapter, "Dearly beloved, (saith he) be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you; but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's passions, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified." Here St. Peter saith, it is no strange thing; and that I have partly proved before, because we have nothing else promised us in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye sure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for example, look in the first book of Samuel, chap. xix. you shall see how Saul persecuted David, purposing to kill him: but his labour was in vain.

Also in the 19th chapter of the first book of Kings, Jezebel threatened and sware to slay Elias, but the Lord preserved him. Also in the second chapter of Job, you see that Satan could do nothing to Job till God suffered him, neither exercise his cruelty any further than God had appointed him. The godly woman Susannah, through the false accusation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. This have I written to put you in remembrance, that man can do no more than is the will of God: therefore let us not resist his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

Dear brethren, for the blood of Christ refuse not the cross of Christ, but remember the saying of the godly man David in his 119th Psalm, where he saith, "It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy statutes." In the same place he saith, "Before I was in trouble I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word." Even so it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never so sweet and comfortable as it is now that we are in trouble. Also St. Paul saith in the fifth chapter to the Romans, "We rejoice in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not ashamed."

Also I pray remember the saying of St. Paul in the first chapter of the second epistle to Timothy, where he saith, "Be not ashamed to testify the Lord; neither be ashamed of me." Even so I say unto you, dear brethren, be not ashamed of my imprisonment, neither sorry, but rejoice with me, that it hath pleased God of his goodness to call me to such a dignity, as this shall be unto me, if I may have his grace to lose my life (which I regard as most vile) for his name's sake: for then I shall be sure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I desire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodness will send me his grace and strength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preserve you from all the wicked ways of Antichrist, and strengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleasure, that you shall



suffer any thing for his name's sake, as he hath faithfully promised to do.

And I certify you, that if all men knew the comfort they should receive at the hand of God being in prison, I think there would come more to prison than there do. For surely we find such comfort at the hand of God since we have been in prison, that we had rather die than be abroad to see the idolatry that is committed among them that are abroad; beside the seeking of one another's blood, with other wickedness too much; God fend me more grace. But I trust, among you there be none such: and if there be, repent and amend, lest it be verified in you, that which is spoken by the prophet Jeremy, the second chapter, where he saith, "My people hath committed too great evils: they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and digged them pits; pits (I say) that are broken, and can hold no water." Also in the seventh chapter he saith, "Hear not the words of the prophets that preach their own dreams." Good brethren, beware of those false prophets that I have given you warning of.

Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, desiring the same health both of body and soul unto you all that I would have myself, and I end with the same that St. Peter saith in the fifth chapter of his first epistle: "Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be sober and watch, for your adversary the devil like a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour, whom resist steadfast in faith:" remembering that ye do but fulfil the same afflictions, that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace that called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall himself, after you have suffered a little affliction, make you perfect, shall settle, strengthen, and establish you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth, Amen.

Greet one another with an holy kiss of love. Peace be with you all which are in Christ Jesus. I pray you all say, Amen.

There are in the same prison where I am, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, of Hadley, Mr. Philpot, and my singular good father Mr. Bradford, with five others, laymen of Suffex.

I desire some good brother to write this over again, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the keepers had seen me, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and ink also.

Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me past all the comfort of any man: for I thank him, I was never merrier in Christ.

By me; prisoner in the King's-bench,

WILLIAM TYMS.

**A**BOUT this time certain commissioners, assigned by the queen and council, came to Norfolk, (as they did to other counties) to inquire after matters of religion: unto which commissioners there was a supplication then exhibited by some well disposed men dwelling about those parts. Which supplication, for the worthy matter contained in it, I thought proper here to insert.

*The SUPPLICATION exhibited by certain INHABITANTS of the COUNTY of NORFOLK, proper to be read and observed by all MEN.*

**I**N most humble and lowly wise, we beseech your honours, right honourable commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor men, and true, faithful and obedient subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, so intend we, with God's grace, to continue in christian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverent fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul saith, Rom. xiii. "Let every soul be subject to the superior

powers. For there is no power but of God: but those powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whosoever resisteth the powers, the same resisteth God, and they that resist get themselves judgment." These lessons (right honourable commissioners) we have learned of the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

First, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for a man to be governed by, and that the same is of God, the fountain and author of righteousness.

Secondly, That to obey the same in all things not against God, is to obey God; and to resist them is to resist God. Therefore, as to obey God in his ministers and magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them bringeth punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned of St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. saying, "Be ye subject to all human ordinances for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God."

Wherefore considering with ourselves, both that the magistrates' power is of God, and that for the Lord's sake we are bound by christian obedience unto them, having now presently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's majesty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained of God (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her grace), and with due reverence unto her grace's commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer unto this commandment, given unto us.

First, Right honourable commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only Englishmen, but also christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptism, to prefer God's honour in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly spirits) is due unto God's word; inasmuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that fully and wholly agreeth not with God's word.

Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin service, given unto us to dissent and disagree from God's word; and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godliness and true religion, and to import a subversion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all errors, superstitions, and idolatry, wasting of our goods and bodies, destroying of our souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same shall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly protest, that we cannot be persuaded, that the same wicked commandment should come from the queen's majesty, but rather from some other, abusing the queen's goodness and favour, and studying to work some mischief against the queen, the crown, and the realm, to please with it the Romish bishop, at whose hands the same thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

As the Agagite Haman wrought maliciously against the noble king Ahasuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought against the good king Darius; so think we the queen's most gentle heart to be abused by some, who seeking themselves and their own vain glory, procure such commandments as are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion of her majesty, that she should subvert the most godly and holy religion, (so accordingly to God's word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent king, our late most dear king Edward, her grace's brother) except she were wonderfully abused; who, as hating reformation, will rather the destruction of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and to be according to God's word reformed. For truly, the religion lately set forth by king Edward,



Edward, is such in our consciences, as every christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God, and every member of Christ's church here in England must needs embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and (if need require) lose and forsake not only land, and possessions, riches, wife, children, and friends; but also (if God will so call them) gladly to suffer all manner of persecution, and to lose their lives in the defence of God's word and truth set out amongst us. For our Saviour Christ requireth the same of us, saying, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my word before this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." And again he saith, "Whosoever will confess me before men, I will confess him before my Father which is in heaven. And whosoever will deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father that is in heaven. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall rail against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him."

We humbly beseech the queen's majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, be not offended with us, for confessing this truth of God, so straightly given us in charge of Christ; neither bring upon us that great sin that never shall be forgiven, and shall cause our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ransom of his blood wherewith we are redeemed.

For in that day, neither the queen's highness, nor you, nor any man shall be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon of Christ for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor consent unto this so horrible a sin; but we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace, most earnestly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be so) to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, than to incur such damnation before God.

Manasses, who restored again the wickedness of idolatrous religion, (before put down by Ezechias his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people: so that the scripture saith, 2 Kings xxiii. "Notwithstanding the reformation made by Josias, the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath wherewith he was angry against Judah, because of the provocation with which Manasses provoked him. And the Lord said, Even Judah will I cast away from my presence, as I cast away Israel: and I will cast away this city of Jerusalem, and the house whereof I said, My name shall be there." Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected a new-found service of God, and not only sinned himself, but also made all Israel to sin with him, so that not only was he damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Israel for obeying that his ungodly commandment: yet was it not so heinous an offence to bring in an idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kings and princes, by the virtuous and holy bishops, by the prophets and servants of God, to reject and cast off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a blasphemous impiety.

This most heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the same be painted and coloured with the name of reformation, restoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the catholic church, of unity, catholic truth, and with the cloak of feigned holiness. These are sheep skins, under which (as Christ saith) ravening wolves hide themselves. But Christ willeth us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good fruit to cast aside God's word, and to banish the English service out of the churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latin tongue unknown to the people. Which as it edifieth no man, so it hath been occasion of all blindness and error among the people. For before the blessed reformation begun by the most noble prince of godly memory, the queen's good father; and by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother, finished; it is not unknown what

blindness and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realm, unlearned in the Latin, could say in English the Lord's prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or rehearse any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, the mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of idolatry, Sodomitical monkery, and whorish chastity of unmarried priests, of all whoredom, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing, and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing them with famine and pestilence; and at last the sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the same or more grievous plagues shall now again follow.

We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and for it a Latin service, we know not what, (for none of us understand it) to be again brought amongst us, especially seeing that Christ hath said, "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlasting life." The service in the English teacheth us that we are the Lord's people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderness, lest he swear unto us, as he did swear unto them, that they should not enter into his rest.

The service in Latin is a confused noise; which if it be good (as they say it is), yet unto us that lack understanding, what goodness can it bring? St. Paul commandeth, that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God's commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to destroy those that are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing of the same, and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that templing and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that blessed Paul speaketh of, saying, "Antichrist shall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and signs, and lying wonders, in all deceivableness of unrighteousness in those that perish: because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them strong delusion, that they should believe lies and be damned, as many as have not believed the truth, but have approved unrighteousness."

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we shall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he swear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into his rest.

In the administration of the Lord's supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments, and at the rehearsal of every one of them to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them, and to ask grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly by the Holy Ghost be written in our hearts.

We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen's majesty: wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God; therefore we pray to God for her, that she, and all magistrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we, her subjects, obey according to the same.

Truly, most honourable commissioners, we cannot think these things evil, but think them most worthy to be retained in our churches, and we should not think ourselves to have true subjects hearts, if we should go about to put away such godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this present the unquiet multitude had more need to have these things more often and earnestly beaten and driven into them, (especially given in many places to stir and trouble) than to take from that blessed doctrine, whereby only they may, to their salvation, be kept in quiet.

Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ's institution,



tution, ministered with such godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious blood for our redemption: which we, in eating of that blessed bread, and drinking of the blessed cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and are perfectly joined with Christ in his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby every member faithfully embraceth each other. We must needs confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in conscience against sin and damnation, with the assurance of salvation, and whereof hath ensued reformation of many heinous sins, much lawing, strife, and contention being ended; drunkenness, whoredom, and other vices in some reformed; goodness and virtue increased and nourished.

In the Latin mass we never had any such edifying, but only we saw a great many ceremonies and strange gestures; as turning of the priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we understand not. And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the priest prayeth, we know not whether he blesteth or curseth us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ's institution appointeth we should be.

In the ministering of the sacrament, the priests alter the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ's blood, contrary to Christ's commandment, saying, Drink ye all of this.

They rob us also of God's word, speaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Christ commandeth not that his supper should be administered in an unknown tongue: but forasmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Christ's word and promise made unto us in the holy sacrament, saying, "This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins;" if the same promises of Christ either be not at all recited, or else so recited in Latin, that the congregation understandeth not, or heareth not what is spoken? St. Paul saith thus, reciting the saying of Isaiah, "As truly as I live, saith the Lord, all knees shall bow unto me, all tongues shall give praise unto God." Also he saith, "All tongues must confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the father." The Holy Ghost came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul ministered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of strange tongues into the congregations. We cannot think that to be right, which so holy an apostle rebuked. And whatsoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to such as understand it, to us Englishmen not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edification, and therefore unmeet for our churches.

The priests complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honour, but it is their own fault: for how should we love them that only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance under a colour of pretended holiness? We know (right honourable commissioners) what honour is due to such wolves, and how by the authority of God's word such are to be avoided as pestilences to the Lord's lambs, whom they miserably murder daily.

But we have rather chosen, by this our meek supplication, humbly to desire the queen's majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, to restore God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the same. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately set out by the holy faint of God, our late most dear king Edward, is Christ's true religion written in the holy scripture of God, and by Christ and his apostles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with safe consciences this refusal of it, and casting of it out of our churches; forasmuch as to refuse, cast off,

and to reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed body broken for our sins, and his blood shed for our redemption. Which thing whoso doth, the same without repentance can look for no sacrifice for his sins, but must fearfully wait for the judgment, and for that vehement fire that shall destroy Christ's adversaries. For if he that despiseth the law of Moses, is without mercy put to death under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall he suffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and esteemeth the blood of the Testament (whereby he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contumeliously useth the Spirit of grace?

Wherefore we most humbly pray and beseech the queen's gracious majesty to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our consciences, and so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin mass and service that nothing edifieth us, and by casting out Christ's holy communion and English service, so causing us to sin against our redemption. For such as wittingly and willingly against their consciences shall so do, (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe that they shall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Christ's holy word and communion before men, so shall Christ deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

And whereas it is very earnestly required, that we should go in procession (as they call it), at which time the priests say in Latin such things as we are ignorant of, the same edifieth nothing at all unto godliness, and we have learned that to follow Christ's cross is another matter, namely, to take up our cross, and to follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whensoever God's holy will and pleasure is to lay the same upon us. The triumphant passion and death of Christ, whereby in his own person he conquered death, sin, hell, and damnation, hath most lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Christ's cross declared by our preachers: whereby we have learned the causes and effects of the same more lively in one sermon, than in all the processions that ever we went in, or ever shall go in.

When we worshipped the Divine Trinity kneeling, and in the Litany invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, asking mercy for our sins, and desiring such petitions as the need of our frail state and this mortal life required, we were edified, both to know unto whom all christian prayers should be directed, and also to know that of God's hand we receive all things, as well to the salvation of our souls, as to the relief of our mortal necessities. And we humbly beseech the queen's majesty, that the same most holy prayers may be continued amongst us; that our ministers praying in our mother-tongue, and we understanding their prayers and petitions, may answer, Amen, unto them. At evening-service we understood our ministers prayers, we were taught and admonished by the scriptures then read; which in the Latin even-song is all gone.

At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned what league and covenant God made with us, and what vows and promises we upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

The christian catechism continually taught and called to remembrance the same, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of forty years, that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, but to wash their hands ere they departed the church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether cast from thy presence? We may well lament our miserable state, to receive such a commandment, to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers, instructions, admonitions, and doctrines, and



and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our salvation, the candle to our feet, and the light to our steps, the bread that cometh down from heaven that giveth life, which whoso eateth, it shall be to him a well-spring streaming unto eternal life; whereby we have learned all righteousness, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity one towards another, all good works that God would have us to walk in, what punishment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to those that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

Wherefore, right honourable commissioners, we cannot without impiety refuse and cast from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing set forth by our late godly king Edward and his virtuous proceedings, so agreeable to God's word. And our most humble suit is, that the commandment may be revoked, so that we may not be constrained thereunto. For we protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root amongst us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of our's, which we did in assisting the queen, our most dear sovereign, against her grace's mortal foe, that then fought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty for the dear passion of Jesus Christ, that the same word may not be taken away out of our churches, nor from us her loving, faithful, and true subjects; lest if the like necessity should hereafter chance, (which God for his mercy's sake forbid, and ever save and defend her grace, and us all) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her grace's true subjects. And truly we judge this to be one subtle part of the devil (enemy to all godly peace and quietness) that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all mischief and wickedness; and by banishing the holy gospel of peace he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues; as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murrain, most terrible uproars, commotions, and seditions. These things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refusing his word, saying, "Go, and thou shalt say unto this people, Ye shall hear indeed, but ye shall not understand, ye shall plainly see, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, stop their ears, and shut their eyes, that they see not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, understand not with their hearts, and be converted and healed. And I said, How long, Lord? And he answered, Until the cities are destroyed, utterly wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, till the land also be desolate, and lie unbuilded." And the prophet Micah in the seventh chapter, considering the contempt of God's word among the Israelites, threatened them thus, "When the day that thy preachers warned thee of coming, thou shalt be wasted away. And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom: for the son shall put his father to dishonour, and the daughter shall rise against her mother, the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be even they of his own household." The same plague Christ threatened unto the Jews, for refusing his peace proffered them in the gospel, and he wept on the city of Jerusalem which murdered the prophets, and stoned such as were sent unto her.

The same plagues, we are afraid, will also fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Christ's word and peaceable gospel, we had great benedictions of God, especially this christian concord and holy peace, so that all were at a full and perfect stay in religion, and no man offended with another, but as the sons of peace, each of us with christian charity embraced other: now, alas, for pity, the devil (riding upon the red horse, shewed unto St. John in the Revelations) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the

earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious busy bodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in despising God's word, then will they spitefully and hatefully rail against him and it, calling it error and heresy, and the professors thereof heretics and schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, as traitors and not the queen's friends, nor favourers of the queen's proceedings; as if to love God's word were heresy, and as though to talk of Christ were to be schismatic; as though none could be true to the queen that were not false to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but such as despitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they set forth; as though none favoured the queen's majesty, but such as hate all godly knowledge.

And in very deed these things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations without commandment or example either of Christ or of his apostles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alledged, maintaineth them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet these being mere traditions of bishops, are set out for God's commandments; and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) must be abused to put down God's word. And you, right honourable justices, and keepers of laws and righteousness, are also abused and made the bishops apparators, to set forth such Romish trash as is to Christ's dishonour, and against the supreme authority of the regal state of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted for seditious, and not the queen's friends.

But God (who is blessed for ever) knoweth that they slander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot, and put it in our's: for the searcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not against God and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to enlighten her grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the gospel, that she may establish and confirm that religion, which her grace's brother, our most dear king, did set amongst us; and so governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, she may long live, and with prosperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

But we cannot think that those men do seek either God's honour, or her grace's prosperity, or wealth of the realm, that take from her grace's faithful subjects God's word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear lest the root being taken away, the branches will soon wither and be fruitless. And when the Philistines have stopped up the well-spring, the fair streams that should flow shall soon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained God's word, we shall have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refused and cast off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then shall we look for the Lord's wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And Paul saith, Rom. ii. "God gave them the spirit of unquietness and uproar, eyes wherewith they should not see, and ears wherewith they should not hear, until this day:" and as David said, Psalm lxxix. "Let their table be made a snare to catch them, and a stumbling-block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and bow thou down their backs always."

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will so bow down our backs, that we shall be utterly destroyed; the troublesome spirit of uproars and unquietness daily troubleth men's hearts, and worketh such unquietness in all places, that no man that loveth quietness can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes, and see not how grievous an offence it is to cast off the yoke



of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and hear not the warning of God's word calling us to true repentance, nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ's word and most holy communion is taken away, and turned to a most perilous snare, through the brawling disputations of men. And as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish nation, so we fear this setting aside of the gospel and holy communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish religion, betokeneth the desolation of this noble realm of England to be at hand.

For the plagues of hunger, pestilence, and sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be so bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never seen. And no marvel: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his word, and in plain English to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is that which followeth in the gospel? "Those mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me," Luke xix. God be merciful to us, and move the heart of the queen's majesty, and the hearts of her honourable council, and your hearts (right worshipful commissioners), to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this unreasonable commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this world, lest, if the Almighty be contemned, he stretch forth his arm, which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, which no man can quench.

We have humbly opened to you our consciences, doubtless sore wounded and grieved by this commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty, for the precious death and blood-shedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her grace's poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic, whereof her grace is supreme head. All our bodies, lands, goods, and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience, and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word: but in things that import a denial of Christ, and refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment: which we trust her benign grace will not require of us.

And we humbly beseech her majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandment; so we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.

For we think it no true obedience unto the queen's majesty, or to any other magistrate ordained of God under her to obey in things contrary to God's word, although the same be ever so straitly charged in her grace's name. The bishop of Winchester hath truly taught in this point, in his book of true obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord: as the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus: "Judge you (said they) whether it be right in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God." And again they said, "We must obey God rather than man." Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords, and for him, in him, and not against him and his word, to obey princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

Tobias disobeyed not his king, although contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, he went unto Jerusalem, and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleased God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel that prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the king, than those wicked counsellors that procured that wicked law, or those that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two pestilences (fear and flattery) have ever destroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked men (that care not if the devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain riches, promotions, dignity, and worldly glory) turn to and fro as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men, fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing which their hearts and consciences inwardly abhor, and so outwardly disobey God, and in heart dissemble with man, which dissimulation we think worthy the hate of all men, and most uncomely with christian men.

Wherefore we humbly beseech the queen's majesty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable suit of us her poor subjects, which be by this commandment sore hurt, and wounded in our consciences, and driven to many miseries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful stir or commotion to seek remedy; but intend, by God's grace, to obey her majesty in all things not against God and his holy word. But unto such ungodly commandments as are against God, we answer with the apostles, "God must be obeyed rather than man." If persecution shall ensue, which some threaten us with, we desire the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adversaries, and to give us faith, strength, and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to shorten these evil days for his chosen's sake; and so we faithfully believe he will.

Notwithstanding, we trust the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful, and obedient subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world but to sue unto her highness, our most gracious and benign sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our lamentable case and hurt of conscience, and to call back all such commandments as are against God's honour, as the good king Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, Theodosius, and divers others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion (set forth by our most holy and innocent king Edward) to be restored again unto our churches, to be frequented amongst us. So shall we grow and increase in the knowledge of God and of Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life: so shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates, and all superiors ordained of God: so shall love and charity (of late through this commandment so decayed) be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established, and godliness and a virtuous life among her loving subjects increased and maintained.

And we most heartily pray you (right honourable commissioners) to be means unto the queen's highness, and to her honourable council, that this our humble suit may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we shall not cease day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father, long to preserve her grace, and all other magistrates, in his fear and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honour, Amen.

Your poor suppliants, the lovers of  
Christ's true religion in Norfolk  
and Suffolk.



*The HISTORY of JOHN HARPOLE of Rochester, and JOAN BEACH, Widow, of Tunbridge, Martyrs.*

**T**OUCHING the examination of Joan Beach, widow, and of John Harpole, within the diocese of Rochester, by Maurice, bishop of the said diocese, mention was made before in the history of Nicholas Hall, wherein were declared the four articles consistorial of the bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said Nicholas Hall and his company, so also to this Joan Beach, widow: whereof the first was this;

1. That she was of the parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

2. Item, That all persons who preach, teach, believe, or say otherwise or contrary to that their mother holy catholic church of Christ doth, are excommunicate persons and heretics.

3. Item, That the said Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the said mother church of Christ, namely, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very body and blood of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

4. Item, That she hath been, and yet is amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently suspected to be a sacramentary and heretic.

To which afore said articles her answers were as follow:

1. That she was and is of the said parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

2. That all persons which do preach and hold otherwise and contrary to that which the holy catholic church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the holy catholic church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

3. That she hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold, and affirm, in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and this his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

Lastly, As touching how she hath been or is noted and reputed among the parishioners of Tunbridge, she said she could not tell; however she believed she was not so taken and reputed.

The like matter, and the like four articles were also the same present time and place ministered to John Harpole, by the afore said bishop Maurice; who, after the like answers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence, according to the tenor and course of their several sentences, which may be read before in the history of Mr. Rogers.

*An Account of JOHN HULLIER, Minister and Martyr.*

**J**OHAN HULLIER, minister, was first brought up in Eaton-school, from whence he went to King's College, in Cambridge. He suffered under Dr. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere preaching of the gospel. In whose behalf it is much to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that university, so little matter is left unto us concerning the process of his judgment, and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause amongst the midst of them. By certain letters which he himself left behind, it appeared that he was zealous and earnest in that doctrine of truth, which every true christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was on the second day of April, in the year 1556.

## LETTER I.

*From JOHN HULLIER to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord.*

**I**T standeth now most in hand (O dear christians) all them that look to be accounted of Christ's flock at the great and terrible day, when a separation shall be made of the sort that shall be received, from the other which shall be refused, faithfully in his time of great afflictions to hear our master Christ's voice, the only true shepherd of our souls, who saith, "Whosoever shall endure to the end, shall be safe." For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well say) that our Saviour Christ spake of long before, which should follow the true and sincere preaching of his gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either shew that we are his faithful soldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breast-plate of love, the helmet of hope and salvation, and the sword of his holy word (which we have heard plentifully), with all instance of supplication and prayer; or else if we do not work and labour with these, we are apostates and false soldiers, shrinking most unthankfully from our gracious and sovereign lord and captain Christ, and leaning to Belial. For as he saith plainly, Luke xiv. "Whosoever beareth not my cross and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple." And Matth. vi. "No man can serve two masters: for either he must hate the one, and love the other, or else he shall lean to the one, and despise the other." Which thing the faithful prophet Elias signified, when he came to the people, and said, "Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him," 1 Kings xviii.

Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the apostle St. Paul saith, Rom. xv. "Whatsoever things are written aforehand, that are written for our learning." If Christ be that only good and true shepherd that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our consciences sprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our salvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profession and first promise. But if we shall not so do, certainly, (say what we can) although we bear the name of Christ, yet we be none of his sheep indeed. For he saith very manifestly, John x. "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger."

Therefore let every man take heed in these perilous days, (whereof we have had so much warning aforehand) that he be not beguiled by the godly outward shew and appearance, as Eve was of our old subtle enemy, whose craft and wiliness is so manifold and divers, and so full of close windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain strait way to consent to his suggestions, then he will allure him and wind him in by some other false ways, (as it were by a train) that he shall not perceive it, to deceive withal, and to steal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and eternal crown of glory, which no man else can have, but he that fighteth lawfully: as at this present day, if he cannot induce him thoroughly, as others do, to favour his devilish religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the same, yet he will inveigle him to resort to his wicked and whorish school-house, and at the leastwise to be conversant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and say nothing, whatsoever he think, so that he be not a diligent soldier and a good labourer on Christ's side, to further his kingdom: by that subtle means flattering him that he shall both save his life, and also his good, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Christ's holy will and testament, we shall perceive that he came not to make any such peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any such peace to his disciples; "I leave peace with you (saith he), my peace I give



give you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. These things have I spoken unto you, that in me you should have peace. In the world ye shall have affliction, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. The servant is not greater than his lord and master: if they have persecuted me, they shall also persecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife, children, sisters, yea, and moreover his own life, it is not possible for him to be my disciple. Blessed be ye that now weep, for ye shall laugh: and woe be unto you that now laugh, for ye shall mourn and weep. He that will find his life, shall lose it."

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preserve and keep us, that we never obey such a false flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietness, everlasting trouble, vexation, and disquietness; for these vain and transitory goods, extreme loss and utter damage of the eternal treasure and inheritance; for this mortal life, deprivation of the most joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endless death most miserable, unmeasurable pain and torment both of body and soul.

Now conferring the setwo schoolmasters together, let us consider the thing well, and determine with ourselves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way that seemeth here most pleasant, and that the most part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better to go to school with our master Christ, and to be under his ferula and rod, (although it seemeth sharp and grievous for a time) that at length we may be inheritors with him of everlasting joy, than to keep company with the devil's scholars, the adulterous generation, in his school that is all full of pleasure for a while, and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the most horrible lake which burneth evermore with fire and brimstone without end. What shall then these vain goods and temporal pleasures avail? Who shall then help, when we cry incessantly, Woe, woe, alas, and weal away, for unmeasurable pain, grief, and sorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this world for a time, that we may please God. Our Saviour Christ the true teacher saith, "Every branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away; John xv."

It is also not written in vain, Eccclus. xli. "The children of the ungodly are abominable children, and so are they that keep company with the ungodly." What doth he else, I pray you, that resorteth to the administration and service that is most repugnant and contrary to Christ's Holy Testament, there keeping still silence, and nothing reproving the same, but in the face of the world, by his very deed itself, declare himself to be of a false, fearful, dissembling, feigned, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, discouraging as much as lieth in him all the residue of Christ's host, and giving a manifest offence to the weak, and also confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adversaries in all their evil doings. By which example he doth shew himself neither to love God, whom he seeth to be dishonoured and blasphemed by an Antichristian minister, nor yet his neighbor before whom he should rebuke the evil, as it is expressly commanded in God's holy law, where it is said, "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not sin for his sake," Lev. xviii. Wherefore let such a one never fancy to deceive himself, that his name is registered in the book of life, to have the stipend of Christ's soldier, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a faithful and right true soldier, as others have done before. For such fearfulness cometh not from God, as testifieth St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. saying, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not ashamed, saith he, to testify our Lord, but suffer adversity also with the gospel, through the power of God, which saved us, and called us with an holy calling."

To be now fearful, when most need is that we should

be of strong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulness and disobedience to the express commandment of our Saviour Christ, who saith in his holy gospel, Matth. x. "Fear not them that kill the body," &c. For what faithfulness do we express towards him, when he saith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Israelites, who unfaithfully feared God's enemies the Canaanites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true prophet Moses, to do the contrary? For which cause all the whole number of that sect were destroyed in process of time in the wilderness, and enjoyed not the pleasant land of promise. That was a bodily figure shewed before, and now agreeing to the promise of the heavenly inheritance, which shall be given to none other, but only to such as with love unfeigned be wholly bent, without any fear of man, to fulfill God's holy will and pleasure. But all they that pertain to the lively faith, to the winning of the soul, will faithfully stick to the commandment, trusting most firmly and faithfully that he that gave the same, will also give strength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakest vessels of all, as we have heard and seen by divers examples; he only therefore be praised.

St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. iii. "Fear not though they seem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts." "Only (saith St. Paul, Phil. i.) let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ. Continue in one spirit, and in one soul, labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the gospel, and in nothing fearing your adversaries, which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given that not only ye should believe in Christ, but also suffer for his sake." Wherefore let us be right well assured, that we shall yield a most strict account, if we transgress the said most wholesome precepts given us of our master Christ, and of his apostles, and now in this troublesome time wherein the gospel is persecuted, shew ourselves fearful soldiers; as it is manifestly declared in the Revelation of St. John, chap. xxi. where it is written, "That the fearful shall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." Again, it is written in the same book for our warning, chap. iii. "Because thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth."

Now therefore (good Christians) these true testimonies of God's lively word deeply considered and weighed, let us chiefly stand in awe of his most terrible judgments, and be not as they that presumptuously tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chasteneth, he now nurtureth us for our profit, delighteth in us even as a loving father in his beloved child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his holiness. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlasting love and mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we should not be condemned with the wicked world: but if we now refuse his most loving chastising, and follow the world, we must needs have our portion with the world. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: but strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a time!

In consideration whereof, let us without any more slackening and furthering delays in this great warning by God's loving visitation, submit ourselves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build farther, beseeching you most heartily to pray for me, that I may be strong through the power of his might, and stand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal rest; and



and I will pray for you as I am most bound. So I trust he will graciously hear us for his promise sake made unto all the faithful of his dearly beloved Son Christ our alone Saviour, whose grace be with your spirit, most dear christians, for ever. So be it.

By your christian brother JOHN HULLIER,  
a prisoner of the Lord.

The second letter, written after his condemnation, addressed in the same terms, more immediately tends to charge the pope and the church of Rome with being the beast of the Revelation, and the antichrist of the scriptures. It warns them against apostacy from the faith, and to submit to persecution, but not wilfully to invite it; and sets before them briefly, the narrow way which leadeth unto life, and the broad way that leadeth to destruction, and calls upon them to chuse which they will prefer. Expecting, as he then did, within a few days, to seal his faith with his blood; he bids them an affectionate farewell, and finally concludes with exhorting them to watch and pray.

*The Martyrdom of six constant Professors of Christ, burned at Colchester, for the Testimony of the Gospel, the 28th Day of April.*

NOT long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Essex martyrs, who suffered in Smithfield, as is before specified, followed in the same order likewise of martyrdom, at one fire in the town of Colchester, (where most of them inhabited) six other martyrs, whose names be these:

Christopher Lyfter, of Dagneham, husbandman; John Mace, of Colchester, apothecary; John Spencer, of Colchester, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard Nichols, of Colchester, weaver; John Hammond, of Colchester, tanner.

With these six was also joined another, whose name was Roger Grasbroke, but he afterward submitted himself. Of these above named, the bishop, because (as it seemed by the short process recorded by his register) he waxed now weary, made a very quick dispatch. For soon after that they were delivered unto one John Kingstone, bachelor of the civil law, and then commissary to the bishop, by the earl of Oxford, and other commissioners, (as appeareth by a bill indented, made between the commissioners and the said commissary, for the receipt of the said prisoners, dated March the 28th, in the second and third years of the reign of king Philip and queen Mary, which was in the year of our Lord 1556) and by him sent unto his lord and master, the bishop caused them to be brought unto his house at Fulham; where, in the open church, judicially were ministered unto them the same articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To which they made their several answers, agreeing altogether in one truth.

As these answers were so extremely similar to those which were given by those faithful martyrs, it seems unnecessary to repeat them in this place; for as they contain no new doctrine, but generally concur in opposition to the doctrines of the sacrament of the altar, with transubstantiation and the popish doctrines of the mass, &c. we cannot but refer our readers to the account of those martyrs, to refresh their memories on these subjects.

These answers thus made, the bishop dismissed them for that present until the afternoon. At which time, having first their articles and answers read unto them again, and they standing most firmly unto their christian profession, they were by divers ways and means essayed and tried if they would revoke the same their professed faith, and return to the unity of Antichrist's church.

Which when they refused, the bishop stoutly pronounced sentence of condemnation against them, com-

mitting them unto the secular power. Who, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, sent them unto Colchester, where the 28th day of April, most cheerfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

*An account of the Martyrdom of HUGH LAVEROCK, an old Man, and JOHN APPRICE, a blind Man, burned at Stratford the Bow.*

IN the discourse of this part of history, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doings of these unmerciful catholics, I mean bishop Bonner and his accomplices.

Hugh Laverock, of the parish of Barking, painter, was of the age of sixty-eight, and a cripple, and John Apprice, a blind man.

These two poor and simple creatures being alike accused by some promoting neighbour of their's, unto the bishop and other of the king and queen's commissioners, were sent for by their officer; and being brought and delivered into the hands of the said bishop, were the first day of May examined before him in his palace at London; where he first propounded and objected against them those nine articles, whereof mention is made before, ministered as well unto Bartlet Green, as also unto many others. To which they answered in effect as Christopher Lyfter, John Mace, and others before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again sent to prison, and beside other times, the ninth day of the same month, in the consistory of St. Paul's were again openly produced, and there intreated to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

Whereunto Hugh Laverock first said, I will stand to mine answers, and to that I have confessed; and I cannot find in the scriptures, that the priests should lift up over their head a cake of bread.

The bishop then turned unto John Apprice, and asked what he would say.

To whom he answered, Your doctrine that you set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable with the scripture of God. And you are not of the catholic church; for you make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman.

At which words the bishop belike somewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their condemnation any longer, (such was now his hot burning charity) commanded that they should be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he went before dinner, and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the definitive sentence of condemnation against them, and so delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to dispatch his hands of them, but could not so dispatch his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men being now in the temporal officer's hands, might not be suffered long to remain there, and therefore the fifteenth day of May, very early in the morning, they were carried in a cart from Newgate to Stratford the Bow, and most quietly in the fire praising God, yielded up their souls into his hands through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom unto the end they did most constantly confess.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice his fellow-martyr, said unto him, Be of good comfort, my brother, for my lord of London is our good physician. He will heal us both shortly, thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness. And so patiently they suffered together.



*An Account of the Martyrdom of CATHERINE HUT, ELIZABETH THACKVEL, and JOAN HORNS, in Smithfield.*

THE next day after the martyrdom of this lame and blind man above specified, were brought to the fire three women, with whom also was adjoined another, who being in the same constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the said condemnation. These were,

Catherine Hut, of Bocking, widow. Joan Horns, of Billericay, maid. Elizabeth Thackvel, of Great Bursted, maid. Margaret Ellis, of Billericay, maid.

How these with divers others were persecuted and sent up, especially by sir John Mordaunt, and Edmund Tyrel, esquire, justices of peace, the following letter will declare.

### A LETTER

*From Sir JOHN MORDAUNT, Knight, and EDMUND TYREL, Esq. Justices of Peace for the County of Essex, to BONNER, Bishop of London.*

OUR humble commendations to your lordship: these shall be to advertise you, that we have sent unto your good lordship, Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, servant of William Harris, of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they are not conformable to the orders of the church, nor to the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, to use your lordship's pleasure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the punishment of these and others before sent to your lordship, but that the parish of Great Bursted and Billericay shall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good lordship to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave. From Great Bursted, this second day of March, 1556.

Your lordship's to command,

JOHN MORDAUNT.

EDMUND TYREL.

After the receipt of these letters, bishop Bonner entering into the examination of these four women above named, laid and objected the like articles to them, as after his usual form he was used to administer, and are before expressed: whereunto the said women likewise agreeing in the same unity of the spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

After these their answers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further examination, and so at length to their final judgment; where Catherine Hut, widow, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly stood to that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror. Who being required to declare her mind concerning the sacrament, and to reform herself unto the fellowship of the catholic faith, openly protested, saying, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb god, and made with men's hands.

Joan Horns, maid, produced likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and christian fortitude declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's Testament, giving no place to the adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, of which sacrament (contrary to the nature of a sacrament) the adversaries are wont to make an idol service; to this she protesting openly her mind, said as follows; If you can make your god to shed blood, or to shew any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread, (as touching the substance thereof) meaning the matter whereof the sacrament consisteth; and that which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God in, &c.

And as touching the Romish see, she said, My lord, (speaking to Bonner) I forsake all his abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From

this her stable and constant assertion, when the bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly ax of his sentence. And so the holy virgin and martyr was committed to the flames of the secular sword, and offered up with her other fellows a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, in the favour of a sweet and pleasant smell.

As touching Margaret Ellis, she likewise persevering in her aforesaid confession, and resisting the false catholic errors of the papists, was by the said Bonner judged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate.

No less strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid Elizabeth Thackvel, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, and so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of scripture disprove her affirmation, so by no forcible attempts could they remove her confession.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully by men condemned for the just quarrel and cause of God's gospel, were brought to Smithfield, and there cruelly bound to the stake, gave their bodies to the tormentors on the 16th day of May, 1556.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of THOMAS DROWRY, a blind Boy, and THOMAS CROKER, Bricklayer.*

A Little before, ye have heard of two men, the one blind and the other lame, which suffered about the 15th of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, who suffered the like passion and martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester.

How long this blind boy was in prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this credible intelligence I have received by the testimony of the then register of Gloucester, named John Taylor, alias Barker, that the said blind boy, at his last examination and final condemnation, was brought (by the officers, under whose custody he had remained) before Dr. Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the said register in the consistory, near unto the south-door, in the nether end of the church of Gloucester. Where the said chancellor then ministered unto the boy such usual articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this book.

Chancellor. Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?

To whom Thomas Drowry answered, No, that I do not.

Chancellor. Then thou art an heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?

Drowry. You, master chancellor.

Chancellor. Where, I pray thee?

Drowry. Even in yonder place: pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church.

Chancellor. When did I teach thee so?

Drowry. When you preached there (naming the day) a sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught.

Chancellor. Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

Drowry. Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your own conscience, yet will I not so do.

Chancellor. Then the Lord have mercy upon thee, for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee.

Drowry. God's will be fulfilled.

The register being herewith somewhat moved, stood up and said to the chancellor:



Fie for shame, man, will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment.

*Chancellor.* No, register, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself according to mine office.

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conscience) delivering him over to the secular power. Who the said fifth day of May, brought the said blind boy to the place of execution, at Gloucester; together with one Thomas Croker, a bricklayer, condemned also for the like testimony of the truth. Where both together in one fire most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

#### PERSECUTION in the COUNTY of SUFFOLK.

**A**FTER the death of these above rehearsed, were three men burnt at Beckles, in Suffolk, in one fire about the 21st day of May, Anno 1556. Whose names are here specified.

Thomas Spicer, of Winston, labourer; Johny Denny, and Edmund Poole.

This Thomas Spicer was a single man, of the age of nineteen years, and by vocation a labourer, dwelling in Winston, in the county of Suffolk, and there taken in his master's house in summer, about, or soon after sun-rising (being in his bed) by James Ling and John Keretch, of the same town, and William Davies, of Debnam, in the said county.

He was apprehended for not coming to hear mass, and because he would not receive their idol at the commandment of sir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, and certain other justices there, who sent both him and them to the dungeon, in the town of Eye, in Suffolk, from whence they were all three together brought before Dunning, then chancellor of Norwich, and Mr. Mings the register sitting at the town of Beckles to be examined.

And there the chancellor endeavoured, but to no purpose, to persuade them from the truth. Wherefore minding in the end to give sentence on them, he burst out into tears, intreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy mother church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they ought not wilfully to cast themselves away, with such like words.

As he was thus labouring with them, and seemed very loth to read the sentence (for they were the first that he condemned in that diocese), the register there sitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or else perceiving the constant martyrs to be at a point, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

The articles objected to these, and commonly to all others condemned in that diocese by Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich, and by Dunning his chancellor, were these:

1. First, it was articulate against them, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head, immediately under Christ, in earth, of the universal catholic church.
2. Item, That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.
3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine to be in the sacrament of the altar.
4. Item, That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.
5. Item, That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion.
6. Item, That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest.

7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself free-will to do good or evil.

For this doctrine and these articles they were all three condemned by Dr. Dunning, and committed to the secular power, sir John Silliard being high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk at the same time.

And the next day following they were all burnt together in the town of Beckles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the writ *De Comburendo*, was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor Heath being at London the same time. Which, if it be true, then it is plain that they both went beyond their commission, that were the executioners; and also the clergy which were the instigators thereof, cannot make good what they now pretend; saying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Almighty find out when he seeth his time.

In the mean time while these good men were at the stake, they prayed, and said their belief; and when they mentioned the catholic church, sir John Silliard spake to them; That is well said, sirs, quoth he, I am glad to hear you say you do believe the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet.

To which his sayings Edmund Poole answered, That though they did believe the catholic church, yet do they not believe in their popish church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they rose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake, and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those that stood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the said Beckles, a great enemy of God's truth, and a persecutor of his people, being there present within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw one faggot to stop the breath of the knaves, as he termed them; so hot was his burning charity. But these good men not regarding their malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives to death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully. Which constancy the Lord grant we may imitate, whether it be by death or by life, to glorify the name of Christ, Amen.

And forasmuch as we have here entered into the persecution of Norfolk and Suffolk, it cometh therefore to mind, by occasion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, some part (for the whole cannot be so expressed as it was done) touching the troubles of the town of Winston and Mendlesam, in Suffolk, raised and stirred by the said sir John Tyrrel and other justices there of the like affinity. The sum and effect of which briefly is thus signified to me in writing.

#### The PERSECUTION in the TOWNS of WINSON and MENDLESAM, in SUFFOLK.

**B**Y the procurement of sir John Tyrrel, knight, and others of his colleagues, there were persecuted out of the town of Winson, in Suffolk, these persons hereafter following.

Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman, of the age of threescore years and more, and two of her servants.

Humphrey Smith, and his wife.

William Catchpoole, and his wife.

John Mauling, and his wife.

Nicholas Burlingham, and his wife.

And one Routh, and his wife.

Such as were persecuted and driven out of the town of Mendlesam, in the county of Suffolk, now follow.

Symon Harlstone, and Catherine his wife, with his five children.

William Whitting, and Catherine his wife.

Thomas Dobson, and his wife.

Thomas Hubbard, and his wife.

John Doncon, and his wife and maid.

William Doncon.

Thomas Woodward, the elder.

——Konbold's wife.

A poor widow.



One mother Semon's maid.

Besides those that were constrained to do against their conscience by the help of the parish priest.

These are the chief causes why those above-named were persecuted.

First, They held and believed the holy word of God to be sufficient unto their salvation.

Secondly, They denied the pope's usurped authority, and did hold all that church of Antichrist to be Christ's adversaries. And further, they refused the abused sacraments, defied the mass and all popish service and ceremonies, saying, they robbed God of his honour, and Christ of his death and glory, and would not come to the church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly, They did hold that the ministers of the church by God's word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent of God for sin, &c.

Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness. Also when any rebuked those persecuted for going so openly, and talking so freely, their answer was, They acknowledged, confessed, and believed, and therefore they must speak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that his judgments were right, to punish them with others for their sins; and that of very faithfulness and mercy God had caused them to be troubled, so that one hair of their heads should not perish before the time, but all things should work unto the best to them that love God; and that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness, and that only by faith in him, and for his sake, all good things were freely given them, also forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting.

Many of these persecuted were of great substance, and had possessions of their own.

Give God the praise.

Forasmuch as we are now in the month of May, before we overpass the same, and because the story is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it shall not grieve the studious reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muse at the great works of the Lord. "They that go down (saith the psalmist) into the sea, labouring upon the water, have seen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep," Psal. cvi. The truth whereof may well appear in this following story; which, as it was written to me by the very person himself, one Thomas Morfe, who was the doer thereof, so I thought proper to insert the same in the following manner.

*The HISTORY of one GREGORY CROW, who was miraculously preserved with his New Testament upon the Seas, May 26.*

**U**PON Tuesday in Whitsun-week, May 26, 1556, (or else, as he rather thinketh, in the year immediately before) a certain poor man, named Gregory Crow, dwelling in Maulden, went to sea, intending to have gone into Kent for fullers earth, but by the way being bad weather, was driven upon a sand, where presently the boat sunk, and was full of water, so that the men were forced to hold by the mast of the boat, and all things that could swim, did swim out of her. Amongst which Crow saw his Testament in the water, and caught it, and put it into his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the boat was dry, but so broken that they could not save her; but they went themselves upon the sand (being at least ten miles from the land) and there made their prayers together, that God would send some ship to their assistance (being in all two men and one boy), for they could stay there but an hour longer before it would be flood. In which time they found their chest, wherein were five pounds, six

shillings and eight pence, "belonging to the said Crow; which money the other man (whose name I know not) took up, and gave it to the owner, who cast it into the sea, saying, If the Lord will save our lives, he will provide us a living; and so they got upon the mast, and there hung by the arms and legs for the space of ten hours, in which time the poor boy was so weary, and beaten with the sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

And when the water was gone again, and the sand dry, Crow said to the other man, It were best for us to take down our masts, and when the flood cometh we will sit upon them, and so it may please God to bring us to some ship that may take us up. Which accordingly they did, and so at ten of the clock in the night of the same Tuesday, the flood did bear up the mast whereon they sat.

And upon the Wednesday in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So that there was none left but Crow, who driving up and down in the sea, called upon God as he could, and might not sleep for fear that the sea would have beaten him off.

So at length I myself (said Thomas Morfe) being laden to Antwerp with my crayer, going from Lee upon Friday, having within my vessel, of mariners and merchants, to the number of forty-six persons, and so coming to the Foreland, the wind was not very good, so that I was constrained to go somewhat out of my way, being in the afternoon about six of the clock, where at the last we saw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a small buoy, that fishermen do use to lay with their hooks.

When we saw it, some said, Let us have some fish. And I said to him that was at the helm, Keep your course away, for we shall but hinder the fishermen, and have no fish neither: and so at my command he did. But at length he at the helm standing higher than all we did, said, Methinks, master, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a fisherman's buoy, turned the ship from him again to keep their course.

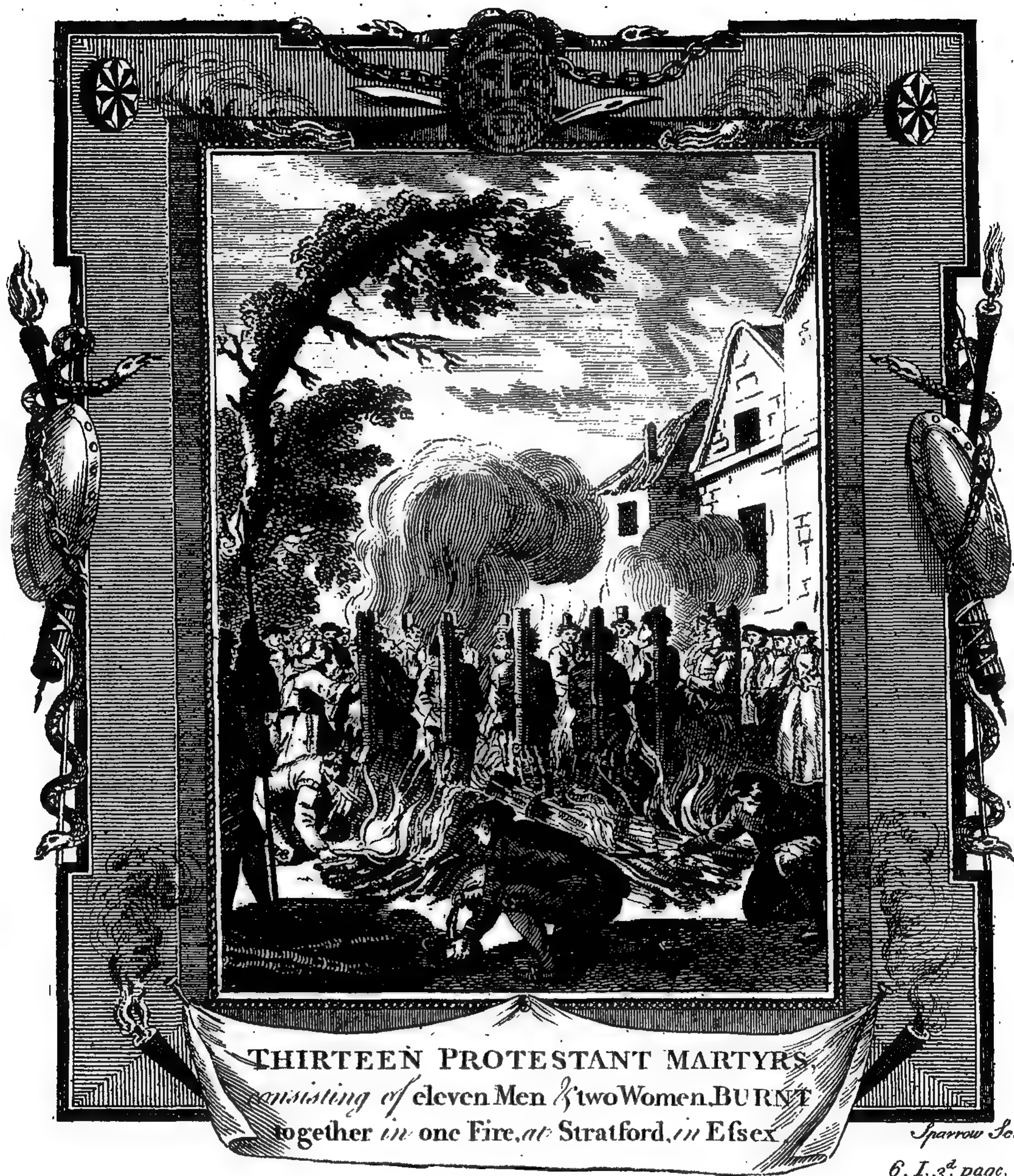
Crow beholding the ship to turn from him, being then in utter despair, and ready now to perish with watching, famine, and moreover miserably beaten with the seas, at last took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the same with his arm as high as he could, thought by shaking it as well as he might, to give them some token of better sight.

Whereupon the steerman, more sensibly perceiving a thing to move, advertised us again, declaring how he did plainly see a man's arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and so came to him and took him up. And as soon as we had him in our ship, he began to put his hand into his bosom, and one asked him if he had money there. No, said he, I have a book here, I think it be wet; and so drew out his Testament, which we then dried. But the sea had so beaten him, that his eyes, nose and mouth, were almost closed with salt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So that we made fire and shifted him with dry cloaths, and gave him aqua composita to drink, and such meat as was in the ship, and then let him sleep.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the morning, and his blood began somewhat to appear in his flesh (for when we took him up, his flesh was even as though it had been sodden, or as a drowned man's is) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearsed. And so sailing to Antwerp, the merchants who saw the thing, published the same in Antwerp; and because it was wonderful, many of the people there, both men and women, came to the ship to see him. Some gave him a petticoat, and some a shirt, some hose, and some money (always noting how he cast away his money and kept his book.)

And many of the women wept when they heard and saw him. And Master Governor of the English nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and pitying his case, commanded the officer of the English house to go to the free Oste-houses amongst the English-merchants, and I with them, and





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at three houses there were given him six pounds ten shillings. And so from thence he went to Roan, where the people also came to him to see him, marvelling at the great works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor man, with his New Testament preserved in the sea, (which Testament the pope's clergy condemn on the land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the party above named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in Lee, well known to all merchants of London. In which story, this by the way understand, good reader, (which rightly may be supposed) that if this poor man, thus found and preserved in the sea with a New Testament in his bosom, had had instead of that a pix with a consecrated host about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Christendom over for a miracle, so far as the pope hath any land.

But to let the pope with his false miracles go, let us return again and adjoin another history of much like condition, testified likewise by the information of the said Thomas Morfe above-mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The story is thus declared, which happened Anno 1556, about Michaelmas.

*Another STORY of GOD's PROVIDENCE in the PRESERVATION of THREE MEN at SEA.*

**T**HERE was a ship (saith the said Thomas Morfe) whereof I had a part, going toward the Bay for salt, with two ships of Brickley, which were altogether going for salt, as before is said. At the time we were within ten miles of the North Foreland, otherwise called Tenet, the wind did come so contrary to our ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other two ships kept their course still, until our ship was almost out of sight of them. And then they saw a thing driving upon the sea, and hoisted out their boat and went unto it; and it was three men sitting upon a piece of their ship, who had sat so two days and two nights.

There had been in their ship eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France, called Olloronne. They had been at Dantzick, and lost their ship about Orford Ness, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was owner of the ship. Their exercise, while they were in our ship, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance: both morning and evening they exercised prayer, and also before and after meat; and when they came into France, our ships went to the same place where these men dwelt, and one of these men did sell unto our men their ship's lading with salt, and did use them very courteously and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whensoever that ship cometh thither, (as she hath been there twice since) he always doth for them, so that they can lack nothing. I should have noted, that after our ship had taken up those three men out of the sea, they had the wind fair presently, and came and overtook the other two ships again, and so they proceeded in their voyage together.

For the more credit of this story above recited, to satisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alledged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but also expressed the matter in his own words, as I received it of him; the party and reporter himself being yet alive, and dwelling at Lee, a man so well known among the merchants of London, that whosoever heareth the name of Thomas Morfe, will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter itself being so notoriously known to merchants as well here as at Antwerp, that though his name were not expressed, the story can lack no witnesses.

The last day of the said month of May, in the year aforesaid, William Stuch being in prison for the said doctrine of the Lord's gospel, and the confession of his

truth, died in the King's Bench, and was buried in the back-yard of the said prison, for that the Roman catholic spirituality thought him not worthy to come within their pope-holy church-yards, neither in any other christian burial-place, as they call it.

*The HISTORY of FOUR MEN condemned at LEWES, June 6.*

**I**N June next following, about the sixth day of the same month, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes, whose names were these:

Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote, carpenter.

John Oswald, of Woodmancote, husbandman.

Thomas Avington, of Ardingly, turner.

Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland, I find in the bishop of London's registers, to be objected to for his not coming to church. Whereunto he answered, That after the mass was restored, he never had will to hear the same, because (said he) it was Latin, which he did not understand, therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit, as never the better.

John Oswald denied to answer any thing, until his accusers should be brought face to face before him; and nevertheless said, The fire and faggots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers which were in king Edward's time have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's-Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Suffex, in one fire.

In the same town of Lewes, and in the same month likewise, were burned Thomas Whood, minister, and Thomas Milles, about the twentieth day of the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic church of Rome.

On the 24th of the same month likewise William Adherhall, minister, died in the prison of the King's-Bench, and was buried in the back-yard: also John Clement, wheelwright, who dying in the said prison, was buried in like manner upon the dung-hill in the back-yard, viz. the 25th day of June.

The next day following of the said month, we read of a certain young man, a merchant's servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel persecution from the papists, and was burnt at Leicester the 26th day of June 1556.

*An ACCOUNT of THIRTEEN MARTYRS, burned at STRATFORD the Bow.*

**N**OT long after the death of the merchant's servant before-mentioned, there followed in this blessed order of martyrs, burned in one fire at Stratford the dwellings were in sundry places in Essex, and whose Bow, by London, eleven men and two women, whose names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.

Laurence Parnam.

Henry Wye.

William Hallywel.

Thomas Bowyer.

George Searles.

Edmund Hurst.

Lyon Cawch.

Ralph Jackson.

John Derifall.

John Routh.

Elizabeth Pepper.

Agnes George.

Unto whom, the sixth of June, 1556, Dr. Darbyshire, bishop Bonner's chancellor, in form of law ministered the same articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his companions, mentioned before, to which they made their several answers, in simplicity and in a good conscience. The sum and effect whereof ensueth.

To the first, they all answered affirmatively; but Lyon Cawch added further, that he believed that the true faith and religion of Christ is wheresoever the word of God is truly preached.

To



To the second article they all answered in effect, denying that there be seven sacraments; some affirming that in the church of Christ there are but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism, and the Lord's supper: others referring themselves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: and others refused to make answer because of their simplicity.

To the third article they all answered affirmatively.

To the fourth article they all answered affirmatively, except John Routh, who said he would make no answer thereunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that he believed the article to be true; but it was because he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in the time of king Edward the Sixth, she went from her old faith and religion, and believed in the faith and religion that was then taught and set forth.

To the fifth they also answered in effect affirmatively, except John Routh, whose answer was, that the mass is such a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conscience. And Henry Adlington answered, that for nine or ten years before, he misliked the mass, and also the sacrament of the altar, because they cannot be proved by the scriptures. And as touching the authority of the see of Rome, he bring but fourteen years of age, took an oath against the same, which oath, he said, he intended to keep by the grace of God.

To the sixth they all answered affirmatively, except John Routh and William Hallywel who both refused to answer, because they knew not what they meant by this article. But the two women added, that they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then used in the realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Christ.

To the seventh article they all answered affirmatively; but William Hallywel denied that ever he called the mass idolatry and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true: yet he confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish-church and received, before he was put to prison.

To the eighth article Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searles, answered affirmatively: Henry Wye said, he was brought before certain justices of the peace in Essex, concerning one Higbed his late master, and thereupon he was committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to the bishop to be further examined. William Hallywel affirmed the like confession as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall said he was called before the lord Rich and Mr. Mildmay, of Chelmsford, and was by them sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be further examined. Thomas Bowyer said he was brought before Mr. Wiseman, of Felsed, and by him was sent to Colchester castle, and from thence was carried to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cowch said, that he was sent for to come before the king and queen's commissioners, and appearing before them three times, was sent to bishop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington said, that he coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwike there, being prisoner for the testimony of Jesus Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to bishop Bonner, to be by him further examined. John Routh said, that he was convented before the earl of Oxford, and by him was sent to the castle of Colchester, and from thence conveyed to bishop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam said, that he was committed to Hertford prison, because he would not go to church, and from thence sent to bishop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Agnes George said, that she was committed to prison in Colchester, at the command of one Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, because she would not go to church, and from thence was sent to bishop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper said, she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for that she would not come to church, and by them was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined.

To the ninth article, they believed the premises all to be true as above by them confessed, and that they were of the diocese and jurisdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, that she was of the town of Colchester.

And Agnes George added, that she was of the parish of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, that he was at that present a merchant there.

Henry Wye, brewer, was of the parish of Stantford le Hore, and 32 years of age.

William Hallywel was a smith, of the parish of Waltham Holy-Cross, and of the age of 24 years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackson was a serving man of Chippin-Ongar, and of the age of 25 years.

Laurence Pernam was a smith of Hodsdon, within the parish of Amwell, in the county of Hertford, and of the age of 22 years.

John Derifall was a labourer, of the parish of Rettington, in Essex, and of the age of 50 years and above.

Edmund Hurst, labourer, of St. James's, in Colchester, was 50 years of age.

Thomas Bowyer was a weaver of Much Dunmow, and of the age of 36 years.

George Searles was a taylor, between 20 and 21 years of age, of the parish of White-Nottle, where he was taken and carried to the lord Rich, who sent him to Colchester castle, with a commandment that no friend he had in the world should speak with him. There he lay six weeks, and was sent up to London, where he was some time in the bishop's coal-house, some time in Lollard's tower, and last of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent, about a fortnight before Easter, in the place aforesaid.

Lyon Cawch was a broker in Flanders, but when he was apprehended he resided in the city of London, and of the age of 28 years.

Henry Adlington was a sawyer, of Greensted, in the county of Suffex, of the age of 30 years.

John Routh was a labourer, and of the parish of Wickes, in Essex, of the age of 26 years.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper, weaver, of the parish of St. James, in the town of Colchester, of the age of 30 years, or thereabouts, who when she was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Bosom's wife, who then unloosed her handkerchief, saying moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them, Why, said she, they knew it well enough. O! such be the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the innocent saints of the Lord, who truly profess Christ crucified only and alone for the satisfaction of their sins.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George, husbandman, of West Barefold, in the county of Essex, and of the age of 26 years. This Richard George had another wife before her, who was burnt in the Postern, at Colchester, and himself lay in prison till queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then he was released.

When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed that they should suffer, which was the 27th of June, 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London the same day, to Stratford-Bow, (the place appointed for their martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two several chambers. Afterwards the sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast themselves away.

Unto whom they answered, that their faith was not built upon man, but on Christ crucified. Then the sheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said (like a liar) the like to them, that they with whom he had been before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but to play the wise men, &c.

Unto



Unto whom they answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his word, &c.

Now when he saw it needful to persuade (for they were, God be praised, surely grounded on the Rock Jesus Christ) he then led them to the place where they should suffer, and being there all together, they most earnestly prayed unto the Lord, and then joyfully went to the stake and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three stakes, and the two women loose in the middle without any stake, and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these aforesaid thirteen, were three more condemned to die, whose names are hereunder specified.

Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, and William Adams.

These three answered to the same articles that were propounded to the aforesaid thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the secular power, Cardinal Poole sent his dispensation for their lives, by what occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then escaped.

The Sunday after these aforesaid sixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, preached at Paul's Cross, where he declared, that he had as many sundry opinions as they were sundry persons. At the hearing whereof they drew out their faith, and set to their hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the same to their friends, and the faithful congregation, as followeth.

*Unto all our dearly beloved FRIENDS, and the holy CONGREGATION of JESUS CHRIST, even so many as love GOD, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.*

**B**E it manifest to all unto whom this our certificate shall be seen, that whereas, upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham before the bishop of London, sixteen of us (whose names are hereunder subscribed) were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's verity; which most godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adversaries thereof continually defeated, and is by the devil and his imps, even at this present, likewise daily slandered: upon this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon lately preached at Paul's cross, the fourteenth of the said month, being Sunday, by Mr. Fecknam, now dean of the same church; where he, in that most worthy audience, defamed us to be in sixteen sundry opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all christian verity: and for a testimonial thereof, this hereunder written shall answer our cause, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

The first, We believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church, in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost: which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we do persist, and will by God's assistance to the end. Now mark, that although the minister were of the church malignant, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confessing the articles of the

christian faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

1. Item, There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

2. Item, We believe that is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly administered, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet as well as no.

3. Item. The see of Rome is the see of Antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the pope is head under the devil.

4. Item, The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

5. Item, God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

For these articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

Apparent also let it be and known, that being examined on the former articles before the bloody bishop, the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would prove by the scriptures. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics, but said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches.

Ralph Jackson.  
Henry Adlington.  
Lyon Cawch.  
William Hallywel.  
George Searles.  
John Routh.  
John Derifall.  
Henry Wye.

Edmund Hurst.  
Laurence Parnam.  
Thomas Bowyer.  
Elizabeth Pepper.  
Agnes Geo ge.  
Thomas Freeman.  
William Stannard.  
William Adams.

About the fourteenth of June, in the same year, John Colstock, who was lately come from London, and now dwelling at Wellington, though he did not suffer martyrdom, yet he sustained some trouble, being examined by the bishop, named Ralph Bane, for his religion, especially for two points, in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession to be made to the priest. For which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cedde to bear a faggot before the cross bare-headed, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongst divers others, which in the same diocese, and at the same time, were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier, of Uttoxater, shoe maker; Nich. Ball, of Uttoxater; Thomas Pyot, of Chedull.

Item, Henry Crimes, for marrying his wife on Palm-Sunday eve, &c. Some others also there were which had the like penance enjoined them, as Thomas Johnson, about the 26th day of this month of June, because he swore by the holy mass before the bishop sitting in judgment, who for the same was driven to go before the cross with his taper and beads, &c.

In the same month of June one Thomas Parret died in the prison of the King's-Bench in Southwark, and was buried in the back-yard the 27th day of the said month.

Also Martin Hunt (as is reported) was famished in the same prison the 29th day. At which time likewise died in the same prison, as I find recorded, one John Norice, and after the same sort as the other was buried in the back-yard of the said prison.



*The* MARTYRDOM of ROGER BERNARD,  
ADAM FOSTER, and ROBERT LAWSON.

**W**HEN Roger Bernard came before the bishop, first he asked, whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be shriven, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard answered, No: I have not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him, but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me; whereof I shall not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself.

*Bishop.* Surely, Bernard, thou must needs go, and confess thyself unto him.

*Bernard.* That shall I not do (by God's grace) while I live.

*Bishop.* What a stout heretic is this! How impudently he answereth!

*Bernard.* My lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called heretic at your hands: for so your forefathers called the prophets and confessors of Christ long before this time.

At these words the bishop rose up in great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the bishop went and kneeled before what they call the sacrament of the altar, and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard answered, I cannot tell why I should do so. Why, quoth the bishop, thou lewd fellow, whom seest thou yonder? pointing to the pyx over the altar.

*Bernard.* I see no body there. Do you, my lord?

*Bishop.* Why, naughty man, dost thou not see thy Maker?

*Bernard.* My Maker? No, I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap.

With that the bishop rose up sore displeased, and commanded the gaoler to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him. For, said he, I will tame him ere he go from me; I think so: and so he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him, if he did not remember himself since the day before that he was before him.

*Bernard.* Yes, my lord, I have remembered myself very well; for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the guard standing by, said, My lord, I pray you, trouble not yourself any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I shall handle him after another sort, I think, and make him a fair child ere he go, you shall see.

So he was committed to him, and brought by him to an inn, where were a great many priests assembled together, and there they all fell to flatter him, and persuaded him with fair enticing words, what they could; but when they could not prevail therein, then they began to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like. Unto whom Bernard said, Friends, I am not better than my master Christ, and the prophets which your fathers served after such sort; and I, for his name's sake, am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his ministers. So when they could not make him relent or yield, they said, Behold, a right scholar of John Fortune, whom they had then in prison. Then they carried him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the secular power.

This Roger Bernard was a single man, and by his vocation a labourer, dwelling in Framsdon, in Suffolk, who was taken in the night by Mr. Tamage's men, because he would not go to church to hear their unfavoury service, and so by them carried to prison.

*The* HISTORY of ADAM FOSTER.

**A**DAM FOSTER, of the age of six and twenty years, husbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendlesam, in the county of Suffolk, was taken at home in his house, a little before the sun's going down, by the constables of the said town, George Revet and Thomas Mause, at the commandment of sir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, because he would not go to church and hear mass, and receive at Easter, except he might have it after Christ's holy ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he must go with them unto the justice. Unto whom Adam Foster said, For Christ's cause, and to save his conscience, he was well contented; and so they led him to sir John Tyrrel, and he sent him to Eye-dungeon, in Suffolk, from whence at length he was sent to Norwich, and there condemned by bishop Hopton.

Now after his apprehension, the said Thomas Mause and George Revet were stricken with a great fear and sickness, whereby Mause pined and consumed away, even unto death, although he was a lusty young man. But George Revet, who was the said Mause's fellow, and a great reader of the scripture, or (as many term it) a talkative gospeller, would not be premonished by the works of God, but set his son to help the priest at mass, and to be clerk of the same town of Mendlesam for lucre sake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the grace so to consider it, which thing was this:

A young man of the same parish, newly married, called Robert Edgore, being of a ripe wit and sound judgment, was clerk in the said church before the said Revet set his son in that room, and executed the office a little; yea, alas, too long, against his own conscience; whereby at length the Lord so took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woeful wife, good woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, lest he should unawares do himself or some other some mischief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I said) would not admonish Revet, but needs he must persist in his wicked purpose. Notwithstanding at length, as many men were offended with him in the parish, so honest women especially, (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and said, Neighbour Revet, are you not afraid to let your son help the naughty priest to say mass, and to serve that abominable idol? And he said, No.

Then said they, We fear not to go to church and hear mass, seeing you, being a man that so much professes christianity, will let your son help the priest to say mass, &c.

At which words Revet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer unto God after this manner, or with such like words, saying, O Lord, if it be not thy will that my son should so do; then I beseech thee send some strange token, to let me understand what thy good pleasure is therein, &c. So according to his petition, within a short space after, his neighbour's bull came into his pasture, and he having a very proper gelding, which was his felicity above every thing he had, the bull running upon him, did so wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confessed, that it was the Lord's hand upon him for the sufferance of his son in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him still to use and frequent the same against his own conscience.

At last the Lord sent upon him a great swelling in his legs, which did so grievously vex and trouble him, by reason it swelled upward, that at length, having thereby brought upon him a very strange sickness, he died most miserably, and so impatient a manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant, for Christ's sake, that we may observe his judgments better, to his glory, and our comfort, Amen.



*The HISTORY of ROBERT LAWSON.*

**R**OBERT LAWSON was a single man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen-weaver, who was apprehended in the night, by one Robert Kererh, at the command of sir John Tyrrel, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, knight, and so was immediately carried to Eye-dungeon, in Suffolk, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to Bury. The cause of his being taken, was for that he would not go to church to hear mass, and receive their popish idol.

When these three aforefaid martyrs were carried to their death, namely Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson, of Bury, after they had made their prayer, being at the stake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such a happy and blessed condition, as did notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same quarrel to do the like. The Lord of strength fortify us to stand as his true soldiers in what standing soever he shall think it good to place us, Amen.

In the examination of Roger Bernard, you heard a little before, how he was compared by the priests there to John Fortune, and called his scholar. This John Fortune, otherwise called Cutler, of Hintlesham, in Suffolk, was by his occupation a black-smith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, on the 20th day of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, in his answers marvellous, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering, than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burnt or died in prison, I cannot certainly find; but I rather suppose that he was burnt. Certain it is, howsoever, he was made away with, as he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the bishop, you shall hear, although not with his own mouth spoken, yet with his own hand written what he did say, as followeth.

*The FIRST EXAMINATION of JOHN FORTUNE before Dr. PARKER and Mr. FOSTER.*

**F**IRST, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the catholic faith.

And I asked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death.

Dr. Parker being moved, said, What an impudent fellow is this? You shall soon see anon, he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Then said Mr. Foster, I know you well enough. You are a busy merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed mass?

And I stood still and made no answer.

Then said Foster, Why speakest thou no, and make the gentleman an answer?

And I said, Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Then said Dr. Parker, I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also.

And I answered, I know none such but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then said Dr. Parker, You deny the order of the seven sacraments. And why dost not thou believe in the sacrament of the altar?

And I answered, Because it is not written in God's book.

Then, said he, you will not believe unwritten verities.

And I answered, I will believe that those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities be true: but those unwritten verities that are of your own making, and inventions of your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, said Mr. Foster, you shall be whipped and burned for this gear.

Then answered I, If you knew how these words do rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them.

Then said Mr. Foster, Away, thou fool, dost thou rejoice in whipping?

Yes, answered I, for it is written in the scriptures, and Christ saith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake: and since the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this persecution.

Away with him then, said he, for he is ten times worse than Samuel: and so he was carried to prison again.

*The SECOND EXAMINATION of JOHN FORTUNE, before the BISHOP of NORWICH.*

**W**HEN I came before the bishop, he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church.

I answered, I believe that church whereof Christ is the head.

Then said the bishop, Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?

And I answered, No, Christ is the head of the true church.

*Bishop.* So do I believe also: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

*Fortune.* The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, "That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him; for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever."

And the bishop again fetching about a great circumstance, said, Like as the bell-weather weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep: so is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a master-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again: so doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man. And he said, Yea. And I said again, They are spiteful men; for in 17 months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of Antichrist.

*Bishop.* It is maliciously spoken, for thou must obey the power and not the man. And thus was the pope denied to be supreme head. Well, what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I answered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots," saith our Saviour: for they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

*Bishop.* They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.

*Fortune.* St. Paul called them weak and beggarly.

*Bishop.* No, that is a lie.

I hearing that, said, that St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth chapter to the Galatians, "You foolish Galatians, (saith he) who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you doth lie, you or St. Paul? And also it is said, That works instituted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matth. xv. "In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments." And St. Paul, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine?" And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

*Bishop.* Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the scriptures, thou impudent heretic. Thou art worse than all other heretics; for Hooper and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive how that the catholic church cannot err, but whatsoever they say must needs be true. And



And so my Lord bishop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men plainly in the next.

*The THIRD EXAMINATION of JOHN FORTUNE, before the BISHOP of NORWICH.*

**T**HE next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he preached a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel, from Christ's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great bibles babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

*Bishop.* How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?

*Fortune.* That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

*Bishop.* Why so?

*Fortune.* If I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question: for a bishop should be apt to teach and not to learn.

*Bishop.* I am appointed by the law to teach, you are not.

*Fortune.* Your law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars in their stead.

*Bishop.* Now you may understand that he is a traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

*Fortune.* I am no traitor: for St. Paul saith, "All souls must obey the higher powers," and I resist not the higher powers concerning my body, but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul.

Then said a doctor, My lord, you do not well: let him answer shortly to his articles.

*Bishop.* How sayest thou? make an answer quickly to these articles.

*Fortune.* St. Paul saith, Heb. x. "Christ did one sacrifice once for all, and sat him down at the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins.

*Bishop.* I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article.

*Fortune.* If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

*Bishop.* Lo, what a stiff heretic is this! He hath denied all together: how sayest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament or no?

*Fortune.* God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.

*Bishop.* I ask thee no such question: answer me directly.

*Fortune.* I answer, that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

*Bishop.* It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak.

Then said the scribe, Here are a great many articles.

Then said the bishop, Away with him: for he hath spoken too much.

*The LAST EXAMINATION of J. FORTUNE.*

**W**HEN I came to mine examination again, the bishop asked me if I would stand unto mine answers that I made before: and I said, yea; for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumstance upon the sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the text, and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, "I am the bread which came down from heaven:" believest thou not this? and I said, Yea truly.

And he said, Why dost thou deny the sacrament?

Because your doctrine is false, said I.

Then, said he, how can that be false which is spoken in the scripture?

And I answered, Christ said, "I am the bread:"

and you say the bread is he. Therefore your doctrine is false.

And he said, Dost thou not believe that the bread is he? I answered, No.

*Bishop.* I will bring thee to it by the scriptures.

*Fortune.* Hold that fast, my lord: for that is the best argument that you have had yet.

*Bishop.* Thou shalt be burned like an heretic.

*Fortune.* Who shall give judgment upon me?

*Bishop.* I will judge an hundred such as thou art, and never be shriven upon it.

*Fortune.* Is there not law for the spirituality, as well as for the temporality?

And sir Clement Higham said, Yes, what meanest thou by that?

*Fortune.* When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the bar, and sitteth no more in judgment. And the bishop is a perjured man, and ought not to sit in judgment.

*Bishop.* How provest thou that?

*Fortune.* Because you took an oath in king Henry's days to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

*Bishop.* Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No: for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

*C. Higham.* It is time to weed out such fellows as you are, indeed.

*Bishop.* Good fellow, why believest thou not in the sacrament of the altar?

*Fortune.* Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart.

*Bishop.* How knowest thou it is not there?

*Fortune.* Because it is contrary to the second commandment: and seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the bishop having no more to say, commanded the bailiff to take him.

And thus much concerning the examinations of this man. Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, as I said before, I am uncertain.

In the register of Norwich this I do find, that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, is not expressed in the said register, according as the usual manner of the notary is so to declare, in the end of the sentence. Nevertheless this is most certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howsoever it pleased the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

*The DEATH of JOHN CARELESS, in the King's-Bench.*

**A**BOUT the first of July, John Careless, of Coventry, weaver, died in the King's-Bench prison: who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments; as well because he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined it, as may well appear by his examination before Dr. Martin. Which examination, because it contained nothing almost but wrangling interrogatories, and matters of contention, wherein Dr. Martin would enter into no communication about the articles of his accusation, but only urged him to detect his fellows, it is not therefore greatly material to express the whole, but only to insert so much as pertains to the question of predestination, which may bring some fruit to the reader.

*The Effect of JOHN CARELESS's EXAMINATION before Dr. MARTIN, briefly declared.*

**F**IRST, Dr. Martin calling John Careless to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name? To whom



whom when the other had answered, that his name was John Careless, then began Dr. Martin to descant at his pleasure upon that name, saying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careless man indeed. And so after a deal of unnecessary talk there spent about much needless matter, then he asked him where he was born.

Forsooth, saith Careless, at Coventry.

Martin. At Coventry? What, so far, man? How camest thou hither? Who sent thee to the King's-bench prison?

Careless. I was brought hither by a writ, I think; what it was I cannot tell. I suppose master Marshal can tell you.

Marshal. In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my lord chief justice sent him from the bar.

Martin. Well, Careless, I would thou shouldst play the wise man's part. Thou art a handsome man, and it is a pity but thou shouldst do well, and save that which God hath bought.

Careless. I thank your good mastership most heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am most sure and certain of my salvation by Jesus Christ; so that my soul is safe already, whatsoever pains my body suffer here for a little time.

Martin. Yea marry, you say truth. For thou art so predestinate to life, that thou canst not perish in whatsoever opinion thou dost die.

Careless. That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Jesus Christ, I am most certain, and even so am I sure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am sealed) will preserve me from all heresies and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all.

Martin. Go to, let me hear thy faith in predestination. For that shall be written also.

Careless. Your mastership shall pardon me herein. For you said yourself ere now, that you had no commission to examine my conscience. I will trouble myself with answering no more matters than I needs must, until I come before them that shall have more authority further to examine me.

Martin. I tell thee then I have a commission and commandment from the council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy articles.

Careless. Yea, I think indeed that your mastership is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confess them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my articles speak nothing at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I must also examine thee of such things as be in controversy between thee and thy fellows in the King's-bench, whereof predestination is a part, as thy fellow N—— hath confessed, and thyself dost not deny it.

Careless. I do not deny it. But he that first told you that, might have found himself much better occupied.

Martin. Why, what if he had not told me, thinkest thou that I would not have known it? Yes, or else thou shouldst have withstood my commission. For I tell thee the truth, I may now examine thee of the blessed sacrament, or any other thing that I like, but that I would shew thee favour, and not be too hasty with thee at the first.

Marshal. Yea, indeed, Careless, Mr. Doctor hath a commission to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea, marry that I have, I tell thee the truth of it.

Careless. Then let your scribe set his pen to the paper, and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ.

Martin. Tush, what need of all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected; and make no more ado.

Careless. No, not so, Mr. Doctor: it is an high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

Martin. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more business than needeth.

Careless. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear and loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ), did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, saying,

Why, who will deny this?

Careless. If your mastership do allow this, and other learned men when they shall see it, I have my heart's desire.

Martin. And do you hold no otherwise than is here written?

Careless. No verily, nor never did.

Martin. Write what he saith, Otherwise he holdeth not. So that was written.

Martin. It was told me also, that thou dost affirm, That Christ did not die effectually for all men.

Careless. Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually die for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written also.

Martin. Now, fir, what is Trew's faith of predestination? He believeth that all men are predestinate, and that none shall be damned, doth he not?

Careless. No forsooth, that he doth not.

Martin. How then?

Careless. Truly I think he doth believe as your mastership and the rest of the clergy do believe of predestination, that we are elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write what he saith, That his fellow Trew believeth of predestination as the papists do believe.

Careless. Ah, master Doctor, did I so term you? Seeing that this my confession shall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them.

Martin. Well, well, write that Trew is of the same faith as the catholics be.

Careless. I did not so call you neither; I wonder what you mean.

Martin. You said the clergy, did you not?

Careless. Yes forsooth did I. So then it was written of the clergy.

Martin. Now, fir, what say you more?

Careless. Forsooth I have no further to say in this matter.

Martin. Well, Careless, I pray thee prove thyself a wise man, and do not cast away thy life wilfully.

Careless. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Mr. Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe conscience. And your mastership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I stand upon I will have sure ground.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careless, that I would gladly make some means to preserve thy life. But thou speakest so much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my lord Fitzwater into Ireland? Methinks thou art a handsome fellow, and would do the queen a service there. What sayest thou?

Careless. Verily, Mr. Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place else, I am ready to do her grace the best service that I can, with body, goods, and life, so long as it doth last.

Martin. That is honestly said, I promise thee every man will not say so. How say you, Mr. Marshal?



This man is meet for all manner of service. Indeed thou art worthy, Careless, to have the more favour.

Careless. Indeed, sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true christian subject to do. And if her grace or her officers under her do require of me to do any thing contrary to Christ's religion, I am ready also to do my service in Smithfield for not observing it, as my bed-fellow and other worthy brethren have done, praised be God for them.

Martin. By my troth thou art as pleasant a fellow as ever I talked with of all the protestants, except it were Tomson. I am sorry that I must depart from thee so soon; but I have such business now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canst not deny, but you are at variance among yourselves in the King's-bench, and it is so throughout all your congregation: for you will not be a church.

Careless. No, master Doctor, that is not so. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the catholic church, yea, and that in the sacrament, for which there is so much blood shed now-a-days, I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old, they agree wholly with us.

Martin. No, Careless, this is not so; there thou art deceived.

Careless. Verily it is so, master Doctor; I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by such as God hath indued with great learning.

Then he turned to the marshal, and whispered with him a while.

Turning to me again, he said, Farewel, Careless: for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my business is such.

Careless. God be with you, my good master Doctor, the Lord give your mastership health of body and soul.

Martin. God have mercy, good Careless, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would with myself.

Careless. I thank your good mastership: I pray God I may do always that which is acceptable in his sight. Whereunto they all said, Amen. And so I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praise, Amen.

It appeareth by the examination of the said John Careless, that he suffered two whole years imprisonment, having a wife and children. When he was in Coventry gaol, he was in such credit with the keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the pageant about the city with his companions, always returning punctually to prison again at the hour appointed.

After that, being brought to London, he was indued with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly, than the promotion of dying in the fire for the profession of his faith: but it pleasing God to prevent him by death in the prison, he was buried in the fields in a dunghill.

While he was prisoner in the King's-bench, he happened to be very much troubled in conscience, whereupon he wrote to Mr. Philpot, then in bishop Bonner's coal-house: upon occasion whereof, Mr. Philpot sent him an epistle of consolation, which is inserted before among Mr. Philpot's letters. Unto which epistle John Careless made the following answer.

#### L E T T E R I.

*From Mr. JOHN CARELESS, in answer to the loving Epistle sent to him by Mr. JOHN PHILPOT.*

A faithful friend is a strong defence; who so findeth such a one, findeth a treasure.

A faithful friend hath no peer; the weight of gold and silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith.

A faithful friend is a medicine of Life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him, Ecclesi. vi.

**T**HE Father of mercy and God of all consolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit, my most dear and faithful loving friend, good Mr. Philpot, as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the same; the everlasting God therefore be praised for ever, Amen.

Ah, my dear heart, and most loving brother, if I should do nothing else day and night, so long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read psalms, I can never be able to render unto God sufficient thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindness, and most loving compassion extended unto me most vile, sinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord would open my mouth, and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the same might flow his continual praise. O that my sinful flesh (which is the cause of sorrow) were clean separated from me, that I might sing psalms of thanksgiving unto the Lord's name for ever; that with good Samuel's mother, I might continually record this noble verse following, which by the good experience I have found most true, praised be my God therefore.

"The Lord (saith that good woman) killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again. Praised be the Lord for ever, yea, and praised be his name for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the same. Blessed be the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deserts, nor destroyed me in his displeasure when I had justly deserved it. Oh, what reward shall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my soul! I will gladly receive the cup of salvation at his hand, and will worship his name with prayer and with praise."

Ah, my dear heart, yea most dear to me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me to be some fickle phantasy of my foolish head, (as indeed some others would surely suspect it to be) for doubtless it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, most merciful unto me his unworthy creature. God, for his great mercy's sake, give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall from his favour again.

And now, my dear brother, and most blessed messenger of the Lord, whose beautiful feet have brought many glad tidings to my soul; what shall I do or say unto you, in the least part to recompense the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me? O that God would give me the spirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way supply some little part of my duty toward you. Ah, my true loving friend, how soon did you lay aside all other business, to make a sweet plaister for my wounded conscience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which place must needs be uneasy to write in; but God hath brought you into a strait place, that you might set my soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful seat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious ointment, the sweet favour whereof hath greatly refreshed my tired soul. The Lord likewise refresh you, both body and soul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit in your sweet heart.

Ah, good Jeremy, hath Phasor put thee into the stocks? why, now thou hast the reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but shortly, instead of Ahikam, the son of Shapham, Jesus the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and also make good, against them and their antichristian synagogue, all the words that thou hast spoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a strong defended tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall against the whole rabble of Antichrist: and though they fight against thee ever so fiercely, yet shall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himself is with thee to help and deliver thee: and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the



the tyrants. And in that you are not busy in casting pearls before swine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my simple judgment. And sure I am that your circumspect and modest behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's glory, and to the shame and confusion of your enemies, as any men's doings that are gone before you.

Wherefore my advice and most earnest desire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you still keep that order with those blood-thirsty sheep-biters, bishops I should say, that you have begun. For though in conclusion they will surely have your blood, yet shall they come by it with shame enough, and to their perpetual infamy whilst the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in private, to darken God's glory, if it might be: but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his subtilty is by you well foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall suffer them to do: for I know all things shall turn to your benefit. Though you lie in the dark, sullied with the bishop's black coal-dust; yet shall you be shortly restored to the heavenly light, and be made as white as snow in Salmon, as the wings of a dove that is covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the vessel, before it is made bright, is foiled with oil and other things, that it may scour the better.

O happy be you that you be now in the scouring-house; for shortly you shall be set upon the celestial shelf as bright as angels. Therefore, my dear heart, I will now, according to your loving request, cast away all care, and rejoice with you, and praise God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now, with God's grace, sing psalms of praise and thanksgiving with you. For now my soul is turned to her old rest again, and hath taken a sweet nap in Christ's lap. I have cast my care upon the Lord, who careth for me, and will be careless, according to my name, in that respect you would have me. I will leave out my unseemly addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is resident. So soon as I had read your most godly and comfortable letter, my sorrows vanished away as smoke in the wind, my spirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am sure the Spirit of God was the author of it.

O my good Mr. Philpot, which art a principal pot indeed filled with most precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the same: O pot most happy, of the high Potter ordained to honour, which dost contain such heavenly treasure in the earthen vessel: O pot thrice happy, in whom Christ hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the best, whereout the master of the feast hath filled my cup so full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the same. When martyrdom shall break thee, O vessel of honour, I know the fragrant savour of thy precious ointment will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Christ's true members, although the Judases will grudge and murmur at the same; yea, and burst out into words of slander, saying, It is but loss and waste.

Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical speech; for I am disposed to be merry, and with David to dance before the ark of the Lord: and though you play upon a pair of organs not very comely or easy to the flesh, yet the sweet sound that came from the same, causeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as present I am in spirit, that I might sing all care away in Christ: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you shortly, if all things happen right; for my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me, not six days ago, saying, I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's blessing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignity, and hasten the time that I may set forth his glory.

Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and desire all your company to do the same, and I will pray God for you all, so long as I live. And now farewell in Christ, thou blessed of God's own mouth. I will for a

time to take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that ever I came into the King's-Bench, to be joined in love and fellowship with such dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford shall not be dead while you are alive: for verily the spirit of him doth rest on you in a most ample manure. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water; the Lord give good increase. My dear brethren and fellow-prisoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all chearful and merry under our crosses, and do lack no necessaries, praised be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen.

## LETTER II.

*From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to his Wife.*

AS by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed, my dearly beloved wife, you and I were joined together in the holy and christian state of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Christ, as also to the increase of his blessed church and faithful congregation, by having lawful children by and in the same, with which God of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his name therefore: even so now by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come (so far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, dissolve the same, and separate us asunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, by this simple letter to provoke, stir, and admonish you, to behave yourself in all your doings, sayings, and thoughts, most thankfully unto our good God for the same. And therefore, my dear wife, as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodness, in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even so now I desire you, when this time of our separation shall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him most hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endless advantage) separated us again for a little time; and hath mercifully taken me unto himself, out of this miserable world into his celestial kingdom; believing and hoping also assuredly, that God of his goodness, for his Son Christ's sake, will shortly bring you, and your dear children, thither to me, that we may most joyfully together sing praises unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I desire you, for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his most merciful will upon me.

I hear say, that you do oftentimes repeat this godly saying, "The Lord's will be fulfilled." Doubtless it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and for the Lord's sake use that godly prayer continually, teach your children and family to say the same day and night: and not only say it with your tongues, but also with your heart and mind, and joyfully submit your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing assuredly, that nothing shall come to you or any of your's, otherwise than it shall be his almighty and fatherly good-will and pleasure, and for your eternal comfort and advantage. Which thing to be most true and certain, Christ testifieth in his holy gospel, saying, "Are not two little sparrows sold for a farthing, and yet not one of them shall perish without the will of our heavenly Father?" And he concludeth, saying, "Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better than many sparrows." As though he should have said, If God have such respect and care for a poor sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it shall not be taken in the lime-twigg, net, or pitfall, unless it be his good will and pleasure; you may be well assured, that not one of you (whom he so dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) shall perish, or depart out of this miserable life, without his almighty good will and pleasure.

Therefore,



Therefore, dear wife, put your trust and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not your's, except it be agreeable to his will; which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well assured the Lord, your dear God and Father, will not see you nor your's lack, if you continue in his love and childly fear, and keep a clear conscience from all kind of idolatry, superstition, and wickedness, as my trust is that you will do, although it be with the loss and danger of this temporal life. And, good Margaret, fear not them that can but kill the body (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave), but fear to displease him that can kill both body and soul, and cast them into hell-fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himself will be a father and a mother, better than ever you or I could have been unto them. He himself will do all things necessary for them. He hath given his angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear conscience, (for else I would not have you to live) and see the bringing up of your children yourself, look that you nurture them in the fear of God, and keep them far from idolatry, superstition, and other kind of wickedness; and for God's sake help them to some learning if it be possible, that they may increase in virtue and godly knowledge, which shall be a better dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly substance; and when they are come to age, provide them such husbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them not with papists; and if you live and marry again yourself (which thing I would wish you to do if need require, or else not), good wife take heed how you bestow yourself, that you and my poor children be not compelled to wickedness. But if you shall be well able to live God's true widow, I would counsel you to live so still, for the more quietness of yourself and your poor children. Take heed, Margaret, and play the wife woman's part. You have warning by others, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my sweet children unto God's most merciful defence. The blessing of God be with you, and God send us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewel in Christ, farewel mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

### LETTER III.

*From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to Mr. BRADFORD.*

**T**HE peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his sweet Spirit, which hath surely sealed you unto eternal salvation, be with you, and strengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celestial Jerusalem (my dear friend, and most faithful brother Mr. Bradford), to the setting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Christ, Amen.

Ever since that good Mr. Philpot shewed me your last letter, my dear heart in the Lord, I have continued in great heaviness and perplexity; not for any hurt or discommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubtless death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loss that God's church here in England shall sustain by the taking away of so godly, worthy, and necessary an instrument as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life, and a thousand more of such wretched lives might go for your's. O why doth God suffer me and such caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the alms of the church, and take away you, so worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our sins and great unthankfulness, which is the greatest cause of the taking away such worthy instruments of God, as should set forth his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good ministers of his word, we had not been so soon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and sins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Christ's sake. Take not away all thy true preachers out of this

realm, O Lord, but leave us a seed, lest England be made like to Sodom and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

But why go I about to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your just joy with my deserved sorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice with you most heartily, and praise God on your behalf from the very bottom of my heart. I should praise God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and should give him most humble thanks for your vocation by his gospel, and your true knowledge in the same; I should earnestly praise him for your sweet justification, whereof you are most certain by God's grace and Spirit, and should instantly pray unto him for your glorification, which shall shortly ensue; I should rejoice and be glad to see you so dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your blood; I should highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies, visible and invisible, and hath given you grace and strength to finish the tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I should most heartily rejoice and be glad to see you delivered from this body of sin, and vile prison of the flesh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle where you shall be safely kept, and never offend him more.

This and much more should I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child. But, alas! I am an hypocrite, and do seek nothing but mine own advantage; I would have God's everlasting providence give place to my peevish will and purpose, although it were to the hindrance of his glory, and your sweet comfort. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, sins, and offences against him: and, good brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulness towards you, and henceforth I promise you, I will put my will to God's will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will most heartily praise the Lord for you, so long as I have my being in this world. Ah, my dear heart, now I must take my leave of you, and as I think, my last farewell in this life, but in the life to come I am right well assured we shall merrily meet together, and that shortly I trust. And in taking of my leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I shall desire you faithfully to remember all the sweet messages that the Lord our good God and most dear loving Father hath sent you by me his most unworthy servant, which as they are most true, so shall they be most truly accomplished upon you eternally; and for the more assurance and certificate thereof to your godly conscience, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Harken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me witness at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lord's message unto his dear servant, his singularly beloved and elect child, John Bradford. John Bradford, thou art a man so specially beloved of God, I pronounce and testify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy sins, whatsoever they be, be they ever so many, so grievous, or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness, and hath made thee in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle; so that when the fire doth it's appointed office, thou shalt be received (as a sweet burnt sacrifice) into heaven, where thou shalt joyfully remain in God's presence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting kingdom, unto which thou wast undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpose and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is most true that I have said, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and Eternal Majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to my record at this present; whom I humbly beseech to confirm



and stablish in thee the true and lively feeling of the same, Amen.

Now with a merry heart and joyful spirit, something mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewell of you, my own dear brother in the Lord, who will send us shortly a merry meeting in his kingdom, that we may both sing praises together unto him with his holy angels and blessed spirits for ever and ever. Farewel, thou blessed in the Lord, farewell in Christ, depart unto thy rest in the Lord; and pray for me for God's sake.

As I had made an end of this simple letter, I heard some comfort both of good Mr. Philpot's servant and your's; but, alas, I do scarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will send me some comfort to-morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for God's sake. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

Your's for ever in the Lord Jesus,

J. CARELESS, living in hope against hope.

In reading this letter of John Careless to Mr. Bradford above prefixed, wherein he maketh so much mention of a certain letter of his sent to him, and of the exceeding great consolation he received of the same, thou wilt wish, peradventure (good loving reader) in thy mind, to have some sight also of the said letter of Mr. Bradford; wherefore to satisfy thy desire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hitherto annexed the same, to the intent thou mayst not only understand the contents thereof, but also receive fruit thereof to thy consolation likewise. The purport of the letter here followeth.

#### LETTER IV.

*From Mr. BRADFORD to Mr. CARELESS.*

**A**Lmighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Dear brother Careless, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of manifold sins and most grievous offences, which need no other demonstration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved myself so negligently in answering your godly triple letters, which are three witnesses against me. God lay not them, nor any other to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my will, but his be done. Concerning your request of absolution, my dearest brother, what shall I say, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatsoever they be, that ever hitherto thou hast committed against his majesty: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his child, dear brother, John Careless, in token that thy sins are pardoned; he (I say) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe.

Wherefore, my good brother, be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy sins. The East is not so far from the West, as the Lord hath now put thy sins from thee. Look how high the heavens are in comparison of the earth, so far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear child, John Careless, through Christ the beloved. Say therefore with David, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy sins; as truly he hath. And hercof I desire to be a witness. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true message for myself. Mine own dearly beloved, you have cause to thank God most heartily that he hath given you such repentance and faith; the Lord increase the same in you, and me a most miserable wretch, whose heart is harder than an adamant stone, or else I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpose

and promise you to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

Your's in the Lord,

J. BRADFORD.

The fifth Letter is from Mr. John Careless to his faithful brethren in Newgate, who had been condemned to die for the testimony of the truth; in which he more particularly addresses himself to his faithful loving brother Tyms, rejoicing in their firmness and constancy, and patience in sufferings, and declaring his own readiness to follow them. He particularly mentions brother Drake also, and the four other martyrs from Essex; and finally committing them all to God's most merciful defence, whose quarrel they had defended, whose cause they had promoted, whose glory they had set forth, and whose name they had constantly confessed, and that they were going to take their places under the altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers. Hooper, Saunders, Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, and many others.

The sixth Letter is addressed also from Mr. John Careless to Mr. Whittle, Mr. Green, and other prisoners at that time in Newgate, who had been condemned, and were ready to be burnt for the testimony of Jesus, and the truth of the gospel. In the same strain of joy and satisfaction he praises the magnanimity and courage, and extols in elevated strains the honour which God has bestowed upon them, in counting them worthy to suffer for his sake; and then pathetically ejaculates, "Oh that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you." To his brother Green he thus feelingly writes, "Happy art thou to be appointed to die for his sake! Although thou here go forth sowing thy good fruit with tears, the time shall come that thou shalt reap with joy and gladness the fruits of everlasting life, without ceasing." And, after congratulating the other prisoners, who were shortly to become martyrs, he thus addresses, as a faithful sister, Joan Warne *alias* Lashford, in these words; "Thy trial hath been great; thy victory in Christ hath been notable. Thou hast overcome many a sharp shower and storm. Shortly shalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet rest, and receive the reward due to a constant martyr. Thou shalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and possess for ever the inheritance which Christ hath purchased for thee, where thy earthly parents be still looking for thee, who have triumphed over Antichrist most victoriously. O blessed parents of happy children, who have shewn such an example as the like hath been seldom seen! I salute thee, dear sister of like constant mind, whose constant example is worthy of continual memory. Praised be God for you mine own sweet sisters, who hath made you play such wise virgins' parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamp of your faith, so that the light thereof shall never be extinct. You shall enter with your bridegroom into everlasting joy, wherunto you were chosen in him from the beginning.

#### LETTER VII.

*From JOHN CARELESS to his dear and faithful Brother, WILLIAM TYMS, Prisoner in Newgate.*

**T**HE everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, with the continual joy, comfort, and strength of his sweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increased in your good heart (my most faithful and dear brother Tyms), to the full quieting of your conscience, and beating back all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may shortly receive the glorious crown of victory, and in the same triumph over all your enemies, for evermore, Amen.

I cannot express the exceeding great joy and consolation of my poor heart, considering the marvellous works of God most graciously wrought upon you, not only in



proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge crosses both inwardly and outwardly, but also in giving you so great consolation and constancy in the midst of the same. Faithful is God, and true of his promises, who hath said, "That he will never suffer his chosen children to be tempted above their strength, but in the midst of their temptation will make an out-scape for them," by such means as may make to his glory and their everlasting consolation. My dear heart, great cause have you to be of good comfort; I see in you as lively a token of God's everlasting love and favour in Jesus Christ, as ever I perceived in any man. In respect whereof, I do even in my heart love, honour, and reverence you, beseeching God for his glorious name's sake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to finish his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promises; yea, I am well assured thereof, forasmuch as you have so effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart as a pledge, and a sure seal of your eternal redemption, and a testimony of your adoption in Christ Jesus. For which cause Satan so fore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordnance against you, thinking thereby utterly to destroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded most firmly upon the immovable rock Christ, against which neither the devil, sin, nor hell-gates shall ever prevail.

Therefore, mine own bowels in the Lord, be not discomforted for this your conflict, which doubtless shall greatly increase your crown of glory, triumph, and victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himself and his subtle members. It is the very divine ordinance of God, that all his regenerate people shall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we see by the example of our Saviour Christ; who, as soon as he was baptized, was straitways led by the Holy Ghost into the wilderness, there to be tempted of the devil. But there got he such a glorious victory over Satan, that he could never since finally prevail against any of his poor members, but in every assault that he maketh, either inwardly or outwardly getteth a foil, and taketh shame: so that now he rageth with all the rage possible, especially because he knoweth his time is but short. St. James testifieth that he is but a very coward, that he will soon flee if he be faithfully resisted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifest unto us, so that he cannot deceive us though he assaults us; for as St. Paul saith, "his thoughts are not unknown to us," as it doth in you largely appear, praised be the Lord's name therefore.

You see, dear brother, that now to molest you and such as you are, that be even passing from this vale of misery, he hath but two ways or two pieces of ordnance to shoot at you, with which he cannot hurt you, because you have two bulwarks to defend you. The first of these terrible guns that Satan hath shot at you, is the very same that he continually shooteth at me, that is to say, fear and infidelity; for the ugliness of death and horror of my sins, which be so many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is easily put away with the sure shield of faith, in the most precious death and blood-shedding of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be our's for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as St. Paul saith; so that though we be ever so great sinners, yet Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and most sweet sufferings, and hath taken unto him all our misery, wretchedness, sin, and infirmity. So that if any should now be condemned for the same, it must needs be Jesus Christ, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the uttermost jot; so that for his sake they shall never be imputed to us, if they were a thousand times as many as they are. This do you most effectually feel and know (dear brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, blessed be God therefore.

And now Satan, seeing that he cannot prevail with his boisterous battery against this bulwark of faith, which doth so quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you

no harm, but rather do you good service to cast you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his holy grace and power, and so you may render him all the glory by Jesus Christ (which thing the enemy can in no wise abide), therefore he shooteth off his other piece most pestilent, to provoke you to some part of your trust and confidence in yourself, and in your own holiness and righteousness, that you might that way rob God of his glory, and Christ of the honour and dignity of his death.

But blessed be the Lord God, you have also a full strong bulwark to bear back this pestiferous pellet also, even the pure law of God, which proveth the best of us all damnable sinners in the sight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the severity of the same, and that even our best works are polluted and defiled in such sort as the prophet describeth them. With which manner of speaking our free-will pharisees are much offended; for it felleth all men's righteousness to the ground (I had like to have said to the bottom of hell), and extolleth only the righteousness of Jesus Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all those that firmly believe, as blessed be God you do.

Ah, my good brother Tyms, Satan hath put his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you either to vain glory or mistrust; for you are an old beaten soldier, and have had good experience of these kinds of temptations, both by yourself and others, whom you know were well beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore, dear heart, be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath shot off all his last pieces, wherewith he had thought to have done most mischief; but now he seeth he cannot prevail (the strong tower of our faith being so invincible), he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to some other place to practise the same assaults, and then will the angels of God come and minister unto you the most sweet and heavenly consolations of the Holy Ghost. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can desire or think, I do most heartily commit you, with all the rest of your godly fellow prisoners, who comfort, strengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a most glorious victory over the subtle serpent, and all his wicked seed, may also receive the crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is so surely kept for you in the hands of him whose promise is infallible, that the devil, sin, death, or hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the same. The blessing of God be with you now and for evermore, Amen. Pray for me.

Your own for ever,

JOHN CARELESS.

## LETTER VIII.

*From JOHN CARELESS to his dear and faithful Brother, AUGUSTINE BERNHER.*

THE peace of God in Jesus Christ, the help, comfort, and assistance of his Eternal Spirit be with you, my dear and faithful brother Augustine, and with all the rest of my good brethren and sisters of the houses of Baxterley and Manceter (which mourn for the misery of God's people), to your everlasting consolation in him, Amen.

Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithful brother Augustine) that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath yet so graciously delivered and preserved you out of your enemies hands, beseeching Almighty God also from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath most graciously been, that you may live and die both to God's glory, the advantage of his church, and to the increase of your own everlasting joy and comfort in him.

Know you, dear brother, that I have received your letter, for which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think



it very short, although it seemeth something sharply to rebuke in the beginning, for the breach of my promise in not writing to you this long time. Well, brother, I am content to bear it with patience, considering that you are troubled otherwise (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts); neither will I spend ink and paper for my purgation in this point. God knoweth whether I be so mindless of my promise as it appeareth in your sight I am. Your request I will truly perform to the uttermost of my power, as gladly as any poor wretch shall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no less of a long time. And as my poor prayer shall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way soever you ride or go; so I beseech you that my simple counsel may take some place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you pass in no small peril. God keep and preserve you for his name's sake.

I do not disallow, but much praise and commend hearty boldness in discharging your conscience, when any one of God's people needeth your help in any point. But yet I would not have you thrust yourself in danger, when you can do them no good, or leastwise when they may well enough spare that good you would do them: for if you shall then chance to be taken, you shall not only be no comfort unto them, but also a great discomfort, adding sorrow unto their sorrow.

I do not persuade you to absent yourself from any place where your presence of necessity is required; for in all such places I know, God will preserve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praised therefore be his name: or if it shall please him to permit you in any such place to be taken, I know he will most sweetly comfort your conscience with this consideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you should there and then be taken up for a witness of his truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented that you should rashly or negligently thrust yourself into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea, and lay wait for you, when no necessity of yourself, nor of any other of God's people, doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counsel, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which I dare say will be sufficient unto them. For (continual thanks and praises be given unto the everlasting God) there is none of those that are cruelly condemned for God's truth, that now are weaklings; for they have manfully passed through the pikes, and they have boldly stood in the brunt of the battle, and therefore I reckon the worst is past with them already. So that now and then a godly letter from you to them shall do as much good as your company can do, and perchance more too; for writing sticketh longer in the memory than words do, yea though your letters were as short to them as your last was to me, so that the same were something sweeter, and not altogether so sharp.

This, dear brother, is the simple counsel which I would gladly have you observe, partly for that I heartily pray for your preservation for the advantage of Christ's church, and partly for that I unfeignedly wish the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own conscience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuse you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the word of God for your warrant. For as in a glass that is clear, a small mote will soon appear: even so the good conscience of God's chosen children, being more clear than chrystal, will soon accuse them at the least fault they do commit; whereas the wicked worldlings have their conscience so clogged and corrupted through the custom of sin, that they cannot once see or perceive their shameful deeds and wicked works, until God set the same before them for their utter destruction, and then they immediately despair. But seeing that God hath given you a clear conscience, and a pure, sharp, quick, and lively sight in your soul, I would wish you to beware that you do nothing unadvisedly, but upon a good ground. For an accusing conscience is a sore thing when death doth approach, and then Satan will not stick to tell you that you have too much tempted God when peradventure you have done nothing so at all. For this

cause, I say, partly I have thought it good to admonish you (as I have done often) to be circumspect according to the counsel of Christ, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better than I can declare it by writing.

I beseech you, good Augustine, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I trust I have but a small time to tarry in this troublesome world. Dr. Story told our marshal, that we should all be dispatched so soon as he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloody butchers be gone to make slaughter of Christ's sheep that lie there appointed to be slain. God, for Christ's sake, put them and such like beside their cruel purpose, if it be his good will and pleasure, Amen, good Lord. I pray you give my most hearty commendations to my dear sister and faithful friend, good Mrs. Mary Glover. I beseech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that she doth so joyfully and so patiently bear this great cross that God hath laid upon her. I pray God strengthen her, and all his other saints to the end, Amen. Commend me unto my dear and faithful sister Elizabeth B. I thank her most heartily for my napkin, and so I do your dear brother for my shirt. Truly, that day that we were appointed to come to our answer before the commissioners (who had sent word the same morning, that they would come to the King's-Bench by eight of the clock, and the house and all things were trimmed and made ready for them), I got that shirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and methought they did help to harness me, and arm me well to go to fight against that bloody beast of Babylon. And trust me, truly if they had come, I would have struck three strokes the more for your two sakes, as well as God would have enabled me to set them on, as by God's grace I will not fail to do at the next skirmish that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be strong and hardy to lay on a good load. Oh that I might so strike him down, that he should never be able to rise again. But that stroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to strike at his coming, which I trust will be shortly. O hasten it, good Lord, and shorten these sorrowful and sinful days, for thy great mercy's sake.

Farewel, my dear and faithful loving brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preserve you from the power of your enemies, visible and invisible, and send us a most joyful and merry meeting here or elsewhere, as it shall please his goodness to appoint us.

In the mean time I shall most earnestly desire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtless you shall never want my poor prayer, if it shall please God to accept the prayer of so sinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my sins to me, for Jesus Christ's sake; unto whose most merciful defence I do most heartily commit you. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen. I pray you give my most hearty commendations unto Mr. John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I trust he doth remember me.

Your poor brother, always mindful of you  
in my prayer, John Careless, prisoner,  
abiding God's pleasure.

#### L E T T E R IX.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to HENRY ADLINGTON,  
Prisoner in Lollard's Tower.

THE everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, joy, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith and lively feeling of his mercies be most effectually wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly fellow-prisoners, to the full finishing of that good work, which the Lord hath most graciously begun in you; that the same may be to the advancing and setting forth of his glory, the advantage of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.



My most dear and faithful loving brother in the Lord, I with all the rest of my loving brethren here with me, do most humbly and heartily recommend us unto you with all faithful remembrance of you in daily prayers, giving God earnest thanks on your most happy behalf, for that he hath given you such hearty boldness and christian constancy in the faithful confession of his everlasting verity. Blessed be God for thee, my dearly beloved brother, who hath vouchsafed thee worthy of so great dignity, as to suffer for his sake, and setting forth of his glory. Oh, glad in heart mayst thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Christ most lively, but also to suffer for his sake, as one of his silly sheep appointed to the slaughter. Be of good comfort therefore, my good brother, for your calling unto the cross of Christ was after a marvellous manner. Surely it was only the Lord's appointment, and therefore he will perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whose hearts are mightily refreshed, to hear how heartily you have behaved yourself hitherto.

This present day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to see your conscience so quieted in Christ, and your continuance so stedfast in him; which things be the special gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his darling elect and chosen in Christ, and such as you be. And whereas you do require to know my simple mind concerning your answer unto Dr. Story and the chancellor; truly I say you did answer them very well: for there are but two sacraments indeed, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, as you have full well answered them, praised be God for his good gifts, who chuseth the weak to confound the strong, and the foolish to confound the worldly wise. If, when you come before them again, they do ask you what a sacrament is; say you, that a sacrament, being administered according to Christ's institution, is a visible grace, and hath the promise of God's mercy annexed unto it, available to all such as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worship it, as they would have us to do, contrary to God's commandment. And these properties belonging to Christ's true sacraments, cannot be applied unto any one of those five sacraments which they have invented of their own brain, since Antichrist began to reign, to blind the people withal.

I perceive, dear heart, that upon Friday they do intend to condemn you, and give you your judgment. Therefore I think they will have no great reasoning with you, but bid you answer them directly, either yea or nay, to all such things as they have to charge you withal, which they have gathered of you since you came into their cruel hands. But if they will needs make words with you, because you are but a simple man, and therefore perchance they will be the busier with you to trouble you with many questions, to encumber your knowledge, and then seem to triumph over you and that truth that you do hold; if (I say) they do this, as perchance for some evil purpose they will, then be you so plain and as short as you can, saying roundly unto them these or such like words as nigh as you can:

Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe as it becometh a true christian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of the good king Edward, of such godly preachers and prophets sent of God, as have sealed their doctrine with their blood, from whom I will dissent in no point: for I am a poor man without learning, but I am commanded of God to follow the counsel of his constant preachers, and so intend to do, God giving me grace and assistance thereto.

As for you, I know you to be none of Christ's shepherds, but ravening wolves, which come to kill and scatter the flock of Christ, as the Lord said you should; and doth will us to beware of you and your poisoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may see and know what ye are, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Christ's flock;

and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confess with them one truth, even to the fire, if God shall see it good; and this as a true christian, I have hitherto done, and henceforth by God's grace intend to do.

And if the same God shall suffer you to take away my life, as you have done their's, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be you sure, the Lord will shortly call you to account for all the innocent blood that is shed within this realm; which you have brought into a most woeful case, and made many a heavy heart in the same, and more I perceive you will make so long as the Lord for our sins will suffer you to prosper, until the time that your iniquities shall be full ripe. But then be you sure the Lord will sit in judgment upon you, as well as you do now upon his saints, and will reward you according to your deservings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cause, and he will make answer for me, when the full time of my refreshing cometh. In the mean space, I will keep silence with this that I have said, trusting that I have sufficiently discharged my conscience in confessing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the catholic church of Jesus Christ, which was well known to be here in England in our late good king Edward's days, by two special tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet suffer me to be deceived; that is to say, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due administration of his holy sacraments, which is not to be seen in your Romish church, and therefore it cannot justly be called the church and spouse of Christ. I believe in the Holy Trinity, and all the other articles of the christian faith contained in the three creeds; and finally all the canonical scripture to be true in every sentence. And I detest all sects both of the Arians and Anabaptists, or any other that divide themselves from the true church of Christ, which is his mystical body, the ground and pillar of truth, and the very house of the living God. And if for these things you take away my life, and make yourselves guilty of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands as the sheep brought to the shambles, abiding the grace of the butcher. And be you sure judgment sleepeth not, but when you cry peace, peace, and all is safe, then shall your plagues begin like the sorrow of a woman travailing with child, according to Christ's infallible promise.

This kind of answer, my dear heart, it will be best for you to make; and by God's grace I do intend to take the same order myself in time to come, when the Lord shall vouchsafe me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they shall laugh you to scorn, as I know they will, saying, Thou art a fool, and an unlearned ass-head, and art able to make answer to nothing, &c. care you not for it, but still commit your cause unto God, who will make answer for you, and tell them that they have been answered again and again of divers godly and learned men; but all will not help: for you have one solution of all manner of questions, even a fair fire and faggots, this will be the end of your disputations. Therefore I pray you trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God shall permit the time. I am no better than Christ, his apostles, and others of my good brethren that are gone before me.

This kind of answer will have most effect against them, and edify the people that stand by, so that the same be done coolly, with sobriety, meekness, and patience: as I heard say our sweet brethren Thomas Harland and John Oswald did at Lewes, in Suffex, to the great rejoicing of the children of God that were in those parts: and I hear say, that they were dissolved from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes on Saturday last, and were condemned but the Wednesday before; so that we may perceive the papists have quick work in hand, that they make such haste to send us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make ourselves ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leaving these mantles and old cloaks behind us for a time, which God shall restore us again in a more glorious wise.

My good brother Henry, you shall understand that  
bragging



bragging John T—— hath beguiled his keepers (who trusted him too well), and is run away from them, and hath brought the poor men into great danger by the same. The one of them is cast by the council into the Gatehouse at Westminster, the other is fled out of the country for fear.

Thus you may see the fruits of our free-will men, that made so much boast of their own strength. But that house which is not built surely upon the unmoveable rock, will not long stand against the boisterous winds and storms, that blow so strongly in these days of trouble.

But, my dearly beloved brother, blessed be God for you, and such as you, who have played the parts of wife builders. You have digged down past the sand of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom, and are now come to the hard stone and unmoveable rock Christ, who is your only keeper; and upon him alone have you built your faith most firmly, without doubting, mistrust, or wavering. Therefore neither the storms nor tempests, winds, nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house, much less to overthrow it; for the Lord God himself, and not man, is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same for ever. Unto his most merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, desiring him for his sweet Son Jesus Christ's sake, to confirm and strengthen you all, that you may be constant unto the very end; and that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the never-fading crown of glory of God's free gift, through his great mercy in Jesus Christ our only Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and evermore, Amen. The blessing of God be with you all.

JOHN CARELESS.

## LETTER X.

*From Mr. JOHN CARELESS, returning Thanks to a faithful Friend of his, by whom he had received much Comfort in his inward Trouble.*

**B**LESSED be God the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and christian consolation which he hath so mercifully ministered unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my most dear and faithful brother. Truly methinketh your words, our rather God's words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoice therefore, my dear brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the strengthening of them that stand in his truth, and also to the raising of such as are fallen from the same. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf; for verily great is the goodness of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; God's name therefore be praised for ever, and he perform all his merciful promises unto you, as I doubt not but he will, for his sake in whom you trust.

I thank my God most heartily, and also you my good brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembering my just deserved sorrows, as though they were your own, and labouring so much to solace the same. Ah, my gracious God, what am I, for whom thou and thy dear children should be so careful? O sweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and sin, and grant that I may never abuse thy great benefits. O let the love of thine elect, who love me for thy sake, be a sure sign and token, yea, a most firm testimony and seal to my sinful conscience of thine everlasting love and mercy towards me in Christ; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not hinder it. O circumscribe therefore the foreskin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great

love towards me in all thine elect, that I may always be thankful for the same, and love thee and them again most heartily and unfeignedly.

Ah, my dear heart, how sweetly and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably have you rehearsed the sweet saying of Solomon concerning prosperity with true and godly friends? I will join with it the sentence that goeth a little before, for doubtless it may be well verified on you. "A sure friend (saith the wise man, in Eccles. vi.) will be unto thee even as thine own soul, and deal faithfully with thy household-folk. If thou suffer trouble and adversity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a strong defence: whoso findeth such an one, findeth a treasure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him," &c. Lo, my dear heart in the Lord, here is a lively image or description of you; for verily such an one have I always found you unto me, not only sorrowing for my great sorrow, but also oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with such joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the world brag of its feigned friendship; but I will boast of this true friendship in God, and esteem it a greater treasure than all transitory things. And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you instead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I trust henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loss, and to praise God for gaining unto himself so great glory by his chosen children. God make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine own sin and wickedness, and also to see his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable message that your beautiful feet shall bring me. God bless thee, my dear heart, and faithful loving brother, and increase his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath most happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of God's grace wherein you stand, and firmly testify the same to the conversion or confusion of all gainers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all God's dear children, Amen. Farewel, mine own sweet brother, farewell as mine own heart.

Your own in Christ,

JOHN CARELESS.

In the letters of William Tyms, ye heard much mention made of Agnes Glascock. This Agnes Glascock, through infirmity, and her husband's persuasions, was allured to go to mass. For which cause she falling into great sorrow and repentance, was raised up again by the comfortable letters of William Tyms and John Careless, as before you may read; and after that was constant in the more sincere profession of the verity, and in danger of persecution for the same; unto whom John Careless wrote this following letter.

## LETTER XI.

*From JOHN CARELESS to AGNES GLASCOCK.*

**T**HE everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comforts of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful sister Glascock, to the good performance of that good work which God hath so graciously begun in you, to his glory, the profit of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal comfort in him, Amen.

In our Lord I have my most humble and hearty commendations unto you, my dear sister and most faithful mother Glascock, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God most hearty laud, praise, and thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto so mightily strengthened you, constantly cleave unto your captain Christ, notwithstanding the great assaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtless, dear heart, it cannot be expressed what joy and comfort



it is unto my very soul, to see how mighty the Lord hath magnified himself in you, whom he will shortly glorify with himself, as he hath done others of his sweet saints that are gone before you. Rejoice therefore and be glad; for verily you have good cause, if you diligently consider the great dignity that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witnesses unto the world; and I think you shall with me and other your brethren in bonds, seal the Lord's verity with the testimony of your blood. Surely, sweet sister, this is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this life; and an honour that the highest angel in heaven is not permitted to have.

Therefore happy are you, O faithful daughter of Abraham, that the Lord will now prefer you before many others, yea, or any others of your age that I do know in England. O faithful and virtuous matron, which wilt not be moved from the sure rock Christ, upon whom you have so firmly built your house, that neither storms nor tempests, neither yet hell-gates, or any other temptations, shall ever be able to prevail against it. Full well doth it appear by your constant continuance, that you have played the part of a wise builder, in counting the cost beforehand, belonging to the finishing up of your tower. And I doubt not but through God's gift, you have sufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part shall have no just cause to triumph against you, or to mock you, saying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful, as St. Paul saith, who will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but he will either give you grace and strength, to stand unto the death (which is the gate and entrance into life,) or else he will make such an out-scape for you, as shall be to the setting forth of his glory; which above all other things, we that are his chosen children ought to seek, yea even with the loss of our own lives, being yet well assured that the same shall not be shortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

Cast therefore, dear sister, all your care upon the Lord, who, as St. Peter saith, careth for you. Great is his providence for you, and mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his Holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath surely sealed you unto the day of redemption; he hath also given you the same in earnest for the recovery of the purchased possession, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be strong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear say you be. God for ever be blessed for you, who hath so grafted his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to separate you from the same, but will rather chuse to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a little season. O happy woman, that canst find in thy heart to esteem the rebukes of Christ to be greater riches than all the treasures of the world, as good Moses did. Doubtless, great is your reward in heaven; which you shall shortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deserving.

Thus, dear mother Glascock, I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and simple letters, desiring you to take them in good part, being done in great haste, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can testify; which I trust shall supply that part of my duty towards you, that my pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindness you have hitherto shewed unto my poor brother Tymes, and his wife and children, with all others of God's people, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompense the same sevenfold into your bosom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his infallible promises. I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your husband. I beseech the Lord strengthen him in the confession of his truth (as my trust is that he will), that we may all joyfully rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God; unto which

may he bring us, that with his most precious blood hath bought us. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

JOHN CARELESS.

## LETTER XII.

*From JOHN CARELESS, containing a brief Admonition to MRS. AGNES GLASCOCK, found in a Book of her's, when she came to the Prison to visit him.*

**T**HERE is nothing that the holy scripture throughout doth so much commend unto us, as true faith and stedfast truth in the promises of God's eternal mercies towards us in Jesus Christ. For from the same, as forth of the chief fountain and well-spring of life, do flow all kinds of virtues and godly fruits, especially true love towards God, in which we ought purely to serve him all the days of our life; and also christian charity towards our neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as also not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earnestly for the increase of faith and lively feeling of God's mercy; for all things are possible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which assureth us of God's mercy, and whereby we vanquish all the fiery darts of the devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the flesh: and finally, that which setteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our consciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the cross, with many more things than I can now express. Pray therefore for faith, in faith. And for the Lord's sake beware of popery and popish idolatry, the idol of the wicked mass, and other idolatrous service. Make not your body, which is a member of Christ, a member of Antichrist. Remember that we shall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorify God in your body, which is dearly bought. Betray not the truth, lest the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot serve two masters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

My sister dear, God give you grace,  
With stedfast faith in Christ his name,  
His gospel still for to embrace,  
And live according to the same.  
To die therefore think it no shame,  
But hope in God with faithful trust;  
And he will give you praise with fame,  
When you shall rise out of the dust.  
For which most sweet and joyful day,  
To God with faith your prayer make:  
And think on me, I do you pray,  
Who now hath wrote this for your sake.  
And thus to God I you betake,  
Who is your castle and strong rock;  
He keep you sleeping and awake,  
Farewel, dear mistress A. Glascock.

## LETTER XIII.

*From JOHN CARELESS to MRS. AGNES GLASCOCK, comforting her in her Repentance, after she had been at Mass, proper to be read by all those who have fallen, and are willing to rise again*

**T**HE peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit be with you, and strengthen and comfort you, my dear and faithful sister, Amen.

Although the perilous days be come, whereof Christ prophesied, that if it were possible the very elect should be deceived; yet let the true faithful christians rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himself is their keeper, who will not suffer one hair of their heads to perish without his almighty good will and pleasure, neither will he suffer them to be further tempted than he will give them strength to bear; but will in the midst of their temptation make a way for them to escape out; so good and gracious a God is he to all his chosen children





*The Burning of Mr Julius Palmer (Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford) Mr John Givin.  
and Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> Askiw at the Sandpits, near Newbery, in Berkshire.*



*The Tragical & barbarous Martyrdom of Mrs Catherine Cawches, her two Daughters (Mrs Guillelmina  
Gilbert, & Mrs Perotine Massey) with the Infant Son of Mr Massey at St Peter's Port in the Isle of Guernsey*



children. And though sometimes he do let his elect stumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raise them up again to the further increase of their comfort, and to the setting forth of his glory and praise. Which thing (my dear and faithful loving sister, I trust shall be well verified on you. For I do hear say, that by the manifold allurements, inticements, procurements, yea, and inforcements that you, dear heart, have had, your foot hath chanced to slip out of the way, to the great discomfort of your soul, and the heaviness of your heart. But, my good sister, be of good cheer, for the Lord will not so leave you, but he will raise you up again, and make you stronger than ever you were: so that your fall shall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own strength, or rather your own weakness, you would have stood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in yourself and have despised and condemned other weak persons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may see what the best of us all can do, if God leaves us to ourselves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earnestly upon God for the grace and strength of his Holy Spirit, (without which we are not able to stand one hour) and to be most thankful for the same when you have it, and then to be more circumspect in time to come.

Therefore (dear sister) seeing that you have done otherwise than the word of God and your own conscience would allow; yet, dear heart, do not think that God will cast you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in store for them that truly repent and believe in him, although the sins of them were as many in number as the sands in the sea, and as great as the sins of the whole world. Therefore, good sister, beware in any wise, that you do not once mistrust the promise of God's mercy towards you; but know for a very surety, that all your sins be utterly forgiven you for Christ's sake, be they ever so many, so grievous, or so great.

But now, dear heart, take heed, and beware that you do not cloak that sin, and increase the same daily, in communicating with the wicked in their idolatry, and devilish doings at their den of thieves. Do not, I say, dear sister, be at any of their Antichristian service, lest by little and little you utterly lose a good conscience, and at length esteem it for no offence; as alas, a great number do at this day, to the great peril of their souls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time, and turn to the Lord, and then they shall be sure to find mercy at the Lord's hand, as doubtless you have done, praised therefore be his name.

Ah, my dear sister, you may now see the words of Christ verified upon yourself, that a man's greatest foes shall be they of his own household; for your husband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtless he may be sorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or else, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not by his will hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my brother Tymes will write him a letter shortly that will touch his conscience, if he has any conscience at all.

But now again to you, dear sister. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the first that hath offended, neither are you so good and so holy, as hath at any time slipped out of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be so much discomforted as I hear say you be, as though God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his dear saints that offended him in times past; or as though God were not as merciful now, as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, there is with the Lord (as the prophet saith) mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far surmounteth all his works: and he never faileth any that put their whole trust and confidence in him, how great an offender, or how wicked a trespasser soever he be: no, he maketh their falls and backslidings many times to turn to their greater profit and advantage, and to the setting forth of his glory; as doubtless, dear

sister, your's shall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and trust only in his infinite and eternal sweet mercies.

O what a subtle, crafty, lying serpent is that Satan our old enemy? that when he seeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedness to do him service, would then bring us into a doubting and mistrusting of the mercy of God, which is the greatest offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other sins. Therefore (my sweet sister) give no place to that cruel adversary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning, but stedfastly believe the Lord, who hath sent you word by me his most unworthy servant, that all your sins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean released for Jesus Christ's sake our only Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. Farewel, my dear sister, be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord, and you shall live for ever. The Lord increase your faith, Amen, Amen.

Your poor brother,  
and prisoner from the Lord,  
JOHN CARELESS.

#### LETTER XIV.

*From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to a faithful MINISTER of the LORD, containing certain fruitful PRECEPTS on MATRIMONY.*

**I** beseech the same everlasting Lord (my dear and faithful brother,) that blessed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear, preserve and bless you both, and your seed after you, that they may increase the number of the faithful by thousands and thousands. And as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly providence hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accomplished his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate: so see that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increase of love and godliness, yea of christian joy and gladness in these sorrowful days, but yet so, that you mourn with the true mourners of Sion, and be sorry, (yet in measure) for the hurt of the same. Pray also in faith for her prosperity, that the Lord may build up the walls of Jerusalem again.

Oh that the Lord would turn Sion's captivity as the rivers into the south! Then should our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the heathen hypocrites say, The Lord hath done much for them. O, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoice, and praise his name therefore. For though we now sow in tears, yet we shall be sure to reap with gladness: and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good seed, so shall we come again with joy, and bring our sheaves full of corn. Yea, the death of the martyrs (which is most precious in his sight) shall be the life of the gospel, in spite of the papists' hearts.

Pray for me (dear heart) that I may be counted worthy to sow some seed amongst the sweet saints of the Lord, that I may reap the same again, without ceasing, at the harvest. It is now sowing time of the year, men say in the country, and I think I shall make an end of sowing before all March be past; for I hear say I shall prove how my plough will enter into the stony ground of the hard-hearted papists, within these four days. I hope to hold fast, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of sowing, and then will I set me down and rest me, and ask them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increase thereof with joy and gladness.

My dear brother, the time approacheth near (for which I praise God) that I must put off this sinful tabernacle, and go home to my heavenly Father, where divers of my brethren are already looking and wishing for me. I beseech you therefore that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers, as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and advantage thereof.



That you have observed my simple counsel I am right glad, and I trust in the Lord God, you shall find comfort in the same. And that you may so indeed, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, because I shall see you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. First, and above all things, you must be very circumspect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never spring up the root of bitterness between you. If at any time there happens to arise any cause of unkindness between you, as it is impossible always to be free from it, see that you weed up the same with all lenity, gentleness, and patience, and never suffer yourself nor your wife to sleep in displeasure.

If you have cause to speak sharply, and sometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the same in the presence of others, but keep your words until a more convenient time, (which is the point of a wise man, saith Solomon) and then utter them in the spirit of meekness, and the groaning spirit of perfect love; which you must also let sometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatsoever loss and mischance shall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the same should come partly through your wife's negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, than a cause of sorrow for that which is past, and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life subject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to displeasure, and ready to think unkindness for every little trifle, and especially with our best friends, yea soonest with our loving wives, who be most loth to displease us.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and consider that we ought most of all in love to bear with them according to Christ's example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himself, to cleanse it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted, and otherwise hindered. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better than I can describe it unto you; and as you know it, so will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your wife very shortly, and to take my last farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haste I am now constrained to make an end. The blessing of God be always with you. Pray, pray, pray with faith.

Your own for ever,

JOHN CARELESS.

#### L E T T E R XV.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS to ELIZABETH,  
Wife of the aforesaid MINISTER, containing certain  
godly PRECEPTS of MATRIMONY pertaining to  
her DUTY.

**T**HE everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his most holy and mighty Spirit, with increase of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of God's eternal mercy, be with you, my dear and faithful loving sister, and with your godly and loving husband and my dear and faithful brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath so graciously begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and blessed in him, and your seed after you, now and ever, Amen.

As I have been long desirous to write unto you, (my dear heart in the Lord) not only being thereto bound of duty, but also often provoked by him to whom I owe myself and all that I am able to do (I mean even that blessed of the Lord's own mouth, whom God hath joined with you in that holy and christian state of matrimony); even so at the last I have obtained time and occasion in some part to perform that which I have long purposed. And forasmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear child, hath now graciously accomplished that good work amongst many others, which I (as a friend of the bridegroom) have full heartily wished, and often prayed for; I think it good, yea, and my bounden duty, to treat of such things as may be profitable to preserve

mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminish, if he cannot altogether destroy the same, lest by many joyful occasions you should be provoked continually to praise God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means sought to hinder you from.

As for all other things, I know you are sufficiently instructed, and have also a most learned companion, who is well able further to teach you if need do require: but in this particular I know my experience is more than his. Therefore (my good sister) first and before all things see that you diligently consider, that as every good and perfect gift pertaining to soul and body, is given from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights; even so to whomsoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the same, for else he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the same to their great disadvantage, and in the end to the increase of their damnation: so detestable in his sight is the sin of ingratitude. But to such as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever add new, but also maketh the goodness of his former gifts ever more and more to increase, until by them they are fully persuaded and thoroughly certified of his everlasting love in Christ Jesus, which is eternal life itself: so much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

Therefore I do yet once again earnestly request you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits not only for your election, creation, redemption, and preservation; but also for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath indued you; amongst which the chief and most excellent is (as testifieth the Holy Ghost) your good, faithful, and loving husband. For as the wife man faith, goods and possessions may come to a man by the death of his friend, but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to such as fear him.

And the like is of a good husband, as the Lord hath now given you, praised be his holy name. He hath not given you an ignorant, froward, churlish, brawling, wasteful, rioting, drunken husband, wherewith he hath plagued many others (as he might also have done you); but he hath given you a most godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and sober husband, who will nourish, cherish, keep, and defend you, instruct you and teach you, yea care and provide for you and your children (which he will also by him give you) such things as be necessary for you. He hath not dealt so with every body; and yet he hath done this much more for you, my dear sister, and will thereto increase love and joy between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of man and wife together; so it is he only that maketh them and all the whole household to be only of one mind. Unto which his gracious work he requireth your diligence, and will use you as his instrument and mean, the more effectually to accomplish the same. And therefore I now require you to observe this my simple counsel, which I have here written as a testimonial of my good will towards you, because I think in this life I shall never more see you.

Now as I have shewed you how you should be thankful unto God for his good gifts, so I exhort you, and as much as in me lieth, charge you to be evermore thankful unto your dear and loving husband, who hath given himself unto you, who is a more precious jewel in the church of God, than perchance you are yet aware of. Think yourself unworthy to be matched with such an instrument of God; and also reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and seek with true obedience and love to serve him, in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loth in any wise to offend him, yea rather be careful and diligent to please him, that his soul may bless you. If at any time you shall chance to anger him, or to do or speak any thing that shall grieve him, see that you never rest until you have pacified him and made him merry again.

If at any time he shall chance to blame you without a cause,



a cause, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing happeneth sometimes to the best man living), see that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but always look upon him with a loving and chearful countenance, and rather take the fault upon you than seem to be displeased.

Be always merry and chearful in his company, but not with too much lightness. Beware in any wise of swelling, pouting, or louting, for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart; except it be in respect of sin, or in the time of sickness.

Be not sorrowful for any adversity that God sendeth; but beware that nothing be spilt or go to waste through your negligence. In any wise see that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the same according to his diet in due season. Go cleanly and well-favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wise.

Finally, in word and deed shew yourself wise, humble, merry, and loving towards him, and also towards such as he doth love, and then you shall lead a blessed life. I could speak of many things, which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better than I can teach you, because you have that anointing that teacheth you all things, who hath also given you an heart to obey and serve him. Yet I trust you will not be offended for this which I have written, but rather accept my good will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my daughter Judith.

Thus as mine own soul I commend you both to God, desiring him to bless you with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, and also with the dew of heaven, and fatness of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. The Lord increase and bless the fruit of your bodies, that your children may stand round about your table, thick, fresh, and lusty, like the olive branches. God give you both a long life, that you may see and bless your children's children, unto the third and fourth generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for which they shall be accepted in his sight.

God let you see the prosperity of Sion, for whose lying in the dust let your hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increase the same, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both most heartily farewell; and I think I shall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beseech you both to aid me with your continual prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine) that I may have a joyful victory through Jesus Christ: to whose most merciful protection I do most heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblameable until his coming. Which I beseech him to hasten for his mercy's sake.

Your own unfeigned, JOHN CARELESS,  
prisoner of the Lord.

*The HISTORY and MARTYRDOM of JULIUS PALMER, a learned and virtuous young MAN, sometime FELLOW of MAGDALEN COLLEGE, in OXFORD; with two other MARTYRS, named JOHN GWIN, and THOMAS ASKIN, burnt together at a Place called the SAND-PITS, in NEWBURY, about the 16th of July.*

#### *The HISTORY of JULIUS PALMER.*

**A**S all the works of God are wonderful in calling all sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witness to his assured and infallible word, which the adversaries have depraved and corrupted with their false glosses, to establish the fleshly kingdom of Antichrist, and to purchase security in the world, which possession they seek, and by all possible means endeavour to keep; rather cursing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, scourging, and persecuting by secret practice, and open violence,

the simple sheep of our Saviour Christ, that their talle forged packing should be detected, their estimation impaired, their kitchen cooled, and their rents, revenues, goods, lands, and possessions abated: I say, as God's works are admirable in choosing some of all sorts to confess his gospel; so there is no one example, in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs, more remarkable and amazing than this, that a person, who in all the days of king Edward, was a papist in the university of Oxford, so rigid and obstinate, that he utterly abhorred all godly prayer, and sincere preaching; and he himself as little respected; and, as it were, pointed at, by almost all those with whom he lived: that such a person, I say, should suffer persecution and death by the papists for the truth of the gospel in the reign of queen Mary (as he readily and zealously did), is very admirable and surprising.

He was born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had sometime been mayor of the city, and occupied merchandize, although he was an upholsterer by business. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his first entering, we know not, but as we have learned, he was sometime scholar to Mr. Harley of Magdalen-college in Oxford; by whose diligence, and the goodness of his own capacity, he became a toward young scholar in prose and verse. For he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit sharp and pregnant. He spake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; insomuch that divers times he supplied the room of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools, and also at home. He used to say, that he was never so pleasantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy; so that he hath oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and difficult questions. And this he used to do sundry times with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exercise of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modesty, and without all ostentation. For he greatly abhorred all cavilling, all frivolous talk, and unfavoury babbling. He was not captious, but would reason so soberly, and with such probability, that even his adversaries would no less marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his comely and decent behaviour in prosecuting the same.

And although he applied to divinity very late, it appeareth that he recompensed the small time of his study with the greatness of his diligence bestowed in the same, and his late coming to the truth with his earnest and zealous proceeding therein. For by the secret inspiration of God's Holy Spirit inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent signification in his young years, that if God had spared his life longer, he would have grown to such maturity and ripeness of judgment, as thereby he would have been an ornament to Christ's church, and an honour to his country.

And somewhat to speak of his civil behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curiosity, of countenance chearful, without high looks, of speech pleasant, without affectation, he was affable and lowly as any child, and yet quick-spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practised no deceit toward any man, for he was of such simplicity, that he was apter to be deceived than to deceive, and he was so great a contemner of all reproaches, that he would say, None were to be counted valiant, but such as could despise injury.

In private study he was so indefatigable, that he arose ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went to bed before ten at night. Insomuch that as he grew in years and understanding, so he came to be a bachelor of arts, and at length for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowship in Magdalen-college, where also he was admitted to the office of a reader in logic, Anno 1550. Now if he had at the first favoured sincere religion; so much as he followed his book, then had we the less matter to note in him. But indeed he

was



was so much (as is before said) addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation in the same house was altogether with such as were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulsion, for otherwise he came not. Sermons would he hear none himself, nor yet suffer his scholars to resort unto them by his good will: for he was fully persuaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he did both disdain and despise, and all such as were setters-forth of sound doctrine beside. For which contumacy and stubbornness, he was so often called before the officers of the college, and punished sometimes by the purse, sometimes by the lack of his commons, and otherwise by certain tasks, and exercises of learning enjoined unto him, that divers supposed him to have endeavoured, of set purpose, continually to seek occasion, whereby he might be accounted a sufferer for the fanatical religion of the Romish church.

In the end, not long before the death of king Edward, certain slanderous libels and railing verses were privily fixed to the walls and doors in sundry places of the college against the president, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was administered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he and some of his companions had a very little time before spoken contumelious words against the president, it could not be now avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement surmise and suspicion, that he conspiring with others, had contrived, made, and scattered abroad the said slanderous writings. Great inquisition was made in the college, to search out the author of so malicious and despiteful a deed, but nothing could be found and proved against Palmer or any of his companions. Now Palmer being hereupon examined by the officers, did not only with stout courage deny the fact to have been his, but also spake further many reproachful words touching the said officers, and sent the same to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that society. And so for this and other popish pranks (continuing obstinate still) he was expelled the house.

After he was thus expelled, he was obliged for his maintenance to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of sir Francis Knolles, in which trade he continued until the coming in of queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalen-college, under a title of reformation (whereas all things were better before), that is, displace several of the fellows that were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be restored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be restored by them, whose faith and religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the same. Then after he was restored again to his house in queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obstinate papist, an earnest and zealous protestant.

Concerning whose conversion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the same, we have here inserted a letter written by one Mr. Bullingham, fellow, in some part of king Edward's time, with the said Palmer, then also of the same religion with him, and toward the latter end of the said king's reign a voluntary exile in France for popery; in queen Mary's days likewise a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and after the coming in of queen Elizabeth, such an one as for his own obstinacy was discharged from all his livings by her majesty's commissioners: and yet now (God be praised for it) a most constant professor and earnest teacher of the word of God. This man, at the request of a certain friend of his in London, being desirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius Palmer. The copy of which letter we thought good here to insert, because the parties being alive can testify the same to be true, if any man shall doubt thereof.

## A LETTER

From Mr. BULLINGHAM to his FRIEND.

MASTER BULLINGHAM, I wish you and all your's continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that constant witness of God's truth, for that his doings and sayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemish, than to adorn and beautify him. After his conversion to the most holy gospel, I never saw his face. Wherefore the less have I to certify you of. But so much as seemeth to me to serve most unto the purpose, here I commend unto you; and in witness that my sayings are true, I subscribe my name, willing and beseeching you to publish the same to the whole world, &c. At the time I Bullingham intended to forsake England, and fly into France for the wicked pope's sake, (which came to pass indeed, for I was in Roan for a time) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me onwards in my journey till we came to London: where on a day, Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's, the queen's palace; and as we leaned at the great gate of that palace, Palmer spake thus unto me:

"Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamities we are fallen for the pope and his religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a strange country, both friendless and moneyless, where I fear you shall taste of sorer sauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wit's end. The face of hell itself is as amiable unto me, as the sight of Magdalen-college; for there I am hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth. And as touching our religion, even our consciences bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the gospellers taste in their religion: yea, to say the truth, we maintain we know not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my bread."—So Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy. At my return into England, my chance was to meet Palmer in St. Paul's, where a rood was set up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and our miserable departure not long before the end of king Edward's days.) Then after our greeting, thus said Palmer: Bullingham, is this our God, for whom we have smarted? No, Palmer (quoth I) it is an image of him. An image! (quoth he) I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin, whose institutions I have perused since our departure, telleth me plainly by God's word, that it is an idol, and that the pope is Antichrist, and his clergy the filthy sink-hole of hell, and now I believe it; for I feel it sensibly. O that God had revealed these matters unto me in times past. I would have bequeathed this Romish religion, or rather irreligion, to the devil of hell, from whence it came. Believe them not Bullingham. I will rather have these knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder block of wood (meaning the rood). God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this world. Well, Palmer, (said I) is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little ease, at the end. I will never have to do with you again. So I left Palmer walking in St. Paul's, who through the element of fire is exalted above clouds, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known, that I Bullingham affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him.

From Bridgewater, April 26, 1562,

By me, JOHN BULLINGHAM.

When he was by the visitors restored to his college, although he began something to favour and taste of God's



Parson. Do you not read likewise, Whosoever invocateth the name of the Lord shall be saved? Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you must mark how St. Paul answereth you. He saith, That the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation.

As Palmer was bent to answer him at the full, the parson interrupted him, crying still, What sayest thou to St. Paul?

Palmer. I say that St. Paul hath said no such words.

Parson. See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain text: He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment.

Palmer. I beseech you lend me your book.

Parson. Not so.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your book.

So the book was given over to him.

Palmer. Your own book hath, *Qui manducat hunc panem, &c.* He that eateth this bread.

Parson. But St. Jerome's translation hath *Corpus*, Body.

Palmer. Not so, Mr. Parson, and God be praised that I have in the mean season shut up your lips with your own book.

Jeffrey. It is no matter whether you write Bread or Body, for we are able to prove that he meant the Body. And whereas you say, they eat it spiritually, that is but a blind shift of descant.

Palmer. What should I say else?

Jeffrey. As the holy church saith, really, carnally, substantially.

Palmer. And with as good scripture, I may say grossly or monstrously.

Jeffrey. Thou speakest wickedly. But tell me, Is Christ present in the sacrament, or no?

Palmer. He is present.

Jeffrey. How is he present?

Palmer. The doctors say, *Modo ineffabili*, In a manner not to be expressed. Therefore why do you ask me? Would to God you had a mind ready to believe it, or I tongue able to express it unto you.

More of his examination in that time and place is not come to our hands; wherefore we must leave it. In the mean season we are credibly informed of this, that sir Richard Abridges, the same day after dinner, sent for him to his lodging, and there, in the presence of divers persons yet alive in Newbury and elsewhere, friendly exhorting him to revoke his opinion, to spare his young years, wit and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and shew thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith, said he, I promise thee before this company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pounds yearly, so long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to furnish and fit thy farm for thee. How sayest thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and made him further answer concerning his religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently; concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Christ's sake, so he would with God's grace be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should think proper.

Then said Mr. Winchcomb, Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of lusty youth, before it be too late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for those springing flowers, that shall never fade away.

Winchcomb. If thou be at point, I have done with thee.

Then was Palmer commanded again to the Blind-house, but the other two men were led again the same afternoon to the consistory, and there was condemned, and delivered to the secular power of the sheriff there present, sir Richard Abridges.

It is reported also, that Dr. Jeffrey offered Palmer a good living, if he would outwardly shew himself

conformable, keeping his conscience secret to himself, or at least to declare that he doubted which was the truest doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a surety.

The next morning, the 16th of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain articles, which they had drawn out, touching the cause of his condemnation: in the front whereof were heaped together many heinous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish, and execrable doctrine. To these words Palmer refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine which he professed was not such, but good and sound doctrine.

Jeffrey. You may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice administered unto them. But I tell thee, this stile is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palmer. Then I cannot subscribe to it.

Jeffrey. Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou likest not justice, and revoke thy heresy?

Palmer. I forsake the pope and his popelings, with all popish heresy.

Jeffrey. Then subscribe to the articles.

Palmer. Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe.

Jeffrey. Subscribe and qualify the matter with thine own pen. So he subscribed. Whereupon Dr. Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation, and so was he delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burnt the same day in the afternoon, about five o'clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer in the presence of many people, comforted his companions with these words. Brethren, said he, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, "Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to bear." We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for coals, we shall receive pearls. For God's Holy Spirit certifieth our Spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven for his sake who suffered for us.

With these and such like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his weak brethren that were with him appointed as sheep to be slain, but also wrested out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were singing a psalm, came sir Richard Abridges, the sheriff, and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of armed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place appointed for their suffering, they all three fell to the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice pronounced the 31st psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to arise, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said, Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I say, from me all you that work iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. And so forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you.

As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, so that the blood gushed out in divers places. At which the sheriff was very angry, and called him a cruel tormentor, and with his walking-staff broke his head, that the blood likewise ran down about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as



though they had felt no smart, they cried, Lord Jesus strengthen us, Lord Jesus assist us, Lord Jesus receive our souls. And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

*An Account of the Trouble of PETER MOON and his Wife, and of other godly Protestants, at Bishop HOP-  
TON'S Visitation in Ipswich.*

**I**N the year 1556, a visitation was held by Dr. Hop-ton, then bishop of Norwich, and Miles Dunning, his chancellor, at Ipswich, in Suffolk, where divers godly protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were much troubled; among whom were Peter Moon, a taylor, and his wife: they were accused of disobedience to the law, in not coming to church, and refusing to partake of such Romish observances as at that time were used.

And first the said Peter Moon was commanded to come before the bishop, where he was examined of three several articles, viz. 1. Whether the pope were supreme head. 2. Whether king William and queen Mary were right heirs to the crown. 3. And whether in the sacrament of the altar was the very body of Christ substantially and really there present.

Unto which the said Peter Moon being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man than the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in a manner granted unto their demands.

Thus as this spiritual father was commending his carnal child, and rather preferring him to hell-fire, than unto the sincere word and commandments of God, one of the portmen of the same town, named Smart, an earnest member of their Romish law, perceiving the bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said Moon, and so he like to be discharged, said unto the bishop, My lord, I have a good opinion of the man, and that he will be conformable; but, my lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For she never came to church yet since the queen's reign, except it were at even-song, or when she was churched, and not till mass were done. Wherefore your good lordship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good lordship to command him to pray her to come before your lordship.

At which words Moon was somewhat moved, in that he said, Command him to pray her to come before your lordship. And he said unto him, under my lord's correction I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my lord, as you are to command the worst boy in your house. Yea, my lord, said the other, I cry your lordship mercy: I have informed your lordship with an untruth, if this be so. But if he be so able as he saith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if it had pleased him. Well, said the bishop, look you come before me at afternoon, and bring your wife with you; I will talk with her.

As my lord's dinner at that time was serving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having such an hard breakfast given him before to digest. At afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, be-  
thinking when he might most conveniently come, especially when his accuser and his wife should not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his wife, which was not so secretly done, but his accuser had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in such post-speed, that he was in a manner breathless when he entered the bishop's chamber.

The bishop hearing that Moon and his wife were come, called for them, and said to Moon, Is this your wife, Moon? Yea, my lord, said he. O good lord, said the bishop, how a man may be deceived in a woman! I promise you a man would take her for as

honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my lord, said Moon's wife, I trust there is none than can charge me with any dishonesty, as concerning my body; I defy all the world in that respect.

Nay, quoth the bishop, I mean not as concerning the dishonesty of thy body; but thou hadst done better to have given the use of thy body unto twenty sundry men, than to do as thou hast done. For thou hast done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the king and the queen's majesties out of their royal seats through thy disobedience, in shewing thyself an open enemy unto God's laws, and their proceedings.

Then the bishop began to examine the said Moon again with the aforesaid articles, and his wife also. And she hearing her husband relent, did also affirm the same, which turned to their great trouble of mind afterward. Dunning, the bishop's chancellor, then came up in great haste, and brought news to the bishop, that there was such a number of heretics come from Boxford, Lanham, and the cloth country, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: and there are among them both heretics and anabaptists, said he. And thus Dr. Dunning with his blustering words interrupting Moon's examination, went down again as the devil had driven him, to take order what should be done with them.

The bishop beginning to bewail the state of the country, in that it was so infected with such a number of heretics, and rehearsing partly their opinions to those that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child which she nursed herself, and the child being brought into the yard under the bishop's chamber, cried so that she heard it; and then said, My lord, I trust you have done with me. My child crieth beneath, I must go give my child suck, with such like words. And the bishop being (as it were) out of mind to talk with them any more, said, Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look you, be here again in the morning: with this they both departed.

And beneath in the stone-hall of the same house, the chancellor Dunning being very busy about his bloody business, espied Moon and his wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood, and said, Nay, soft, I must talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to-day. To whom Moon's wife answered, My lord hath had us in examination, and therefore you shall have nought to do with us. Nay, quoth he, ye shall not so escape, I must talk with you also. Unto whom Moon answered, My lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his lordship hath appointed, and must repair again before him to-morrow.

So Moon departed and his wife without hurt of body: but afterwards when they, with Peter the apostle, beheld the face of Christ, they were sore wounded in their consciences, ashamed of their doings, and also at the door of desperation. Inasmuch that when he came home to his house, and entering into a parlour alone by himself, considering his estate, and seeing where a sword of his did hang against a wall, he was earnestly allured by the enemy Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have slain himself: but God, which casteth not away the penitent sinner, repenting his fall with a sincere heart, defended his unworthy servant from that temptation, and hath (I trust) left him to the amendment of life by the assistance of his Holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that shall be saved.

The morrow they both remained and kept house with no small grief of conscience, waiting and looking with fear when to be sent to the bishop, rather than offering their diligence to keep the bishop's appointment: but God so wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared the bishop's call, the bells rung for his departure out of town. For which they were not only glad, but also many a good heart in Ipswich rejoiced and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant, that our sins may never deserve to provoke God's anger, lest the like days should come again. And if they so do, God make us, with all other weaklings, strong and worthy soldiers



God's truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in the time of his expulsion, especially at the house of sir Francis Knolles; yet he was not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he chuse, but utter himself in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such was always his nature, both in popery and in the gospel, utterly to detest all dissimulation; insomuch, that by the means of his plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much trouble, both in king Edward's and also in queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great quietness, if he could have dissembled, and both done and spoken against his conscience, as many stirring papists then did. And likewise he might have escaped the flames in queen Mary's time, if he would either have spoken, or kept silence against his conscience, as many weak gospellers did. But Palmer could in no wise dissemble.

Now, within a short time, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive, to hear and understand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and after what manner they took their death. Insomuch that he spared not, at his own charges to send over one of his scholars, in company with a bachelor of that house, to Gloucester, to see and understand the whole order of bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing some think he rather did because he was wont in king Edward's time to say, that none of them all would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme, and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Whereof he himself also did see more experience afterwards, at the examination and death of those holy confessors which were burnt at Oxford before his eyes: insomuch that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer. At which time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he broke out into these or such like words, O raging cruelty! O tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!

From that day forward he studiously endeavoured to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's commentaries on the first to the Corinthians, of one of Magdalen's yet alive, and other good books of other men. And so through hearty prayer, and diligent search and conference of the scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and so profited in the same, that daily more and more, he declared it both in word and deed: insomuch that ever afterwards he loved the truth as much as he before hated it, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he should come to church in those days of popery, there to be occupied among the rest, in singing of responds, reading of legends, and such like stuff allotted to him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to be at them, as a bear to be baited and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid displeasure and danger, than for any good will, and ready affection.

At length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behaviour. For when he should keep his bowing measures at the Confiteor (as the custom there was) in turning himself to and fro, sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, and afterwards knock his breast at the time of elevation, against these idolatrous adorations his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometimes he would absent himself from them, and sometimes being there, he would even at the sacring (as they termed it) get him out of the church to avoid those ungodly gestures, and idolatrous adoration. To be short, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly suspected as well as disrespected by Mr. Cole, the president then being, and divers others who before had been his friends, and finding

great torment of conscience daily growing upon him, in his conversation with idolaters; and also seeing that his new life and old way of living could not well quietly stand together, he prepared himself to depart the house. For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expulsion, as he did at first, seeing the heat of the times increasing apace. And being demanded at that time by a particular friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made his answer, *Domini est terra, & plenitudo ejus*; that is, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. Let the Lord work, I will commit myself to God and the wide world.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful surges that he suffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulfs and deep sea of this wretched wide world, first, to rehearse one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at such times as he had recourse to the college, after his last departure, whereby the reader may yet better understand his simplicity and plainness, and how far wide he was from all cloaked dissimulation in God's cause, which certain godless persons have fought maliciously to charge him withal. Being at Oxford at a certain time, in Magdalen college, and having knowledge that the Spanish friar John (who succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr in the office of divinity lecturer) would preach there that present Sunday, he would not at the first consent to be present at it. At length a friend of his, a fellow of that house, persuaded him so much, that he was content to accompany his said friend to the church. But suddenly, as the friar vehemently inveighed against God's truth, in defending certain popish heresies, Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongst the midst of the auditory, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly. Afterwards, being asked why he slipped away on such a sudden, O, said he, if I had not openly departed, I should have openly stopped mine ears; for the friar's blasphemous talk, in disproving, or rather depraving the verity, made mine ears not to glow, but my heart worse to smart than if mine ears had been cut from my head.

It chanced another time, that the same friend of his, named Mr. Shipper, being then butler of the house, asked him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer not knowing what guests were also thither invited and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the aforesaid friar, with whom were present Dr. Smith, Dr. Tresham, and divers other papists, whose company Palmer could not well bear: and therefore whispering to his friend in the ear, he said he would be gone, for that was no place for him: I will go, said he, to the butler's table in the great hall. The butler understanding his mind, desired him of all friendship not so to depart, alledging that it was the next way to betray himself, and as it were on purpose to cast himself into the briar, with many other persuasions, as the shortness of time would permit. In the end he condescended to his request, and tarried. Now as he came to the fire-side, the friar saluted him cheerfully in Latin, for he could not speak English. Palmer with all amiable countenance gently returned it; but when the friar offered him his hand, he casting his eye aside, as though he had not seen it, found matter to talk to another standing by, and so avoiding it; which thing was well marked by some, not without great grudge of stomach.

After they were set and had well eaten, the friar with a pleasant look offering him the cup, said, *Propino tibi, juvenis erudite*, that is, I drink to you, learned young man. Palmer at that word, blushing as red as scarlet, answered, *Non agnosco nomen, domine*, that is, I acknowledge no such name, O sir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon, but in the end it was also well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked by the said butler his friend, for his so unwise, uncivil, and unseemly behaviour (as he termed it), he made answer for himself, and said, *Oleum coram non demulcet, sed frangit caput meum*,



*meum*, that is, The oil of these men doth not supple, but breaketh my head.

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick an old acquaintance of his, being sometime clerk of Magdalen's and then fellow of Trinity-college, a rank papist, began to reason with him in his friend's chamber afore said, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in the defence of the verity, he said unto him, in the hearing of Mr. Thomas Parry, and others there present: Well, well, now thou art stout, and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a shrewd matter to burn. Truly, said Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto, I thank God, I have escaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the last, welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more mastery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainness, without dissimulation, and how he feared not openly to shew himself more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blasphemed, than to suffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our story, and faithfully declare both the occasion and manner of his death.

Within a short time after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, he was through God's providence (who never faileth them that first seek his glory) placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading, where he was well accepted by all those that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, and also for his earnest zeal and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings, and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him long there to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain double-faced hypocrites, who by dissimulation and crafty insinuation had crept in, to understand his secrets under pretence of a zeal to the gospel. Which men he (suspecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, so he had an incredible desire by all means possible to allure and encourage others to the profession of the same.

These faithful and trusty brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his absence to rifle his study of certain godly books and writings; amongst which was his Replication to Morewine's verses, touching Winchester's epitaph, and other arguments both in Latin and English, written by him against the popish proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the council, unless he would without delay depart out of their coasts, and give over the school to a friend of their's. The truth of this story appeareth in part, by a letter written with his own hand, out of prison, eight days before he was burnt; which, because it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Thus then was this silly young man, for the safeguard of his life, forced to depart on a sudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his goods, and one quarter's stipend, and so he took his journey towards Ensham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's last will, which he should have received certain years before; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requested certain of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother understanding his state and errand by Mr. Shipper and his brother (whom he had sent before to intreat for him), as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking her blessing, as he

had been accustomed to do: Thou shalt, said she, have Christ's curse and mine wheresoever thou goest. He pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting; at length said, O mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved, but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me. Nay, said she, thou didst go from God's blessing into the warm sun, when thou wert banished for an heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford, and now for the like knavery, art driven out of Reading too. Alas, mother, said he, you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine own accord. And heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they use not to expel nor banish, but to burn heretics (as they term them.) Well, quoth she, I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done: but as we were taught by the new law in king Edward the Sixth's time, which is damnable heresy.

Indeed I confess, said he, that I believe that doctrine which was taught in king Edward's days, which is not heresy but truth, neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles. If thou art at that point, said she, I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of thine, thy father bequeathed nought for heretics. Faggots I have to burn thee, more thou gettest not at my hands. Mother, said he, whereas you have cursed me, I again pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long; and with like soft talk, sweet words, and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he so mollified her hard heart, that she hurled an old angel after him, and said, Take that to keep thee a true man.

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly friendship, and cruelly repelled by her whom he took to have been his surest friend, knew not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had bethought himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalen-college, upon the assured trust and affiance, that he had a secret friend or two in that house. At which time, by the suit of one Alane Cope, then fellow of the house, he obtained letters commendatory from Mr. Cole, president there, for his preferment to a school in Gloucestershire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to God's divine protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as Ensam Ferry, and some to Burford.

Afterward as he went alone musing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an epistle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return privately to Reading, trusting there by the help of friends to receive his quarter's stipend, and convey his goods to the custody of some trusty body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodgings at the Cardinal's Hat, desiring his hostess instantly to assign him a close chamber, where he might be alone from all resort of company. He came not so closely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him, to bring their old cankered malice to pass. And soon it was concluded, that one Mr. Hampton (who then bare two faces under one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a dissembling hypocrite) should resort to him under the pretence of friendship, to feel and fish out the cause of his repair to Reading.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without all wrinkles of cloaked deceit, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might ensue if this were attempted. Against his counsel Palmer replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk, Hampton flung away in a fury, and said, As he had fished, so should he fowl for him. Palmer not yet suspecting such devised mischief, as by this crooked and pestiferous gene-



generation was now in brewing against him, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed. But quiet he could not long rest there; for within a short space after, the officers and their retinue came rushing in with lanthorns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make himself ready, and quietly to depart with them; and led him away as a lamb to the slaughter, and committed him to ward, whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and dark dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks, so high, that well near no part of his body touched the ground. In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor of Reading, and there, by the procurement of certain false brethren, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery.

To whom Palmer answered, that if such horrible and heinous crimes might be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kinds of torments that could be devised. But O ye cruel blood-suckers, (saith he) ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperous and wolfish generation of pharisees and papists: but be ye well assured, that God already seeth your subtle devices and crafty packing, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to escape unpunished.

All this while no mention was made of heresy or heretical writings.

Their greatest Proofs against him were these:

**FIRST**, That Palmer said, the queen's sword was not put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.

*Item*, That her sword was too blunt toward the papists, but toward the true christians it was too sharp.

*Item*, That certain servants of sir Francis Knolles and others, resorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themselves, and were like to have committed murder, and therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.

*Item*, That his hostess had written a letter unto him, (which they had intercepted) wherein she required him to return to Reading, and sent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they gathered that she had conspired with him to murder her husband.

*Item*, That they found him alone with his hostess by the fire-side in the hall, the door being shut to them forsooth.

When the evidence was given up, the mayor dismissed them and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the cage, to make him an open spectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world; it being given out, that he was so punished for his evil life and wickedness already proved against him.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his answer, and did so mightily and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocency, proving also that the said letters were forged by themselves, that the mayor himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit to them, and so much borne with them, so that he sought means how they might convey him out of the country privily.

But here among other things this is not to be passed over in silence, that one John Galant, a zealous professor of the gospel, a little after this came to the prison, and found him somewhat better treated than before. When he beheld him, O Palmer, saith he, thou hast deceived divers men's expectation: for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness' sake, but for your own demerits.

O brother Galant, saith he, these are the old prac-

tices of that Satanical brood. But be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their filthhood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith. And there, having pen and ink, he wrote somewhat whereby part of his story here rehearsed, is well confirmed. But now to these bloody adversaries.

After this, when they saw the matter frame so ill-favouredly, fearing that if he should escape secretly, their doing would tend no less to their shame and danger, than to the mayor's dishonesty, they devised a new policy to bring to pass their long hidden and festered malice against him, which was by this extreme refuge. For whereas before they were partly ashamed to accuse him of heresy, seeing they had been counted earnest brethren themselves; and partly afraid, because they had broken up his study, and committed theft; yet now, lest their iniquity should have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and shame aside, and began to rip up the old sore, the scar whereof had been but superficially cured, as you have heard; and so to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writing that they had stolen out of his study.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other justices, to render an account of his faith before them, and answer to such articles and informations as were laid against him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth sufficient matter to intrap him, they devised a certificate, or bill of instructions against him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffrey; who had determined to hold his visitation the next Tuesday at Newbury, which was the 16th of July. And thus were the false witnesses and bloody accusers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer should be sent over to Newbury, the said letters testimonial were conveyed over together with him; the contents whereof shall partly appear hereafter; in the mean time I think it good here to rehearse one example among others, both of charitable affection towards him, and of his modesty correspondent to the same.

Mr. Rider, of Reading, a faithful witness of God's truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt withal in the prison, and pined away for the lack of necessaries, and how evidently he had proved himself innocent before the officers, of such crimes as were objected against him, he sent to him his servant secretly the night before his departure to Newbury, with a crooked groat in token of his good heart towards him, requiring him to let him understand if he lacked necessaries, and he would provide for him. Palmer answered, The Lord reward your matter for his benevolence towards me a miserable object in this world, and tell him, that (God be praised) I lack nothing.

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Askin, alias Roberts, being fellow-prisoner with him in Christ's cause, sitting at breakfast, and beholding Palmer very sad, leaning to the window in a corner of the house, asked why he came not to breakfast. Because I lack money, said Palmer, to discharge the shot. Come on man, quoth he, God be praised for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing when Mr. Rider heard of, it cannot be expressed how much it grieved him that Palmer had deceived him with so modest an answer.

Thus to Newbury they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable holtry of the blind house, where they found John Gun, their faithful brother in the Lord. Now when they came before the consistory of Dr. Jeffrey, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which, although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was spoken, nor perchance altogether in such form of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and dispose it, being gathered out of several notes of Richard Shipper,



Shipper, John Hunt, John Kirry, of Newbury, Richard White, of Marlborough, who were eye-witnesses, and present at the hearing thereof.

*The SECOND EXAMINATION of JULIUS PALMER, at NEWBURY, in the HEARING of more than three hundred PERSONS.*

ON the 16th of July, in the year 1556, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury, for the visitors, whose names here ensue. Dr. Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridges, knight, and then high sheriff of the county, sir William Ramsford, knight, John Winchcomb, esquire, and the parson of Inglefield. After the prisoners were presented, the commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Dr. Jeffrey called to Palmer, and said, Art thou that jolly writer of three-half-penny books that we hear of?

Palmer. I know not what you mean.

Jeffrey. Have you taught Latin so long, that now you understand not English?

To this he answered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffrey standing up, said, We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that being convented before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.

First, That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness.

Secondly, That there are but two sacraments.

Thirdly, That the priest sheweth up an idol at mass; and therefore you went to no mass, since your first coming to Reading.

Fourthly, That there is no purgatory.

Last of all, That you are a fower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects.

Sheriff. You were best see first what he will say to his own handy-work.

Jeffrey. You say truth. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it.

Palmer. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the scripture.

Jeffrey. Is this doggish rhyme your's also? Look.

Palmer. I wrote this, I deny it not.

Jeffrey. And what say you to these Latin verses, entitled, Epicedion, &c. Are they your's too!

Palmer. Yea, sir.

Jeffrey. Art thou not ashamed to affirm it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a learned and catholic man yet alive.

Palmer. If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead.

Jeffrey. Sayest thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring *peccavi* out of thy lying lips, before I have done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of myself I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and spiritual, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass, neither shall you prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly.

Jeffrey. Ah, are you full of the Spirit? Are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?

Palmer. Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true christian: *Qui Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus*; that is, He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his.

Jeffrey. I perceive you lack no words.

Palmer. Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them such force of matter, as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound or prevail against.

Jeffrey. Christ made such a promise to his apostles; I hope you will not compare yourself with them.

Palmer. With the holy apostles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but small: yet this promise I am certain pertaineth to all such as are appointed to defend God's truth against his enemies, in the time of their persecution for the same.

Jeffrey. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palmer. Yes, I am right well assured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this present to me, as it shall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to dispute with you before this audience; in defence of all that I have there written.

Jeffrey. Thou art but a beardless boy, yesterday an upstart out of the schools, and darest thou presume to offer disputation, or to encounter with a doctor?

Palmer. Remember, Mr. Doctor, "The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him," &c. And again, "Out of the mouth of babes hast thou ordained strength." And in another place, "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor person. And although your wit and learning is greater than mine, yet your belief in the truth, and zeal to defend the same, is no greater than mine.

Register. Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.

Jeffrey. Well, you shall understand, that I have it not in commission at this present to dispute with you, neither were it meet that we should call again into question such articles as are already discussed; and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed telleth us. But the cause why you be now called hither, is, that you might be examined upon such articles as are administered against you, and such matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or no. How say you to this?

Palmer. By your holy church you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a particular church of shavelings. The catholic church I believe, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy, that is to say, a church that grounded her belief upon the word of her spouse Christ.

Jeffrey. Leave railing, and answer me directly to my question. Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?

Palmer. If you prove any sentence therein comprized not to stand with God's word, I will presently recant it.

Jeffrey. Thou impudent fellow, have I not told thee that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?

Here the parson of Inglefield pointing to the Pyx, said, What seest thou yonder?

Palmer. A canopy of silk brodered with gold.

Parson. Yea, but what is within it?

Palmer. A piece of bread in a clout, I suppose.

Parson. Thou art as froward an heretic as ever I talked with.

Here much was spoken of Confiteor, and other parts of the mass.

Parson. Do you not believe that they which receive the holy sacrament of the altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body?

Palmer. If the sacrament of the Lord's supper be administered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's very natural body and blood.

Parson. The faithful receivers? You cannot blear our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?

Palmer. No, sir.

Parson. How prove you that?

Palmer. By this place, He that eateth me, shall live for me.

Parson.



soldiers to encounter with the spiritual enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil; and boldly to stand to the confession of Christ and his gospel, saying with the apostles, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, that we should obey you more than God, judge ye."

*A tragical and most lamentable History, or an Account of the cruel Murder of three Women and an Infant, viz. the Mother, her two Daughters, and the Child, in the Isle of Guernsey, July 18th, 1556.*

OF all the singular and tragical histories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can come up to the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and one infant, whose names be these following; Catherine Cawches, the mother; Gulliemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Mafsey, the other daughter; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

Before I come to the story itself, it will be necessary, for the better explaining of it, to relate the circumstances, from whence this cruelty did originally spring, which was as followeth.

The 17th day of May, in the year 1556, in the isle of Guernsey (which is a member of England), in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Goffet, who being evil disposed, went (the day aforesaid) to the house of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the town of the said St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking a key of the house (lying under the door) entered into a chamber toward the street, where she espied a silver cup within a cupboard, took it away, and so conveyed herself out of the house again. Who immediately after this fact was done, (whether by counsel, or by what occasion else I know not) brought the cup to the abovesaid Perotine Mafsey, an honest woman, dwelling in the said town, desiring her to lend her sixpence upon the same.

Perotine seeing the cup, and suspecting (as the truth was) the same to be stolen, answered, that she would not take it: yet nevertheless, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to restore it again to whom it did belong; and to the end she should not carry it to another, gave her sixpence immediately. Where moreover is to be noted, that Thomas Effart saith and testifieth, that knowledge was given by the said Perotine to Conronney touching the stealing of this cup, who soon upon the misliking thereof charged the said Vincent Goffet of the trespass; who being apprehended and examined upon the same, immediately confessed the fact, desiring to have one sent with her (which was Collas de Loutre) with sixpence to fetch the cup again, which he accordingly did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premises by one Nicholas Cary, of the said town, constable, assembled the justices there to inquire and examine further, as well upon the fact of Vincent Goffet, as upon other griefs and things there amiss. So that after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justice, for that the said constable did report to have found a certain vessel of pewter in the house of the aforesaid Perotine Mafsey (who then dwelt with her mother Catherine Cawches, and her sister Guillemine Gilbert,) which vessel did bear no mark, and especially for that there was a pewter dish, whereof the name was scraped out, their bodies upon the same were attached and put in prison, and their moveable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after these things thus done and past, these three poor women, abiding thus in durance in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice ministered unto them, viz. If they had offended the law, then to let them have law: if not, beseeching to grant them the benefit of subjects, &c. which supplication put up, they were thereupon appointed to come to their answer the fifth day of June in the year aforesaid. Upon which day, after strict examination of the matter, and the honest answering of the cause by the said good women, at last

they submitted themselves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil disposed persons, but lived truly and honestly, as became christian women to do, notwithstanding the false report of their accusers.

So the cause being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the said neighbours not guilty of what they were charged with, but had always lived as honest women amongst them; saving only that to the commandments of the holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was, in fine, adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Goffet, being attainted of felony, and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the pillory, should so be banished out of the isle without further punishment. As touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to church, they were returned prisoners again into the castle the first of July. And thus far concerning the true discourse of this matter, with all the circumstances and appurtenances of the same, in every point, as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue. Wherein you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved, and how by the attestation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and should by the temporal court have been dismissed, had not the spiritual clergymen picked matter of religion against them, exercised such extremity in persecuting these miserable prisoners, that in no case they should escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you shall hear) to their end. For, after the time of this declaration abovementioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to church, the bailiff's lieutenant and the justices thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate under their signets to the dean, whose name was James Amy, and curates of the said isle: the contents whereof here follow.

## LETTER

*Sent from the Bailiffs, Lieutenant, and Jurates of St. Peter's-Port, to the Dean and Curates of the Isle of Guernsey.*

MASTER Dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleaseth you to know that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, passed before us in manner of an inquiry; in which inquiry Catherine Cawches and her two daughters have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal: wherein we are informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretions, and as briefly as you can possible, and also that it pertaineth to your office, recommending you to God, who give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After these letters and information thus addressed to Jaques Amy, dean, and the other clergy, the said women were again convented before the justice aforesaid, with his assistants. In the presence of whom they, being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Romish church, made their answer that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding what they had said and done the contrary in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in shewing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which answer taken, they were returned again to prison,



prison, until the others had an answer of their letter from the dean and his accomplices. During which time, the dean and curate gave their information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the bailiff and jurates, condemning and reputing them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, neither being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon, when the said bailiff and jurates understood that the said dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not sit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined of their faith. And so the officers, at the commandment of the justices, did fetch and present them before the said dean and curates; which being done, they were examined apart, and then returned to prison again.

The fourteenth day of the said month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the examination above-mentioned before Elier Goffelin, bailiff, in the presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John Laverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, John de la March, jurates; sir James Amy, dean, and the curates, did deliver before the justice, under the seal of the dean, and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum whereof was, that Catherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence; the tenor of which here followeth:

"In the year of our Lord 1556, July 13, at the church of St. Peter's Port, in the isle of Guernsey, inquiry being made by us the dean and curates, concerning the catholic faith and the sacraments of the church, viz. of baptism, confirmation, penance, orders, marriage, eucharist, and extreme unction, as also about ecclesiastical ceremonies, and the honour and worship of the virgin Mary and the saints, also of the mass, and its efficacy; where Catherine Cawches, and her two daughters, Perotine and Guillemine, being called together, and separately, according to law; and although often desired and exhorted to confess their faults and ask pardon, yet they obstinately denied whatever they had formerly said vilely and dishonestly against the catholic faith, the sacraments of the church, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies; wherefore their denial, attestation, and deposition, being heard, and we seeing, considering, and well weighing the evidence against them; as also the opinions of the curates and vicars there assisting, have found and do declare the said Catherine and Perotine, as also Guillemine, to be guilty of heresy; wherefore we command them back from whence they came."

Thomas le Coll,  
John Alles,  
William Panquet,

Peter Tardise,  
John Manatiel.

When this was done, the king's officers were commanded to go to the castle to fetch the said women, to hear the sentence against them in the presence aforesaid. And they appearing before them, said in the ears of all the auditory, that they would see their accusers, and know them that have deposed against them, because they might make answers to their sayings and personages, and to have their libel accordingly; for they knew that they had not offended the majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but intirely would obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king's and queen's laws that they had done, they required justice. Notwithstanding all which their reasons and allegations, the said poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt until they were consumed to ashes, according to a sentence given by Elier Goffelin, bailiff: of which sentence the substance here followeth:

"Catherine Cawches, Perotine Massey, and Guillemine Gilbert, are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be consumed to ashes in the place accustomed, with the confiscation of all their goods, moveables and heritages, to be in the hands of the king and queen's majesties, according and after the effect of a sentence delivered in justice by the dean and the curates, the 17th day of July, 1556, in which they have been approved heretics." In the presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas Devise, John le Merchant, &c. jurates.

After which sentence pronounced, the said women appealed to the king and queen, and their honourable council, saying, That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal; notwithstanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the said sentence.

The time then being come when these innocents should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that stood there, but also to the ears of all true-hearted christians that shall read this history. For as the belly of the woman burst asunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and being immediately taken out by one W. House, was laid upon the grass.

Then was the child carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order, that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of popish tormentors, to their perpetual shame and infamy.

Now forsomuch as this story, perhaps for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed by some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified by me than truth will bear me out, therefore to discharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers on, but also have hitherto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the said two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act; which supplication for the more evidence, hereunder followeth.

*To the Right Honourable the Queen's most gracious Commissioners, for the bearing and determining of Matters of Religion, and Causes Ecclesiastical.*

**M**OST lamentably and wofully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and honourable lordships, your poor and humble orator Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, that where James Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by colour of a sentence of heresy, pronounced against Catherine Cawches, the sister of your honours said supplicant, and Perotine and Guillemine her two daughters, did cause the said Catherine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, most cruelly to be burned, although the said persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in place, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty



of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas, whilst the said persons did consume with violent fire, the womb of the said Perotine being burnt, there did issue from her a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and after in a most despitel manner thrown into the fire, and there also with the innocent mother cruelly burnt: in tender consideration whereof, and forasmuch as this bloody murder was not in due form of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceeding in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be shewed to your honours, will make very plain and manifest: may it therefore please your good and gracious lordships, of the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such horrible murder, so crully committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may please your honourable lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor beseecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your honours' said suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health.

This supplication being presented in manner aforesaid to the queen's honourable commissioners, in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said country, further to be examined, the dean was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven to acknowledge their trespasss, and to submit themselves to the queen's mercy. The tenor of whose several submissions, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought proper here to publish to the world, for a memorial of the truth of this story.

*The several Submissions of certain Guernsey Men, confessing their Trespasss in the wrongful Condemnation of the three Women above specified.*

**E**LIER GOSSELINE, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, in Guernsey, merchant, Nicholas Cary, the elder, John Merchant, Peter Bonamy, of the parish of St. Martin, and Nicholas Martin, son of John, having humbly submitted themselves to the queen's most excellent majesty, acknowledging their erroneous judgments, as well against Catherine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine her two daughters, and the infant of the said Perotine, executed by fire for supposed heresy, as also for the acquitting of Nicholas Norman, a wilful murderer, and other matters contained in their several submissions; pray the pardon of the queen's majesty for the said crimes and others committed in their several submissions.

John Blundel, the elder, of the parish of St. Saviour, within the isle of Guernsey, upon like submission, and acknowledging of his offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his consent given to the execution of the said three women.

Richard Devicke, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his consent and judgment given for the acquitting of the said Norman, according to his supplication and submission late presented by Peter Bonamy, the same Devicke, and Peter Pelley, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, merchant.

The said Peter Pelley prayeth the benefit of the said pardon to be extended unto him, according to his submission in the said supplication.

James Amy, clerk, prayeth the benefit of the said pardon for his sentence with the clergy against the said women, according to his submission.

Thomas Effart, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, humbly prayeth, as procurator lawfully constituted by the chapter, bailiff, and jurates, that the same pardon

may extend to acquit all the inhabitants of the said isle of their arrears, &c.

*The Copy of the Queen's Pardon to them of Guernsey.*

**T**HE Queen, to all un'o whom these presents shall come, greeting. Be it known unto you, that We of Our special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven; and for Us, Our heirs, and successors, by these presents do pardon, remit, and forgive, Elier Gosseline, of the parish of St. Peter's Port, within the said island of Guernsey, merchant; John Blundel, the elder, of the parish of St. Saviour, in the aforesaid island of Guernsey, merchant; Nicholas Cary, the elder, of the aforesaid parish of St. Peter's Port, within the said isle of Guernsey, merchant; John Merchant, of the said parish and island, gentleman; Nicholas Martin, son of John, of the said parish of St. Peter's Port, within the aforesaid island of Guernsey, merchant; Richard Devicke, of the said Parish of St. Peter's Port, within the aforesaid island of Guernsey, merchant; Peter Pelley, of the said parish of St. Peter's Port, in the aforesaid island of Guernsey, merchant; and James Amy, of the parish of St. Saviour, within the said island of Guernsey, clerk; and to all of them jointly and separately, whether by any other name or names, surnames or additional name or surname of trades, arts, or places, the same Elier, Nicholas Cary, John, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Peter and James, are known, called, or named, or by any other name, surname, or additional name, or surname of degree, trade, art, or place, any of the said Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter and James are known, called, or named, or lately were known, called, or named, all and all manner of murder, man-slaughter, felony, and felonious killings of Catherine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine, daughters of the said Catherine, of every one of these, and the accessaries of them, and all and singular felonies, insultings, strikings, woundings, burnings, transgressions, offences, riots, routs, unlawful meetings, assemblings, gatherings together, plottings, conspiracies, accessory helps, combinings, procurings, abettings, strengthenings and supportings, concealments, forfeits, contempts, assaultings, neglects, and whatever other evil deeds done appertaining to the murder, man-slaughter, and felonious killing of the aforesaid Catherine, Guillemine, and Perotine, or any of them, in any part or concern by the aforesaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them, by reason, or occasion of the murder, man-slaughter, or felonious killing of the aforesaid, done or practised, and that so fully and intirely, and in so ample a manner and form as if every one of the aforesaid Elier Gosseline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, had separately Our letters patent of pardon.

Also we have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven, and by these presents do pardon, remit, and forgive, for Us, Our heirs and successors, the aforesaid Elier Gosseline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, James Amy, and every one of their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, their neglects, all and all manner of incroachments, breakings and enterings, by all or some of them, or by the proxies, agents or ministers of all or any of them, in all and singular our manors, lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments whatsoever, and wheresoever lying within the aforesaid island of Guernsey, lately chauntries, guilds, cloisters or colleges of Our's, or any one or more of Our predecessors, before the 17th of November, in the first year of Our reign, done, performed or committed; and all and singular debts, returns, accompts, arrears, collections, receivings, detainings, and duties of grain, and other returns, outgoings, or profits whatsoever, to Us or any one of Our predecessors for the said



said chauntries, guilds, cloisters or colleges, one or all of them, in whatever manner before the aforesaid 17th day of November, in the first year of Our reign, owing, belonging, or appertaining.

We have pardoned, remitted and forgiven, and of Our special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion to the aforesaid, for Us, Our heirs and successors, by these presents do pardon, remit and forgive the aforesaid Elier Gosseline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, and Richard Devicke, and each of them, the freedom, flight, escape, and restoring to his liberty Nicholas Norman, lately of the parish of St. Saviour within the aforesaid island, yeoman, of man-slaughter or murder lately judged, attainted and convicted, being for the killing or murdering of John Breghault, of the said parish of St. Saviour, within the island aforesaid, husbandman, but all and all manner of felonies, crimes, offences, punishments, deaths, penalties, forfeits, contempts, neglects, ignorance, and other faults and offences whatsoever, touching or in any manner concerning the aforesaid escape, flight, and setting at liberty of the aforesaid Nicholas Norman, by the aforesaid Elier Gosseline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, and Richard Devicke, or any one or more of them, before this present day, after what manner soever practised, done, committed or happened.

Also, We have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven, and by these presents, of Our certain knowledge and mere motion, for Us, Our heirs and successors, do pardon, remit, and forgive the aforesaid Elier Gosseline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, all and all manner of riots, routs, unlawful meeting, and gatherings together to the disturbance of Our peace, by the aforesaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them before this in whatsoever manner within the aforesaid island, practised, committed, done, or perpetrated, &c.

*A Defence of the foregoing History of Guernsey, against Mr. HARDING.*

**T**HUS have you the true narration of this history, discoursed without corrupting or falsifying any part or sentence thereof, no less faithfully on my part reported, than I received of them, who dwelling in the same isle, and being present the same time, were best acquainted with the matter, and have given sufficient evidence not only to me, but also to the queen's highness's commissioners, concerning the same, as both by the letter of the bailiff, by the sentence of the dean, by the supplication of the plaintiff, and submission of the parties, and likewise by the queen's pardon granted unto them, may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumstances thus debated, it remaineth manifest for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong was wrought against these poor women above specified, and no less matter offered, in a case so unjust, justly to expostulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of these men, but especially of the Romish clergy of Guernsey, who professing the gospel of peace and charity, should after the example of Christ, walk in the steps of meekness and mercy, and yet contrary, not only to all christian charity and good nature, but also against all order of equity or humanity, were so extreme and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretended colour of heresy. Who if they had been heretics indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the error, and saved life: equity would have considered man's frailty and weakness, at least true justice would have heard both the parties advisedly, and also substantially have surveyed the cause, and not have thundered out the sentence of death so hastily as they did: yea, and though they had been heretics indeed, yet true christian charity would have stretched farther, and at least have given them leisure and respite of time to reclaim themselves. But now, what is here to be said? they being no heretics at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can

be proved. For if king Edward's religion (which was objected to them) were heresy, yet were they then no heretics, when they revoked the same; and if queen Mary's religion were heresy, then were they much more heretics themselves, who condemned them for heresy.

But most of all we have herein to wonder at Mr. Harding, who in his late Rejoinder, written against the bishop of Salisbury, notwithstanding all these evidences and demonstrations so certain and manifestly appearing, yet goeth about first to deny the story, terming it to be a fable; and afterwards being forced to fly from denying it, to admit the story, he strives to turn it another way; and seeking by all means to clear the clergy from the spot of cruelty, transferreth the whole blame only upon the women that suffered, but principally upon poor Perotine, whom he specially chargeth with two capital crimes, viz. whoredom and murder.

And first, touching his accusation of whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter: "Because (saith he) by story it is granted, that she was with child: and yet the historiographer doth not declare (neither durst for shame) who was her husband or father to the child," &c. As though the historiographer, being occupied in setting forth the persecution of God's people, suffering death for the religion and doctrine of Christ, were bound, or had nothing else to do but to play the sumner, and to bring forth who were husbands to their wives, and fathers to their children, which new-found law of history was never required before, nor observed by any writers. If Mr. Harding now shall exact of me, first let him begin with himself, and shew us (as wise as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary but his mother was an honest woman. And no less also do I think of this Perotine aforesaid; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling objection of Mr. Harding, who beareth the reader in hand, as though "for shame I durst not, or of purpose would not express it," &c. My answer whereunto is this: First, To express every minute of matter in every story occurrent, what story-writer in the world is able to perform it? Secondly, Although it might be done, what reasonable reader will require it? Thirdly, Albeit some curious readers would so require it, yet I suppose it neither requisite nor convenient to be observed. And, fourthly, What if it were not remembered by the author? what if it were to him unknown? what if it were of purpose omitted, as a matter not material to the purpose? Many other causes besides might incur, which the reader knoweth not of. And shall it then by and by be imputed to shame, whatsoever in every narration is not expressed? or doth Mr. Harding himself, in all his sermons, never omit any thing that might conveniently be inferred? Who was the husband of this Perotine, the historiographer hath not expressed, I grant: and what thereof? Ergo, thereupon concludeth he, That for shame I durst not. Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durst not for shame utter such untidy arguments, or so asseverantly pronounce of another man's mind and purpose, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown what was her husband's name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the story to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, who burned both the mother and infant together, though the infant's father had been expressed? And how then did I for shame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to express, nor in my suspicion to misdeem?

Nevertheless, if he be so greatly desirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me who was this infant's father, I will not stick with Mr. Harding, although I cannot swear for the matter, yet to take so much pain for his pleasure to go as near as I may. For precisely and determinately to point out the right father, either of this or any child, I suppose, neither will Mr. Harding require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himself, being asked, to demonstrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to satisfy his dainty desire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman concerning this demand,



demand, Who should be the infant's father? Who, say I, but his own mother's husband: the name of which husband was David Jores, a minister, and married to the said Perotine, in king Edward's time, in the church of our Lady's Castle parish, at Guernsey; the party which married them being named Mr. Noel Regner, a Frenchman, and yet alive, witness hereunto, and now dwelling in London, in St. Martins-le-grand.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have shewed forth, for Mr. Harding's pleasure, the right husband of this Perotine, and what was his name, who was also alive, his wife being great with child, and partaker of the persecution of the same time, and a schoolmaster afterwards in Normandy, &c. Now if Mr. Harding can take any such advantage hereof to disprove what I have said, or be so privy to the begetting of this child, that he can prove the said David Jores, who was the right husband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him shew herein his cunning by what mighty demonstrations he can induce us to think the contrary; and as I shall see his reason, I shall shape him an answer in such sort (I trust) that he will perceive, that whoredom, wheresoever I may know it, shall find no support by me; I wish it might find as little amongst the chaste catholics of Mr. Harding's church.

From this I proceed to the second part of his infamous accusation, wherein he chargeth her of murder. A strange case, that she which was murdered herself with her child, and died before him, should yet be accused to murder the child. Murder, doubtless, is an horrible iniquity in any person; but the mother to be the murderer of her own infant, is a double abomination, and more than a monster, so far disagreeing from all nature, that it is not lightly to be surmised of any one, without vehement causes of manifest probation.

Wherefore to try out this matter more thoroughly, touching this murdering mother, let us see, First, What hand did she lay upon the child? None. What weapon had she? None. Did she then drown it, or cast it into some pond, as we read of the strumpets at Rome, whose children's heads were taken up in pope Gregory's mote by hundreds, when priests began first to be restrained of lawful wedlock? Or else did she throw it by the walls into some private corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the eighth year of queen Elizabeth, certain scalps and other young infants' bones were found and taken out with a stick in the hole of a stone wall, in Lenton Abbey, by certain gentlemen within the county of Nottingham, James Baruffe, Richard Loveit, and W. Lovelace, walking in the prior chamber; witness the said W. Lovelace, with others who saw the bones aforesaid? Or otherwise, did she take any hurtful drink to poison the child within her, as commonly it is reported few nunneries to have been in England, wherein such a tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practising of such a purpose? Neither so, nor so. What then? did she purposely and wittingly thrust herself into jeopardy, to the destruction of her child, when she needed not, as Pope Joan, when she might have kept her bed, would needs adventure forth in procession, where both she and her infant perished in the open street?

Well, then, thus much by this hitherto alledged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accused of murdering her own child, who neither laid hand upon it, nor used weapon against it; neither used any other practice in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poisoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to destroy it. And how then? By what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forsooth (saith Mr. Harding) when she was accused and condemned to be burnt, she did not claim the benefit of her belly, whereby the life both of herself for the time might have been delayed, and the child preserved.

Whether she did or no, I have not perfectly to say; no more, I suppose, hath Mr. Harding. However, this is certain, and by witness known, that she uttered no less to her spiritual father in confession. And what

if she had opened the same to the judges? They would (saith he) have spared her life for the time, and so the innocent had been preserved. And how is Mr. Harding sure of this, more than was the life spared of the young lady, and sometime the mistress, of Mr. Harding, who suffered notwithstanding she was reported of some to be with child; because the law (saith he) is beneficial to women in her case, claiming the benefit thereof.

The law so giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatsoever the law giveth or prescribeth, the same to be put in execution.

But many times the law goeth as it pleaseth them which have the handling of the law. As for example; the law willeth none to be condemned by sentence of death for heresy, which the first time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law, they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like law, none to be executed for heresy, before the writ be sent down *De Comburendo*, and yet contrary to this law, without any such writ, as far as I yet understand, they burnt her most cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of these men, who in their doings herein seemed neither to observe law, nor to regard honesty, nor much to care for charity? And although she had claimed ever so much the privilege of the law, what had that availed with those men, whose hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) seemed to be for the household goods of these unfortunate women, which after their death they immediately incroached into their own hands.

But be it admitted, that she neither demanded this benefit of the law, nor that the judges would ever have denied her if she had so done; yet it had been the part of a grave accuser, before he had descended into such a railing action of murder against a poor woman now dead and gone, first to have advised wisely with himself whether it might be, that she had no such intelligence what benefit the law would have given, in case it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea than no, that the simple woman, brought up all her life-time in her mother's house, in an obscure island, and in such an out-corner of the realm, far off from the court, and practice of English laws, never heard before of any such benefit of the law; and therefore, upon mere simplicity, and for want of skill, required it not, because she knew not what to require. Peradventure also her senses might be so astonished with the greatness and suddenness of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. Certainly it had been the duty of the judges, who knew the law, and could not be ignorant of her case, to have questioned her thereof, and to have helped her simplicity in that behalf. Or, at least, if they had disdained, yet it had been the priest's part, as her spiritual father, and privy thereunto, either to have instructed her, or to have staid the execution of her death, in order to preserve the child.

But Mr. Harding denieth all this; and, to aggravate the matter, inferreth, that she not of any simple unskillfulness of the law, "but only of mere wilfulness, for avoiding of worldly shame, concealed her turpitude, and so became a murderer of her babe," &c. These are the words of Mr. Harding, written by him not of any sure ground, but only upon his catholic conjecture; for other demonstration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore, to answer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again: That in case she had been asked the question by the judges and inquisitors, whether she had been with child, and then denied the same; or if she, by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being pregnant, whereby it should not appear, this accuser might have spoken probable advantage against her. Now, as she was never demanded of their parts any such question, nor did ever deny any such matter; so to answer this man with as good probability, I hold, that in case they had required that matter of her, she would never have denied it. And therefore whereas she is accused for her not uttering of her being with child; why may she not,



not, by as good reason, again be defended for not denying the same?

But she should have uttered it, saith he. It had been well done, said I; and I would she had: but yet that is not the question between him and me, what she should have done, but why she did it not. Mr. Harding, wandering in his blind surmises, fancieth the cause only to be, "for hiding her dishonesty, and for that she would not shame the gospel." To this effect tendeth all his accusation.

Perotine being big with child, at her condemnation did not shew it to the judges:

Therefore, she did it to conceal her turpitude, and because she would not shame the gospel.

But here this accuser must understand, if he has not forgot his logic, that such arguments which do truly hold a *signis*, do always presuppose, that the signs which go before the things signified, must be necessary, perpetual, and firm, as is between causes natural and their effects. Otherwise, if the signs be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm consequent can proceed therefrom.

Now, if the said accuser should be put to his proof, how to justify his sequel to be true by evident demonstration, that she did it only for covering her dishonesty, I suppose verily he should be found to say more than he is able to make good, and in conclusion should be brought into the like case as were the pharisees, who coming to accuse the adulterers before Christ, went away mute, with as much shame out of the temple, as the woman came in, having not one word to answer. For a man to pronounce assuredly upon the secret thought and intent, either of man or woman, farther than by utterance of speech is to him signified, passeth his capacity, and is to be left only to him, who is a God searching the heart and the reins.

But forasmuch as Mr. Harding worketh, as I said, by surmises, confirming every thing to the worst, let us see what may be surmised as much to the contrary, concerning the quality of this surmised murder; wherein divers things are to be considered, as hereunder followeth.

The first conjecture is this, That such manner of women, who for worldly shame are disposed to murder their children, have other ways to compass that wickedness, than by keeping silence. Now, concerning Perotine's going to be burnt, neither could this silence save her; if she would, from worldly shame; nor is it to be thought any such intent ever to be in her, as to murder her child; as appeared in her mother's house, where if she had continued her time out, she intended no less but honestly to be brought to bed, and to nurse her child, not caring for the shame of the world, nor fearing any slander to the gospel. Whereby may be urged that no intent of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it likely that she, who had gone so long with child, almost to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that time, should now, going to her death, mind more hurt to her child, than she did before, hoping herself to live?

Secondly, How knoweth Mr. Harding to the contrary, but that she was known in the town to be with child, and went boldly abroad without note of any shame, before the time she came in trouble? Which being true, shame then could be no cause why she should conceal her child more after condemnation than she did before she was condemned.

Thirdly, Admit the case it was not known before, what advantage thereby should arise to her, being appointed to die, by concealing her being pregnant? She should have avoided (saith Mr. Harding) the public shame and slander of the world, in that none should have known her to be with child. First, what shame was it for a married wife to be noted to be with child? Again, what profit had that been to her, to avoid the shame and fame of the world, being now condemned to die?

Fourthly, How is it like, that for shame she meant

to conceal that from the world, which both knew she should not live in the world, and also should suffer that kind of death whereby her child could not be hidden from the sight of the world, though she had gone about ever so much to conceal it?

Fifthly, How is it to be thought that any woman going to such a sharp punishment of fire to be consumed, would let for any worldly shame to rescue her own life from so bitter a torment, at least so long as she might, beside the safeguard also of her child, if by any means she had known a remedy?

Sixthly, Forasmuch as Mr. Harding doth so heinously charge her with the wilful murdering of her own natural child, let all indifferent consciences consider this, what was the cause that moved her so willingly to recant as she did, but partly to save her own life, and especially the poor innocent. Whereby it is manifest to be understood, what a motherly affection she had to save her infant, if the father of the spirituality had not been so cruel, against all order of law, to cast both her and her child away, notwithstanding her said recantation.

Seventhly and lastly, When Mr. Harding hath inveighed all he can against this poor woman, yet it is all the same but a bye-matter from this principal purpose pretended, supposing thereby, through his depraving of her, to justify and excuse the pope's holy clergy, who wrought her death. Which will not be: for whatsoever her life was besides, yet forasmuch as the cause of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredom, nor murder, but only and merely for religion, which deserved no death; I therefore having in my story no further to deal, as I said before, so do I say again, that the cause of her condemnation was wrongful, her death was cruel, the sight of the babe rueful, and the proceeding of the judges unlawful: the whole story is pitiful; and the priests and clergy were the principal authors. All which being considered and well expended, I trust Mr. Harding may stand well contented: or, if he thinks murder to be a thing which ought not to be lightly passed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly, without affection of partiality, where the true murder lieth, whether in the poor woman, who, with her child, was murdered, or in them, who, without all law and conscience, brought them both to death.

Briefly and finally to conclude with this man, whatsoever the woman was, she is now gone. To bite so bitterly against the dead, is little honesty. And tho' the accusation had in it some truth, yet this accusation here needed not. The same being false, is too unmerciful: at least, being doubtful, and unknown to him, charity would have judged the best; humanity would have spared the dead, and if he could not afford her his good word, yet he might have left her cause unto the Lord, who shall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead he findeth in his mass, but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his mass, mattins, nor even-song: and no doubt but in his Dirige and commendations he commendeth many a one, less deserving to be commended than this woman, let catholic affection be set aside. And though the merits of her cause deserved not his commendations, yet she never deserved at Mr. Harding's hand such unmerciful treatment after her departure. Cruelty she suffered enough alive, without Mr. Harding adding to her former afflictions: notwithstanding he hurteth not her, but himself; nor staineth her honesty so much as he blemisheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned men, in time past, ever to be more ready with their defending oration, than to accuse. If they did at any time accuse, it was when forced: neither did they accuse any but such as were alive, and then only in such matters where either the common-wealth or themselves were vehemently affected.

Now if this grieve him so greatly, because in my story I have termed her to be a martyr, let him consider the cause wherefore she suffered, being neither for felony, murder, nor whoredom, but only for the religion



religion in king Edward's time received; and when he hath confuted that religion, I shall cross her out of the book and fellowship of martyrs. In the mean time, my exhortation to Mr. Harding shall be this:

First, That if he must needs become a writer in these furious and outrageous days of ours, he will season his vein of writings with more mildness and charity, and not give such example of railing to others.

Secondly, That he will moderate his judging and condemning of others with more equity and indifferency; and not be so rash and partial. For if she be accounted a murderer, who so carefully went about, by recantation, to save both herself and child from the fire; what is to be said of them who so cruelly condemned her, and caused both her and her infant to be burned, although she had (as I said) recanted. Yet so partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out so intemperately against the woman and child that were burned, he spake never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Thirdly, Forasmuch as Mr. Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and casting away young children's lives, I would wish, that as he hath sifted the doings of this woman to the uttermost, who was murdered, instead of being a murderer; he would look with an indifferent eye on the other side, upon them of his own clergy, and see what he could find amongst those wilful contemners of immaculate marriage. I do not accuse any of incontinency whose lives I know not; but there is one above that well knoweth and seeth all things, be they ever so secret to man, and most certainly at length will pay home with fire and brimstone, when he seeth his time.

I say no more, and not so much as I might, following herein the painters, who when their colours will not serve to express a thing that they mean, shadow it with a veil. But howsoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be suspected touching this crime aforesaid of infanticide; most sure and manifest it is that they are more than worthily to be accused of homicide in murdering the children and servants of God, both men and women, wives and maids, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, discreet and simple innocents, learned and unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high archbishop to the clerk and sexton of the church, and that most wrongfully and wilfully, with such effusion of innocent christian blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Mr. Harding, in my mind, should do well to spare a little time from his invectives, wherewith he impeacheth the poor protestants of murder, whom they have murdered themselves, and exercise his pen with more fruitful matter, to exhort these spiritual fathers first to cease from murdering their own children, to spare the blood of innocents, and not to persecute Christ so cruelly in his members as they do: and furthermore, to exhort in like manner these Agamists, and wilful rejecters of matrimony, to take themselves to lawful wives, and not to resist God's holy ordinance, nor encounter his institution with another contrary institution of their own devising, lest perhaps they being prevented by fragility, may fall into danger of such inconveniences above hinted; which if they be not in them I shall be glad; but if they be, it is not their railing against the poor protestants, nor yet their secret auricular confession, that shall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he shall come to reveal the hidden things of darkness, and judge the world by fire.

And thus, for lack of further leisure, I end with Mr. Harding; having no more at this time to say unto him, but with him to fear God, to embrace his truth, to remember himself, and to cease from this uncharitable railing, especially against the dead, which cannot answer him; or if he will needs continue still to be such a vehement accuser of others, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuser: First, That his accusation be true; Secondly,

That no blind affection of partiality be mixed with it; Thirdly, Whosoever taketh upon him to carp at, and impeach the crimes of others, ought themselves to be sincere and upright, and to see what may be written in their own foreheads.

Whoredom and murder are grievous offences, and worthy to be accused: but to accuse of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other persons untouched that were the true murderers, is the part of an accuser, who deserveth himself to be accused of partiality.

As verily I think by this woman, that if she had been a catholic papist, and a devout follower of their church, as she was a protestant, she had neither been condemned by them alive, nor accused by Mr. Harding when dead. But God forgive him, and make him a good man, if it be his will.

*An Account of three MARTYRS, burnt at GREENSTEAD, in SUSSEX.*

NEAR about the same time that these three women, and the infant, were burnt at Guernsey, suffered three likewise at Greenstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, who for righteousness' sake gave themselves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them, ending their lives at the said town of Greenstead, on the 18th of July, and in the year aforesaid.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of THOMAS MOOR, in the Town of Leicester, June 26, 1556.*

AS the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, lame nor blind, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person; but whosoever he were that held not as they did on the pope and the sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wife, simple, or innocent, all went to the fire; as may appear by this simple poor creature and innocent poor soul, named Thomas Moor, retained as a servant in the town of Leicester, about 24 years of age, and after the manner of a husbandman; who, for speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pyx, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends. Who coming before his ordinary, was first asked, Whether he did not believe his Maker to be there, pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

How then, said the bishop, dost thou believe?

The young man answered, As my creed doth teach me.

Then said the bishop, And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?

He answered, Forsooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay matters hanging about the pyx: what is within I cannot see.

Why, dost thou not believe, said the bishop, Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?

No, that I do not, said he.

Whereupon the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned the faithful servant of Christ to death in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; who was burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the testimony of righteousness, in the same town, about the 26th day of June, 1556.

To this Thomas Moor, we have also annexed the examination and answers of one John Jackson, before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, for it belongeth near unto the same time:



*The Examination of JOHN JACKSON, before Dr. COOK, March 11, 1556.*

**F**IRST, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic.

I answered and said, I am no heretic.

*Cook.* Yes, thou art. For Mr. Read told me, that thou wert the rankest heretic of all of them in the King's Bench.

*Jackson.* I know him not.

*Cook.* No? Yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench.

*Jackson.* He examined five others, but not me.

*Cook.* Then answer me: what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.

*Jackson.* It is a vague question, to ask me at the first setting off.

*Cook.* What an heretic is this!

*Jackson.* It is easier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.

*Cook.* What church art thou of?

*Jackson.* What church? I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone.

*Cook.* Thou art an heretic.

*Jackson.* How can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.

*Cook.* No. But what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar again? Tell me.

*Jackson.* I find it not written.

*Cook.* No? Keeper, away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I said, Sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.

Dr. Cook answered and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

*Jackson.* Yea, that I do.

*Cook.* Whereby?

*Jackson.* Hereby, said I. Our Saviour Christ saith, "Search the scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that testify of me."

*Cook.* This is a wise proof.

*Jackson.* Is it so? What say you then to these words that the prophet David said? "Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will shew him the way that he hath chosen: his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he sheweth them his covenant."

*Cook.* Well, you shall be rid shortly one way or other.

*Jackson.* My life lieth not in men's hands, therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him.

*Cook.* No? Thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow.

*Jackson.* You cannot so judge of me, except you did see some evil by me.

*Cook.* No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papists?

*Jackson.* Why, that is no judgment: but Christ saith, "If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day."

*Cook.* I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

*Jackson.* Christ is the head.

*Cook.* But who is head on earth?

*Jackson.* Christ hath members here on earth.

*Cook.* Who are they?

*Jackson.* They that are ruled by the word of God.

*Cook.* You are a good fellow.

*Jackson.* I am that I am.

Then Dr. Cook said to my keeper, Have him to prison again.

I am contented with that, said I, and so we departed.

I answer no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls are daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long.

Therefore, good brothers and sisters, be of good cheer: for I trust in my God, I and my other fellow-prisoners shall go joyfully before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer at this time, committing you unto God.

Of this John Jackson, besides these his aforesaid answers and examination before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, no more came to our hands.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of JOAN WASTE, a blind Woman, in the Town of Derby.*

**T**HE first day of August, suffered likewise at the town of Derby, a poor honest woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of 22, named Joan Waste, of the parish of Alhallows. Of them that sat upon this poor woman's blood, the chief was Ralph Blaine, bishop of the diocese, Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, sir John Port, knight, Henry Vernon, esquire, Peter Finch, official of Derby, with the assistance also of divers others, Richard Ward and William Bembridge the same time being bailiffs of the town of Derby, &c.

First, After the above-named bishop and Dr. Draicot had caused the said Joan Waste to be apprehended in the town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain heresies, she was divers times privily examined, as well in prison as out, by Peter Finch, the official; and after brought to public examination before the bishop: at last, she was burnt in Derby, as above said. Concerning whose life, bringing up, and conversation, somewhat more amply we mind to discourse, as by faithful relation hath come to my hands.

First, This Joan Waste was the daughter of William Waste, an honest poor man, a barber, who sometimes also used to make ropes. His wife had the same Joan and one other at one birth, and she was born blind.

When about twelve or fourteen years old, she learned to knit hose and sleeves, and other things, which in time she could do very well. Furthermore, as time served, she helped her father to turn ropes, and do such other things as she was able, being never idle. Thus she continued with her father and mother during their lives. After whose decease she lived with her brother Roger Waste, and in the time of king Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory, gave herself daily to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing homilies and sermons, she became marvellously well affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having saved so much money as would buy her a New Testament, she caused one to be provided for her. And although she was of herself unlearned, and, by reason of her blindness, unable to read, yet, for the great desire she had to understand, and have imprinted in her memory the sayings of the holy scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debt.

The same John Hurt being a grave sober man, of the age of threescore and ten years, by her earnest intreaty, and being a prisoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exercise daily read unto her some one chapter of the New Testament. If at any time



he were otherwise occupied or hindered through sickness, she would repair unto John Pemerton, clerk of the parish church of All Saints, in the same town of Derby, or some other person which could read, and sometimes she would give a penny or two (as she might spare) to such persons as would freely read unto her, appointing unto them beforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter for such a price.

Moreover in the said Joan Waste this was notorious, that she being utterly blind, could notwithstanding, without a guide, go to any church within the said town of Derby, or to any other place or person, with whom she had any such exercise. By which exercise she so profited, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament, but also could aptly disprove, by divers places of scriptures, as well sin, as such abuses in religion, as then were too much in use in divers and sundry persons.

As this godly woman thus daily increased in the knowledge of God's holy word, and no less in her life expressed the virtuous fruits and exercise of the same: not long after, through the fatal death of blessed king Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion in the reign of queen Mary his sister. In which alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greatest part and multitude of the whole realm into popery again, yet this poor blind woman, continuing in a constant conscience, proceeded still in her former exercise, being both zealous in that she had learned, and also refusing to communicate in religion with those, which taught contrary to that she had before learned in king Edward's time.

For which she was called and convented before the aforesaid bishop and Dr. Draicot, with divers others called in to bear witness.

The articles ministered unto her, and wherewith she was charged, were these: First, that she did hold the sacrament of the altar to be only a memory or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine, but not his natural body, unless it were received. And that it ought not to be reserved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received, &c.

Item, That she did hold, in receiving of the sacrament of the altar, she did not receive the same body that was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption, &c.

Item, She did hold, that Christ at his last supper did not bless the bread that he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself, and by the virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine is not converted and turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

Item, That she did grant that she was of the parish of Allhallows, in Derby, &c.

Item, That all and singular the premises are true and notorious by public report and fame, &c.

Whereunto she answered, that she believed therein so much as the holy scripture taught her, and according to that she had heard preached unto her by divers learned men. Whereof some suffered imprisonment, and others suffered death for the same doctrine: among whom she named, besides others, Dr. Taylor, who, she said, took it of his conscience, that the doctrine which he taught was true, and asked them if they would do so in like case for their doctrine: which if they would not, she desired them for God's sake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, saying, that by God's assistance, she was ready to yield up her life in that faith, in such sort as they should appoint.

And yet notwithstanding being pressed by the said bishop and Dr. Draicot, with many arguments of Christ's omnipotence, as, Why was not Christ able as well to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, or raise Lazarus from the dead? and such other like arguments; and many times being threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death. The poor woman thus being as it were half astonished through their terrors and threats, and probably desirous to pro-

long her life, offered to the bishop then present, that if he would before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of judgment answer for her therein (as the said Dr. Taylor in divers of his sermons did offer), she would then further answer them.

Whereunto the bishop answered he would. But Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, hearing that, said, My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no case answer for a heretic. And he immediately asked the poor woman whether she would recant or no; she said she should answer for herself. Unto whose sayings the bishop also conformed himself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered again, that if they refused to take of their conscience that it was true they would have her to believe, she would answer no farther, but desired them to do their pleasure; and so after certain circumstances, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of the said town of Derby aforesaid; who after they had kept her about a month or five weeks, there came unto them a writ *De Heretico Comburendo*; by virtue whereof they were appointed by the said bishop to bring her to the parish church of All-Saints at a day appointed, where Dr. Draicot was to make a sermon.

When the time was come that this innocent martyr should suffer, first came to the church Dr. Draicot, accompanied with divers gentleman, as Mr. Thomas Powthread, Mr. Henry Vernon, Mr. Dethick, of Newal, and divers others. This done, and all things now in readiness, at last the poor blind creature and servant of God was brought and set before the pulpit, where the said doctor being entered into his sermon, and there inveighing against many matters, which he called heresies, declared unto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church; and said, that she was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, As her body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her soul should be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it shall be separated from the body, and there remain world without end; and said it was not lawful for the people to pray for her: and so with many terrible threats he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentleman to see her executed. Then this blessed servant of God was carried away from the church to a place called the Windmill Pit, near to the said town; and holding Roger Waste, her brother, by the hand, she prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as she before had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In this mean season the said Dr. Draicot went to his inn, for great sorrow of her death, and there laid him down and slept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Joan Waste.

Now, forasmuch as I am not ignorant (faithful reader) that this and other stories set forth of the martyrs, will not want carpers and markers enough, ready to seek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of God's good saints, and to condemn these histories as lies and untruths, especially histories wherein they see their shameful acts and unchristian cruelty detected and brought to light; therefore for the better confirmation of this history above written, and to stop the mouths of such persons, this shall be to admonish all and singular readers hereof, that the discourse of this poor blind woman's life and death, in such sort as is above prefixed, hath been confessed to be very true, by divers persons of worthy credit, and yet living; and also hath been carefully perused and examined by W. Bambridge, then bailiff of Derby; who as well of his own knowledge, as by special inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified the same to us to be undoubted; beside the testimony of John Cadman, curate of the said town, and of others also, upon whose honesty well known, and their report herein

nothing



nothing differing from such as were best acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this story to posterity, for all good men to consider and judge upon.

*An Account of EDWARD SHARP, JOHN HART, THOMAS RAVENSDALE, a Shoemaker, a Currier, a Carpenter, JOHN HORN, and a Woman.*

ON the 8th day of September (which was the next month following) a certain godly, aged, devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of forty years, or thereabouts, was condemned at Bristol to the like martyrdom, where he constantly and manfully persisting in the just quarrel of Christ's gospel, for misliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church; was tried as pure gold, and made a lively sacrifice in the fire: in whose death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy; to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

On the 24th of the same month, 1556, John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, a shoemaker, and a currier, suffered at Mayfield in Suffex: who being at the place where they should suffer, after they had made their prayers, and were at the stake ready to undergo the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

The day following, which was the 25th of the said month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, (whose name we have not) was put to death for the like testimony of Jesus Christ, at Bristol, where he yielded himself to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with such joyful constancy and triumph, as all the church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

On the 27th of the same month of September, John Horn and a woman suffered death by fire at Wootton-under-edge in Gloucestershire, and died very gloriously in a constant faith to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conscience was death.

*The unmerciful Handling of WILLIAM DANGERFIELD and JOAN his Wife, being in Child-bed, taken out of her House, with her sucking Infant of fourteen Days old, and laid in the common Gaol among Thieves and Murderers.*

WHEN I had written and finished the story of the three Guernsey women, with the young infant there burned with them, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waste at Derby, I well hoped I should have found no more such stories of unmerciful cruelty shewed upon innocent women with their children and young infants: but now coming to the persecution in Gloucestershire about the parts of Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness shewed against a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity and humanity, as any other story that hath hitherto been rehearsed, as by the sequel hereof may appear.

In the parish of Wotton-under-edge, not far from Bristol, dwelt William Dangerfield, an honest poor man, who by his wife Joan had nine children, and she now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain space for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and to see his children, she being delivered four days before.

The return of this man was no sooner known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they incensed with the spirit of popery, immediately beset

the house, and apprehended him, and carried him to prison, and so at length he was brought to the bishop, Dr. Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained so long, till his legs almost were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife likewise was taken, with her young-born child, being but fourteen days old, out of her child-bed, and carried into the common gaol, and there confined among thieves and murderers; where she and her innocent babe found so little charity, that she could never come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that should put about the child in her bosom.

In the mean season, while the husband and wife lay thus inclosed in different prisons, the bishop began to practise not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glossing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he should more stand in his own conceit, than she, being as well learned as he; and so subtilly drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple soul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would consent, although he had not yet recanted, they suffered him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common gaol.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he saw his wife not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, telling him that she had certainly recanted: And thus deceiving me, (said he) brought this unto me, and so plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promise. At the sight whereof the wife hearing what her husband had done, her heart clave asunder, saying, "Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed, to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?" And so parted the said William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he greatly to bewail his promise made to the bishop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, or darkness light; and so he departed toward his house: where by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death; and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had been in prison twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued still in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before that bishop to be examined. Whereunto what her answers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit most like it is, whatsoever they were, they pleased not the bishop, as appeared by his anger increased against the poor woman, and her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remained with her in the gaol, partaker of her martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child, being starved for cold and famine, was sent away when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died: and not long after the mother followed. Besides, the old woman, which was mother of the husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who being left in the house after their apprehension, for lack of comfort there perished also.

And thus have ye in one story the death of four together; first of the old woman, then of the husband, after that of the innocent child, and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure, but that I partly understand they all were undone by the same.

This story is reported and testified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges dwelling in the same town, and partaker then of the like afflictions, who hardly escaped with her life.

In the month of October following, was burnt at the town of Northampton a shoemaker, a true witness and disciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving fast to the sound doctrine and preaching of God's word, renounced the untrue and

false



false coloured religion of the Romish see, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

After him, not long after, in the same month of October, died also in the castle of Chichester, three godly confessors, being there in bonds for the like cause of Christ's gospel, who also should have suffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be suspected) the cruel handling of the papists, made them away before, and afterwards buried them in the fields.

I read moreover, that in this present year, to wit, 1556, one named Hooke, a true witness of the Lord's truth, was burnt at Chester.

*An Account of five Persons famished in Canterbury Castle, by the unmerciful Tyranny of the Papists, about the Beginning of November.*

AS among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor members and saints of Christ; so of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, (as may evidently appear) was the sorest, and least of compassion, (only Dunning of Norwich excepted) by whose unmerciful and surly disposition very many were put to death in that diocese of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of queen Mary, but some also in the beginning of the reign of our most renowned and most gracious queen Elizabeth, as by the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear.

Of those that suffered in the diocese of Canterbury in the time of queen Mary, some are recited already, with the order and form of such articles as then were most commonly administered to the examinares by Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and the said Nicholas Harpsfield, and others, as before mentioned.

Now to proceed in order and course of time where we left, next followeth the month of November.

In the beginning whereof, fifteen godly and innocent martyrs were together in the castle of Canterbury, of which number not one escaped with life, but either were burnt, or else famished in prison: of which two sorts, which is the easier death, God knoweth, is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten suffered in the fire, of whom in the next book, more, God willing, shall be said: the other five pined, and were most cruelly famished in the close prison, of whom we shall treat. Their names were as follow; John Clarke, Dunston Chittenden, William Foster, of Stone, Alice Potkins, John Archer, of Crambroke, weaver.

Of these five prisoners, the two first were uncondemned, the other three were condemned, and should have been burned, but suffered no less torments than if they had abode the fire, for they pined to death by famine. What their articles and answers were I need not here recite, seeing all they in the time of queen Mary commonly suffered for one manner of cause, that is, for holding against the seven sacraments, against the reality of Christ's being in his supper, for speaking against the church of Rome, and determinations of the same, against images set up and worshipped in the church, for not coming to church, &c.

First, William Foster answering to these and like articles, said, That he believed well in all the articles of the creed; but to believe that there be more sacraments than two, and to pray to saints either to profit us, or to pray for souls in purgatory to profit by them, that faith and works do justify, or to allow the popish ceremonies in the church, that he denied. Moreover he said, to carry candles upon Candlemas-day, were as good for him as to carry a dung-fork; and that it is as necessary to carry the gallows about, if his father was hanged, as the cross. Come to the church he could not, he said, with a safe conscience. Concerning fish-days and flesh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where necessity required the contrary.

This William Foster was a labouring man, of the age

of forty years. He was apprehended and imprisoned by sir Thomas Moyle, knight.

Alice Potkins, for the like confession, was condemned to be burnt, for that she was not, neither would be confessed to the priest, for that she received not the sacrament of the altar, because she would not pray to saints, nor creep to the cross, &c. Being demanded of her age, she said that she was forty-nine years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, since she learned Christ, she was of one year's age, and was committed to prison by Mr. Roberts.

The answer and confession of John Archer of Crambroke was much in like sort. And although some of these upon ignorant simplicity swerved a little in the number of sacraments, some granting one sacrament, that is, the body of Christ hanging upon the cross, some more, some less, &c. yet in the principal matter concerning the doctrine of salvation for faith to stay upon, and in disagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the popish church, they most agreed. Concerning the not praying to saints, and for the dead in purgatory, for not creeping to the cross, for faith only to justify, for taking of an oath, and other such like, he granted as the other had done. This father Archer, by his occupation a weaver, of the town of Crambroke, of the age of fifty years, was imprisoned by sir John Gilford, knight.

And thus have ye the cause and imprisonment of these five prisoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye shall not surmise the suspicion or relation thereof to proceed of myself, you shall hear their own testimony by their own letter, thrown out of the prison, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the popish tyrants in famishing them, as is afore said. The copy of their letter is this.

*The Copy of a Letter written and cast out of the Castle of Canterbury by the Prisoners there in Bonds for God's Word, declaring how the Papists went about to famish them to death; of which Company five were already most cruelly famished among them.*

BE it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will so charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch that there are four of us prisoners there for God's truth, famished already, and thus is it his mind to famish us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us, and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause to be also famished: notwithstanding we write not these our letters, with a view to signify our unwillingness to be famished for the Lord Jesus's sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law so to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father. Out of the castle of Canterbury.

*The Persecution of divers good People in the Diocese of Litchfield.*

THESE aforesaid months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to many other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury by reason of the archdeacon above named; so likewise they brought no little business in the country to Litchfield and Coventry, by a cruel bishop there, named Ralph Baine, and a more cruel chancellor called Dr. Draicot,



Draicot, through the fierce inquisition of whom great stir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many caused to bear faggots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there is in the countries of England abroad, who in their hearts have a misliking of the pope's Romish laws and religion, if for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearſal of their names, which in the aforeſaid dioceſe of Coventry and Litchfield were taken on ſuſpicion, and examined for their religion.

And firſt amongſt them that were detected and enjoined to the popiſh penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in proceſſion, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witneſs convicted, and bare a faggot the twelfth of September. Likewise Margery Kirry, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stiffe, William Kaime, Robert Katrenes, Thomas Smith, John Borsley, the younger. Item, John Waterhouſe, againſt whom came as witneſſes and accuſers Richard Caaerbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying againſt him for ſeldom coming to church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the ſacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kiſſing the pyx, &c. Robert Biſſel, Leonard Weſt, Richard Bailey, of the pariſh of Whitacre.

Theſe were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Jurdain, prieſt; Edmund Crokel, prieſt; Thomas Whitehead, prieſt; William Taylor, prieſt; Anſelme Sele, prieſt; Richard Slavy, prieſt, married; Edward Hawkes, prieſt, married; Robert Aſton, prieſt, deprived; Henry Tecka, prieſt, deprived; Robert Moſſey, prieſt, married, and deprived.

There were divers others beſides theſe, who in like manner were detected, accuſed, and examined, although they bare no faggot, but were diſmiſſed; as Richard Kempe, John Franklin, William Marler, Julius Dudley, Euſtache Byſacre, William Shene, Anthony Afterwhittle, Thomas Steilbe, Henry Birdlim, William Moſeley, John Leach, John Richardson, Anthony Jones, alias Pulton, Thomas Wilſon, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres, his ſon, Iſabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preſton, Thomas Salter, John Stamford, ſhoemaker, Richard Woodbourne, Thomas Arnal, ſhoemaker, John Robinſon, Hugh Moore, ſhoemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Foxal, Thomas Underdonne, Richard Weaver.

Theſe forenamed perſons, with many more following, in the next year after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cauſe I do here recite them, that by them it might appear what a number there were not only in the country of Litchfield, but alſo in other parts, if that fear rather than conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

Thus have you the whole perſecution of this year declared, with the names of all them which ſuffered martyrdom within the compaſs of the year 1556: the number of all which, ſlain and martyred in divers places of England at ſundry times this year, came to above 84 perſons, whereof many were women, wives, widows, and maidens; beſides thoſe who by ſecret practices were otherwiſe made away, or driven from their goods

out of their houſes, or out of the realm, or elſe within the realm were put to penance and obliged by forcible violence to recant; ſave only that I have omitted the ſtory of ſir John Cheeke, knight, and ſometime ſchool-maſter to king Edward. The worthineſs of which man deſerveth much to be ſaid of him; but his fall ſhould rather be covered in ſilence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the preſent ſtory moſt principally appertaining, it ſhall ſuffice.

Sir John Cheeke being in the country of Germany, out of all danger of perſecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in ſafety, but alſo with reputation accordingly eſteemed among the Germans, and alſo well placed in the city of Straſburg. Where if he had contented himſelf to have remained, rather giving place to time, than to preſume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better for him. But what fatal inſtigatiſon wrought in his mind, I know not. In the end it ſo fell, that he would needs take a journey with ſir Peter Carew, from high Germany to Bruſſels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew the affair) not without the forecaſting of his adventured journey by the conſtellation of the ſtars, and diſpoſition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert, and travelled in the knowledge of ſundry arts and ſciences, ſo was he a little too much addicted to the curious practiſing of this ſtar divinity, which we call aſtrology. But howſoever it was, or whatſoever it was that the ſtars did promiſe him, the truth was, that men here on earth kept little promiſe with him. For having, as it is ſaid, king Philip's ſafe conduct to paſs and repaſs, and by the means, as I find, of the lord Paget, and ſir John Maſ. pledging for his ſafe-guard king Philip's fidelity, he came to Bruſſels to ſee the queen's ambaffadors: and having brought the lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return between Bruſſels and Antwerp, he was taken with ſir Peter Carew by the provost Maſhal, ſpoiled of their horſes, and clapped into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and ſo ſhipped, blind-fold under the hatches, and brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being intrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of theſe two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life, other remedy with thoſe holy catholics there was none. Neither could his conſcience excuſe him, nor truth defend him, nor his learning help him.

However Mr. Fecknam, whether ſuborned by the queen, or upon his own devotion and friendſhip toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of ſir John Cheeke, ſpeaking in his behalf: yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he muſt needs recant, and ſo he did.

Then after this recantation, he was through the crafty handling of the popiſts, allured firſt to dine and accompany with them, at length unawares to ſit in the place, where the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other biſhops to be condemned; the remorse whereof ſo mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whoſe fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his riſing again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praized.

E N D OF THE S E C O N D B O O K.

T H E



# THE NEW AND COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS,

OR, AN

Universal History of Martyrdom:

BEING

## FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS,

Revised and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

### BOOK III.

CONTAINING

An Historical Account of the Lives, Acts, Monuments, Persecutions, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths, of the

## PROTESTANT MARTYRS;

Together with many other interesting Particulars, relative to the Protestant Cause, during the cruel Reign of MARY I. commonly called BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

### CHAP. I.

*The ORDER and MANNER of CARDINAL POOLE'S Visitation in CAMBRIDGE, with the condemning, taking up, and burning the BONES and BOOKS of MARTIN BUCER and PAULUS PHAGIUS, January 9, 1557.*



AFTER Cardinal Poole's return to England, about three years, he thought of reforming the university of Cambridge; for which purpose commissioners were appointed as follow, Cuthbert Scot, lately consecrated bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, a favourite of pope Julius III. and the pope's datary, Thomas Watson, the bishop of Lincoln elect, Christopherson, bishop of Chichester elect, and Henry Cole, provost of Eton. January 11, 1557, was the day appointed in citation to Dr. Andrew Pern, the vice-chancellor, between eight and ten o'clock, to assemble in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, requiring him to be there himself in person, and all those who had the custody of any statutes, books, privileges, or monuments of the university, or any of the colleges, to be then and there exhibited; that due measures might be taken, for the benefit of the same.

The citation was first examined and read on the 11th of December, in the convocation house of regents; and on the 24th it was determined, that the university and colleges should defray the visitors' charges, and that no master, fellow, scholar, or minister, should have leave of absence, but to return before the visitation. On the 8th of January, all the arrangements were formed, the high-constables sworn, two persons of every parish of ten or twelve hundreds also sworn to enquire of heresy, conspiracy, sedition, and the like. At this time the university was supposed to be tainted with the doctrines of Martin Bucer, and other favourers of the reformed religion. The inquisitors arrived

on the ninth of January, and, being met near the town by several of the masters and presidents of colleges, were introduced into the town, and then to their lodgings; but they all preferred Trinity college, of which the bishop of Chichester elect was master.

An oration was made by a fellow of the same college, expressive of their gratitude for the partiality which was shewn them; and the bishop elect of Lincoln, or as others of Chester, made an appropriate reply. But the two churches of St. Mary's, where Mr. Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Fagius lay buried, were laid under an interdict. The oration on the 11th was made in Latin in the name of all the rest; in which he compliments Cardinal Poole, as the author of this visitation, and for his gracious condescension in becoming their chancellor, though at that time acting by means of the visitors; afterwards proceeding to state their errors, and their restoration to the catholic church; and concluding with the promise of a perpetual love of the true religion, and an eternal remembrance of the favours to be received from them.

When he had made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chester answered thereunto:

That they took in right good part, that the mother the university had made so open a declaration of her good will toward them: for which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that she had so largely promised of herself in words and communication.

As concerning their good wills, there was no cause to mistrust. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing



thing roughly with such as fell to the amendment: but both the cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to shew favour, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, desiring nothing more earnestly, than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wished the self-same thing also, desiring nothing so much as he with his own hands to sustain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, the university of his ward: for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the time past had spread abroad such grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with the contagious air thereof. For he would more gladly have come hither to visit and salute it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now seeing he could not so do, he had appointed this commission, in which he had assigned them to be his deputies, which (because they knew him to set so much store by the university) should extend the more favour to it, and (because they themselves had been there brought up) would the more earnestly embrace it. The chief matter that they came for, tended to this end, that such as had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in great forwardness of healing, that acknowledged themselves to have offended. And therefore it was wisely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuse the faults of the university, nor of other men, but confess and acknowledge the crime, as there were many things that had need to be corrected and amended.

The cause why they were sent thither, was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein if (contrary to their expectation) they should not be able to do so much with some men as they would, yet notwithstanding, according to their duty, they would shew themselves so diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulness, and took stoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved as reason was, so they coveted to remedy the mischief. Against whom, if any thing should seem hereafter to be straightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deserts, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought such as are whole and sound, to be moved at the chastisement of others, forasmuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now stuck on the university, but also to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts, they more inclined unto mercy than rigour. Howbeit, considering that so great diseases could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of necessity to use stronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted, (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesome counsel) and would yet at length wax weary of their errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient customs of themselves, and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleness at their hands, in all this their business of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requesting no more of the university but to do as became them: which being performed, he promised that their benevolence, neither in any public nor in any private person's case, should in any wise be behind hand.

These things being finished, they were brought in procession to the King's-college, by all the graduates of the university. In this place it was marked, that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly surnamed Datary, (who, although he was inferior in estate unto Chester, being a bishop, yet was superior to them all in authority) while the mass was celebrating, sometimes standing, anon sitting, and afterwards kneeling on his knees, observed certain ceremonies, which afterward were required to be observed of all others.

From thence they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In which place, forasmuch as it was suspended, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon made in open audience by Mr. Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching against heresies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they immediately proceeded to the visitation: where first Dr. Harvy, did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the commission to the bishop of Chester, with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Master Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his seal of office with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all masters of houses. Among whom was also Robert Brassey, master of King's-college, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoary hairs: who hearing his name recited after the vice-chancellor's, said, He was there present as all the others were: nevertheless, forasmuch as the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty if he should suffer any strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested, in discharge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction upon the college, either by express words, or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present.

This his exception they all took in great displeasure; alledging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor person was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men.

After the formal solemnity of these things thus accomplished, the commission being read, and the citation exhibited, all the masters of houses being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own house, with command to be at the common schools at one o'clock the same day. When the degrees of the university, called regents and non-regents, were assembled, they spent the rest of the day in reading over the charters granted to the university by kings and princes, in searching out bulls and pardons from the pope, and in perusing other monuments pertaining to the university.

The next day, the 12th of January, they resorted to King's-college to make inquisition, either because the same for the worthiness thereof was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that that house especially had been accounted, time out of mind, never to be without an heretic or two (as they termed them). The order and manner how they would be entertained by every college, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed, which was in this sort.

They commanded the master of every house, with the residue, as well fellows as scholars, apparelled in priest-like garments (which they call habits), to meet them at the uttermost gate of their house towards the town. The master himself to be dressed in like apparel as the priest when he dresseth himself to mass, saving that he should put on his habit uppermost, as the rest did.

The order of their going they appointed to be in this wise: The master of the house to go foremost; next unto him every man in his order of degree, seniority, or of years. Before the master should be carried a cross, and holy water to sprinkle the commissioners withal, and then after that the said commissioners to be censured. And so after this meeting, and mumbling a few devotions, with this pomp and solemnity they were to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the state of man. Others (forasmuch as at that time they not only pretended the jurisdiction of the cardinal, but also represented the power and authority of the bishop of Rome himself, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) said, It was far less than of duty appertained to his holiness, in that the honour



that was done to his legates, was not done to them, but to his holiness.

Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the King's-college gate, where they looked for the masters and fellows of the house, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded to the church door, where they staid. There perceiving how the master and the rest of the house were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in suddenly upon them, before they had set a foot out of their places.

Then the master first excused himself, that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in readiness. Secondly, he said he was very glad of their coming, promising first in own name, and after in the name of all the rest, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But, like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the same exception he made to them now also; for doing which he besought them not to be offended. Seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had good cause to be held excused.

He had scarcely finished his tale, but the bishop of Chester, with a frowning look, and an angry countenance, interrupted him in his talk; and said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and sought such starting holes. So were diseased persons oftentimes wont to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As though that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority. As for the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alledged against him. Therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself, and his, to such things as then were in doing.

After this they went to mass: which finished, with great solemnity, first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their God, and searching whether all were well about him or no, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatsoever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a book, to answer to all such interrogatories as should be expounded unto them (as far as they knew), they examined first the master himself, and afterward all the residue, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against themselves: for it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust it is, that a man should be constrained by force to accuse himself. Nevertheless, these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

Three full days lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Martin Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed: for they looked to have had much wrangling and business about the matter. Now forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. Af-

ter much debating, they agreed all together in this determination:

That forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but also had himself been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise; a supplication should be made to the lords commissioners, in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcase might forthwith be digged up (for so it was needful to be done) to the intent that inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine, which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him: for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in christian burial. Besides, that it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offence of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. So it was not to be suffered, that they, who utterly dissented from all other men in the trade of their living, laws, and customs, should have any part with them in the honour of burial; and therefore the glory of God, first and before all things, ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riseth on them) with all speed put away, no room at all left unto those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very elements; but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying the consciences of the weak. In executing whereof, so notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same verdict by common consent against Phagius also.

Unto this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man fittest for the purpose, both for the office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of Mr. Christopherson, he was judged to be the most catholic of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university, and signed with their common seal, the next day, which was the 13th day of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commissioners.

Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a colourable pretence, to desire this thing of them by way of petition. As much as to say, if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it of themselves.

But this gloss was soon found out. The commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this means to remove the envy of this act from themselves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came unto the commissioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about seven of the clock in the morning. He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his suit, but also even at the very same time received the sentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet the datary. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university. Whereupon a solemn convocation, called *Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium*, for the same purpose was appointed to be at nine of the clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this:

Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many others by him written, preached and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in christian burial, may be exhumate and taken up again, &c.

Immediately after this grace was granted, the sentence of condemnation being drawn by the datary, was openly read, and another grace asked, that the same might be



signed with the common seal. Which request was very easily obtained; and it was no marvel.

For after the death of king Edward, when the realm was governed by queen Mary, all such persons were driven away as had rejected the Romish religion (in whom alone well nigh rested whatsoever wit and learning was in the whole university besides), and such a sort of men were put in their room, that all places now swarmed with unlearned chaplains; to whom nothing was greater pleasure than to cause all men to speak reproachfully of Bucer. Divers were yet left among them to speak against their demands: but they (because it commonly cometh to pass, that might overcomes right) could nothing avail. It is a common custom in all such matters and ordinances, that what the greater number decreeth is published in the name of all: and that which the better part disalloweth seemeth as if no man at all allowed it.

The next day, being the 14th of January, all the visitors (Mr. Christopherson only excepted) came to the King's-college: and first going into the church, there making their prayers at the greesings, they so proceeded into the stalls, sitting all the mass time, the company standing in their copes, and singing a solemn respond in honour of the visitors. After the respond done, the provost made to them his protestation, unto whom the bishop of Chester made answer in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to mass, which ended, the catholic visitors approached up to the altar, and took down the sacrament, and searched the pyx, but first the two bishops censured the sacrament.

Then they went unto the vestry, and opened the chalices, corporas cases, and chrysmatory, and viewed all those things: so returning into the provost's chamber, divided themselves in examination of the provost, vice-provost, and the rest of the company. The same day Dr. Bacon, master of Gonvil-hall, invited the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvy, Swineborn, Maptide, with others, home to dinner. These men immediately after dinner, caused the common seal of the university to be put to the aforesaid instrument of condemnation, as was determined the day before by the general consent of the graduates of the university: and afterwards they carried the same to the commissioners to their lodging: which when they had received and carefully perused, it pleased them not in all points, and therefore they razed out some things, some they interlined, others they changed; so that in fine, they were fain to take the pains to ingross it again.

To the signing whereof a congregation was immediately called of all the graduates of the university against the next day, which being read over, a new grace again was asked and granted for setting the seal. Then the graduates were dismissed, and commanded to resort forthwith to St. Mary church, whither the commissioners also repaired. When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvy presented to them, before the company, a new commission to make inquest upon heresy then newly sent from the cardinal, which was immediately read by Ormanet's clerk. This done, Dr. Perne, who was factor for the university, exhibited to the commissioners in the name of the university, the sentence of the aforesaid condemnation. This condemnation being openly read, Dr. Perne desired to send out process to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cause, and to stand to the order of the court against the next Monday: to the intent that when they had exhibited themselves, the court might better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commissioners condescended to his request, and the next day process went out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common notary, having read it over before certain witnesses appointed for that purpose, caused to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and the cross in the market-place of the same town. In this was spe-

cified, that whosoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defence of their doctrine, should, at the eighth day of the same month, stand forth before the lords commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man should be sufficiently heard what he could say. This commandment was set out with many words.

Shortly after the matter drew toward judgment. Therefore, the day before the limited day, which was the 17th of January, the vice-chancellor called to him to Peter-house (whereof he was master) Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgwick, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. These men cast their heads together how they might bear witness against Bucer and Phagius, to convince them of heresy: for seeing the matter was brought in open court, and because it might so come to pass, that some patrons of their cause would come out, they thought it needful to have witnesses to depose of their doctrine. What came of their consultation is unknown.

On the 18th day, the vice-chancellor going to the inquisitors, sitting at the King's-college, put them in remembrance, that that was the day on which, by their process, sent forth the 16th, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, such as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He desired therefore that they would vouchsafe to sit there, if perchance any man would try to adventure of the law. They soon condescended thereunto. When the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the process of the citation which he had received of them to publish a little before, saying that he had diligently executed whatsoever the contents of the same required. After that they had taken their places, and no man putting forth himself to answer for the offenders, the judges called aside Dr. Young, Sedgwick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above-mentioned. Also Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnson, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to sir John Cheek, knight. These men, taking first their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witness against the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-second day of the same month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watson abode at home in their lodging to take the depositions of them, whom we shewed you before to have been called to Peter-house, and to have communicated with the vice-chancellor as concerning that matter, whose depositions (as I told you) never came to light. The bishop of Chester, and Dr. Cole this day visited them of Catherine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearsal.

As Ormanet, the pope's datary, was sitting at Trinity-college, John Dale, of Queen's-college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pyx, wherein the bishop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be enclosed. For Ormanet told them that he had a precious jewel; the same was a linen clout that the pope had consecrated with his own hands, which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift. But Dale misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pyx brought the chalice and a singing cake, called the host, which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he had sent for: to whom he answered, he had brought it. Then give it me (quoth he.) Dale pulled out the chalice and the singing cake. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped back a little, as it had been in a wonder, calling him blockhead, and little better than a mad-man, demanding what he meant by these things, saying, he desired him to bring him none of that stuff, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit: yet, notwithstanding, as he had promised before to give it them, he would perform his promise. Whereupon, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both



for the holiness of the thing, and also for the author of it, to keep it among them with much due reverence as belonged to so holy a relic.

About the same time the commissioners had commanded the masters of the colleges, that every man should put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names. And to the intent that every man should execute it without deceit, they took an oath of them. This command some executed exactly and diligently; others, so far as they deemed it wrongfully, executed it slack enough.

We mentioned before, that the eighteenth day was limited for the day of judgment. When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himself to defend them, yet the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment; which nevertheless for their contumacy in absenting themselves, they might have done, considering how that day was peremptory. But these men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather shew some favour, than to do the uttermost they might by the law. Whereupon, Vincent published the second process, and set it up in the same places, as before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put off the judgment-day upon the 26th of the same month. Upon which day the vice-chancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And because there should want no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him farther to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgeses, which the vice-chancellor did speed with all readiness.

This day (as I said) was the 26th of January, which being come, first all degrees of the mother university were assembled. And to fill up this pageant, there came also to the mayor and his townsmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the residue, prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, fashioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the process that was lately published to cite them, saying these words: I bring forth again to you, right reverend father and commissioners of the most reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same: omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter.

When he had thus finished his tale, the bishop of Chester, having viewed the people a little, began as follows.

*The Oration of Dr. Scot, Bishop of Chester, before the Condemnation of BUCER and PHAGIUS.*

**Y**OU see how sore the university presseth upon us, how earnest intercession it maketh upon us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretics, as they be indeed, but also that we will command their dead carcases, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatsoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be: for the degrees of the university deal not slightly nor slackly with us in this case, but do so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarce give us any respite of delay. And I assure you, tho' this case of itself be such, as that even the unworthiness of those persons, though there were no further cause, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with these so wholesome petitions; it is meet and convenient we should grant it. For howsoever we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts, (than which we protest there is nothing under the sun to us more dear and

acceptable) yet notwithstanding the very law riseth up to revenge, so that the common salvation of you all, which the law provided for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any such negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being scarce escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, should now suffer this inexpressible mischief to disquiet any longer the consciences of the weak.

Moreover, it is but reason that we should do somewhat at so earnest an intreaty and suit of the university. I need not to speak much of ourselves: for if we had been desirous to enterprize this matter, it had been lawful, after the first citation, to have proceeded to judgment; but because we were willing that their defenders should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

If we had desired revenge, we might have shewed cruelty upon them that are alive: of which (alas, the more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not to be sought in withered carcases and dry bones. Therefore you may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the intreaty of the university, partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself; but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we cover by all means to preserve.

For you yourselves are the cause of this business: you gave occasion for this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that shall come after, as in that which you may learn not only to shake off the filth which you have taken of these persons; but also to beware hereafter that you fall no more so shamefully as you have done. But I trust, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

As concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangeth in law, they bear about the name of the gospel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing else but thievery and deceit. And so much the more wicked were they, as they sought to cover such shameful acts with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will punish this despite, of itself wicked, to you pernicious, but to the authors thereof shameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, should permit such execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we should not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of heresy; the form and tenor of which sentence, now rendered into English, is as follows:

*The Sentence of Condemnation against MARTIN BUCER and PHAGIUS.*

**W**E Cuthbert, by the grace of God and the apostolic see, bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet, archbishop of Verone, within the diocese aforesaid, auditor of the reverend lord Cardinal and legate: Thomas Watson, dean of Durham; and Henry Cole, provost of Eton-college, visitors to the university and town of Cambridge, within the diocese of Ely, also to all persons dwelling in the said town and places adjacent, for certain motions, causes and reasons thereunto moving, we are to inquire, and as we think fit, proceed against those who have run into vile heresies, and condemn their memory; we are impowered by letters from the most illustrious and reverend father in Christ, Reginald Poole, cardinal and priest of the most holy Roman church, legate de Latere from our most holy lord the pope, and the apostolic see, to the most serene Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, and to the whole kingdom, to depute commissioners or delegates, sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and having the fear of God before their eyes, to constitute a court, and by this our definitive



tive sentence, which we give according to the opinion of the most learned divines and lawyers, herein contained, to condemn these sons of iniquity, Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, by nation Germans, but both of old living and dying in this town, whom we here declare, pronounce, judge and condemn as notorious heretics whilst they lived; for Martin Bucer, contrary to the rules and precepts of the holy fathers, as also to the traditions of the apostolic Roman church and holy councils, and of the christian religion, those rights and processions (which are every year on the day of the supper of our Lord celebrated and read by the Roman priests, in which, among others, the Wickliffians and Lutherans, and all other heretics, are condemned and anathematized) of the sacraments having continued in the church hitherto, he especially taught and preached about the number of them, contrary to what our holy mother the church had preached and observed: and he denied and openly condemned the authority of the holy apostolic see, and the supremacy of our great high-priest, and he especially held this article:

“That the church may err in faith and worship.”

This he particularly defended in the public assemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true, and many others, as well by John Wickliffe, Martin Luther, and other chief heretics invented, and condemned by the church, especially that,

“That all things were governed by fate and an absolute necessity.”

As by himself first broached, believing and following false and heretical principles, and moreover also writing books, and causing them to be printed, and publishing them being printed, and in reading these writings publicly, and defending them in public disputations, as also by an obstinate living and dying in this manner, not only as a notorious heretic, but as a founder of heresy.

Also Paulus Phagius, who, among other things which favour of heresy, scattered up and down in his writings, printed and commonly read, not only approves, but gives the highest encomiums to the impious memory of John Oecolampadius, the aforesaid Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, John Brent, and their doctrines; which manifestly shews, he not only favoured heretics, but assented, believed, and approved their false principles, and endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the same: thus he lived a common, notorious heretic, and died impenitent. Therefore we pronounce the said Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law as by letters of process; and that their memory be condemned, we also condemn their bodies and bones (which in that most wicked time of schism, and other heresies flourishing in this kingdom, were rashly buried in holy ground) to be dug up, and cast from the bodies and bones of the faithful, according to the holy canons; and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publicly burnt; and we interdict all persons whatsoever of this university, town or places adjacent, who shall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law as by our letters of process.

After the sentence thus read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power: for it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death.

#### *The Effect of Dr. PERNE's Sermon against MARTIN BUCER.*

**B**ESIDES this oration and sentence of Dr. Scot, came in also Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, with his sermon tending to the same effect, to the depraving of Mr. Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the 133d Psalm, “Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is,” &c.

Where beginning first with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alledged, that it was not possible to hold together, unless the concord were derived out of the head, which he made to be the bishop of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

After he had made a long protestation hereof, he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made a shameful railing, saying, that his doctrine gave occasion of division in the common-wealth, and that there was not so grievous a mischief as that which by his means had been brought into the realm.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was; yet notwithstanding (he said) he knew it more perfectly himself than any did, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himself.

For at such time as they had communication secretly among themselves, Bucer (said he) would oftentimes wish he might be called by some other name, than by the name he had; for this purpose, as though knowing himself guilty of so grievous a crime, he might by this means escape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

Moreover, among other things, he told how Bucer held opinion (which thing he should confess to himself) that God was the author and well-spring, not only of good, but also of evil; and that whatsoever was of that sort flowed from him, as from the head-spring and maker thereof. Which doctrine he held to be sincere; howbeit, for offending divers men's consciences, he durst not put it into men's heads.

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, of the marriage of priests, of divorcements and shameful usury also, as though he had deemed the same lawful to be used among christian people; with divers others of the like sort.

In all which his allegations, considering how Jewdly, without all shame, he lied upon Bucer, (as his writings evidently declare) he did not so much hurt his name with railing upon him, as win unto himself an inextinguishable infamy, by forging such shameful lies upon so worthy a man.

But what need of witness to prove him a liar? his own conscience shall make as much against him as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth, and testified by his own familiar friends, that the said Dr. Perne himself, either immediately after his sermon, or else somewhat before he went to it, striking himself on the breast, and in manner weeping, wished at home in his own house, with all his heart, that God would grant his soul might even then presently depart and remain with Bucer's. He knew well enough that his life was such, that if any man's soul was worthy of heaven, he thought his especially to be most worthy.

While he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verses, in which the young men, to shew their folly, who scarce knew him by sight, blazed Bucer's name with most reproachful poetry.

These things being dispatched, Dr. Perne (as though he had sped his matter marvellously well) was for his labour, of courtesy bidden to dinner to Trinity-college by the commissioners. Where, after the table was taken up, they caused the sentence of condemnation to be copied out with all speed: which being signed with the bishop of Chester's seal, the next day following was for a triumph sent to London, with divers of those verses and slanderous libels.

Besides this, they sent also their own letters, wherein they both advertised the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and also desired his grace, that he would cause to be sent out of hand to Smith, mayor of the town, the commandment, commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. Unless he had the queen's warrant to save him harmless, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be



be done in that case, could not be dispatched till that warrant came.

While this pursuivant went on his journey, they ordered to be brought unto them the books that they commanded before to be searched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time Dr. Watson taking occasion upon the day, because it was a high feast, in which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the blessed virgin, made a sermon to the people upon that psalm, "We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple," &c. In which sermon he spake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He said, that these men, and all the heretics of our time that were of the same opinion, (which for the most part, he said, were budded out of Germany) among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught to cast away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the blessed virgin and Joseph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifestly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For he said, that they came to the temple the same time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of procession (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the heretics and schismatics.

As he was speaking of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, one of them that heard him, a pleasant and merry-conceited fellow, turning himself to him that stood next him, And if it be true, said he, that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might ask him a question) bare the cross before them? for that might not be missing in such solemn ceremonies. Not only this man jested at the preacher's folly, but divers others also laughed at his manifest unshamefacedness, in preaching these so vain and foolish superstitions.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Christopheron, elected bishop of Chichester, being stricken with a sudden sickness, fell down in a swoon among the press; and came not to himself for a good while after: in the mean time babbling many things, as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occasion, because he had been greatly accused before the commissioners for mis-spending and misordering the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by reason Ormanet had cancelled before his face a lease of his, by which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, because the covenants seemed unreasonable.

By this time the pursuivant was returned again, who (as we said before) was sent to London with the commissioners' letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men.

Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the sixth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter; for it had been in hand a great while already.

Therefore when the said day was come, the commissioners sent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what case things stood, whether all things were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business. Understanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The vice-chancellor therefore taking with him Marshall the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church where Phagius was buried. Then he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshall took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hasell, the town serjeants, and of John Caper, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who should be their executioner, (for it was

not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in harness, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon men's shoulders (for they were inclosed in chests, Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one), they were carried into the midst of the market-place, with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared before, and a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcases to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the chests were set up on end with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as soon as it began to flame round about, a great many books that were condemned with them were cast into the same.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks (for it was market-day), who seeing men borne to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners toward the rotten carcases, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparations. For what needeth any weapon, said they? As though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm. Or to what purpose serveth that chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose without peril? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Thus every body that stood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, as every man's mind gave him. There were very few that liked their doing therein.

In the mean time that they were a roasting in the fire, Dr. Watson went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there before his audience railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying, that it was the ground of all the mischief that had happened for a long time in the common-wealth. For behold (said he) as well the prosperity as the adversity of these years that ensued, and you shall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily, all things have happened fortunately to them that have eschewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we seen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with sects; the common treasure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole public weal) and the goods of the realm shamefully spent in waste for the maintenance of a few people's lusts, all good order broken, all discipline cast aside, holidays appointed to the solemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and what is more, the places themselves beaten down, flesh and other kind of prohibited sustenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorse of conscience, the priests had in derision, the mass railed upon, no honour done to the sacraments of the church; all estates and degrees given to such a licentious liberty, without check, that all things seemed to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

And yet in the mean time the name of the gospel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more different, or more to the slander of God's word than the same. For what other thing taught they to remain in that most blessed and mystical sacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? And what else do the remnant of them teach unto this day? Whereas Christ by express words doth assure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and absolute necessity of predestination? And yet they set it out in such wise, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who should say, it skilled not what a man purposed of any matter, since he had not the power to determine otherwise than the matter should come to pass. Which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evil, bringing them through



this persuasion into such a careless security of the everlasting eternity, that in the mean season it made no matter either toward salvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. These errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great stoutness.

These and many other such things he slanderously and falsely alledged against Bucer, whose doctrine (in such sort as he himself taught it) either he would not understand, or else he was minded to slander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things than the very same whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, had willingly assented, by subscribing thereto with their own hands. While he talked in this wise before the people, many of them that had written verses before, did now set up others, in which, like a sort of water frogs, they spewed out their venomous malice against Bucer and Phagius. This was the last act of this interlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling of two churches, of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared before to have been interdicted.

This was done the next day following by the afore said bishop of Chester, with as much ceremonial solemnity as the law required. But that breathen god, whom Bucer's carcase had chased from thence, was not yet turned thither again: neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unless he was brought thither with great solemnity: as I suppose, during all the time of his absence, he was entertained by the commissioners at Trinity-college, and there continued as a sojourner. For thither came all the graduates of the university, the 8th of February, out of gentleness and courtesy, to bring him home again. Amongst which number, the bishop of Chester (worthy for his estate to come nearest to him, because he was a bishop) took and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of sarsenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol also. Ormanet had given the same a little before to the university, for that and such like purposes.

When this idol should return home, he went not out the straightest and nearest way as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compass about most part of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was an hour or more before he could find the way into this church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their processions when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods. The order of which procession was this: the masters regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salve festa dies*, &c. Next them followed the bishop of Chester, about him went Ormanet and his fellow-commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper lighted in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beades, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host; if any refused so to do, they threatened to send them forthwith to the Tollbooth. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with great sacrificed hosts of Bucer and Phagius, at length settled himself again in his accustomed room.

Dr. Scot, bishop of Chester, prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himself, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things set in good order) all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness, namely, in matters pertaining to religion.

After this they bestowed a few days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, lest they should infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what print soever should be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and heresy; others they chastised wrongfully without any desert; and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certain statutes, by which they would have the university hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things, as concerning the direction of their officers of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled the matter very circumspectly for religion. In which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all things either with open blasphemy or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed at how many masses every man should be day by day, and how many Pater Nosters and Aves every man should say when he should enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow himself to the altar, and how to the master of the house, what he should do there, and how long he should tarry, how many, and what prayers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what meditations others should use while the priest is in his memento, mumbling secretly to himself, what time of the mass a man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make courtesy, when exclusively; when inclusively, and many other superstitious toys they decreed, that it was a sport then to behold their superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover these masters of good order, for fashion's sake, ordained that every man should put on a surplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wise to wipe their noses thereon.

These things thus set at a stay, when the commissioners were now ready to go their ways, the university for such great benefits (which we should not suffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to shew some token of courtesy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorship; for all the rest, saving Christopherson, who now, by reason he was elected bishop, prevented that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were sent away these peace-makers, that came to pacify strifes and quarrels; who, through provoking every man to accuse one another, left such gaps and breaches in men's hearts at their departure, that for years after they could never be closed nor joined together again.

These commissioners, before they departed out of the university, commanded, that the masters of every house should copy out their statutes, which besides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every house particularly. Swinborn (who as I said was master of Clare-hall) being demanded whether he would have those things ingrossed in parchment or in paper, answered, That it made no matter in what they were written: for the paper, or slighter thing that were of less continuance than paper, would serve the turn well enough: for he said, a slenderer thing than that would last a great deal longer than those decrees would stand in force. Neither was the man deceived in his conjecture: for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called queen Mary out of this life the 17th of November, 1558, after whom her sister Elizabeth succeeding in the kingdom, raised to life again the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Christ began by little and little to flourish, so the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole) was restored again by the godly queen Elizabeth, who gave then in commission to Matthew Parker, then archbishop of Canterbury, to Edmund Grindal, then bishop of London, to Mr. Walter Hadson, and others: for the performance of which commission, the said reverend bishops addressed their letters to the vice-chancellor, &c.

*The Oration of Mr. ACKWORTH, Orator of the University, at the Restitution of MARTIN BUCER and PAULUS PHAGIUS.*

I Am in doubt, whether I may treat of the praise and commendation of so great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this assembly and concourse of your's is made this day), or of the vices and calamities, out of which we be newly delivered, or of them both, considering the one cannot be mentioned without the other.



In which times you felt so much anguish and sorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I should repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear I should not so much work a just hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old sorrow and heaviness. Again, men must needs account me unadvised and foolish in my doing, if I should think myself able to make him who hath lived before our eyes in praise and estimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he by his living and conversation hath oftentimes polished. But the wickedness of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men, the name that was so famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him. Inasmuch, that both in his life-time all things redounded to his continual renown, and especially after his decease, nothing could be devised more honourable, than with so solemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to have hurt the memory of such a worthy man, and yet could not bring to pass the thing that was so sore coveted; but rather brought that thing to pass, which was chiefly sought to be avoided. For the desire that men have of the dead hath purchased to many men everlasting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but amplified and increased the same. By means whereof it cometh to pass, that he that will treat of these things that pertain to the praise of Bucer after his death, cannot chuse but speak of the crabbedness of the times past, upon which riseth a great increase and augmentation of his praise. But his life so excellently set forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheeke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body should be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his burial, by the godly and most holy preachings of the right reverend father in Christ the archbishop of Canterbury, that now is Dr. Redman, which for the worthiness and excellency of them, ought to stick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are penned and put in print; but also by the great assembly of all the degrees of the university the same day, in bringing him to his grave, and the next day after by the industry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of which there was no man but set up some verses, as witnesses of his just and unfeigned sorrow, upon the walls of the church; that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then over-slipped, or now remaineth undone, that may seem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of so holy and famous a person, or to the consecrating of him to everlasting memory.

We at that time saw with our eyes this university flourishing by his institutions, the love of sincere religion not only ingendered, but also confirmed and strengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Inasmuch, that at such time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any man that for sorrow could find in his heart to beat with the present state of this life, but that either he wished with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality; or else endeavoured himself with weeping and sighing to call him again, being dispatched of all troubles, into the prison of this body, out of which he is escaped, lest he should leave us as it were standing in battle without a captain, and he himself as one cashiered, depart with his wages, or as one discharged out of the camp, withdraw himself to the everlasting quietness and tranquillity of the soul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how sore they took his death to heart, and also how hardly they could away with the loss of such a man. As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flourished, it wrought in our hearts an incredible desire of his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any more in our sight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion, by little and little, waxed cold in our minds; and according to the times that came after (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing), it began not

by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troublefomeness of the popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the adorning and beautifying of the christian religion (as they furnished), but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the same. Death was set before the eyes of such as persevered in the christian doctrine that they had learned before. They were banished the realm that would not apply themselves to the times, and do as other men did: such as remained were forced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves, and creep into corners, or else as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Cicero, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but (what is far worse and more monstrous) from the likeness of God and his angels, into the likeness of devils. And all England was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of those times, which overwhelmed all the whole realm, had not at leastwise yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of which there was not one, but (that besides the grief that it felt with the residue of the body, by reason of the sickness and contagion spread into the whole) had some sorrow and calamity peculiar by itself. And to omit the rest (of which to treat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be spoken) this dwelling place of the Muses (which we call the university) may be a sufficient witness what we may judge of all the rest of the body. For certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be dissembled that cannot be hidden. We, applying ourselves to those most filthy times, have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, who had not the stomachs to sustain the adversities of poverty, banishment, and death. Which in our living and conversation kept neither the constancy taught us by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by holy scripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet, although in another sense, hath aptly spoken, may well be thought to have been truly prophesied upon us:

The times and seasons changed be:  
And changed with the same are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and sincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and troubled, the rest that remained tasted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whose hands the authority of doing things here consisted; although to say the truth, I have used a gentler term than behoved. For is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beastly cruelty: who when they had exercised all kinds of torments and punishments upon the living, when they had cruelly taken life from such as constantly persevered; from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion; yet they could not be so satisfied, but that incensed and stirred with a greater fury, it began to outrage even against the dead. Therefore whereas in every singular place was exercised a singular kind of cruelty, inasmuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be devised, but it was put in practice in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the living. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witnesses of the clear light of the gospel. Moreover, at London perished these two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others, both here and in other places, were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I say not with burning of houses and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive, upon whom they might spew out their bitter poison, played the mad Bedlam against the dead. The dead men, whose living no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were

by



by false slanderous accusers indicted, contrary to the laws of God and man, sued in the law, condemned, the sepulchres violated and broken up, their carcases pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing surely incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and dispersed through all Christendom.

Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others intreated and sent for, to the end he might instruct our Cambridge-men in the sincere doctrine of the christian religion, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own country, refused not the tediousness of that long journey, was not afraid to venture himself upon the sea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in such wise, as might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for our's. For he sought not to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and albeit his strength were weakened, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And yet toward this so noble and worthy a person, while he lived were shewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy that could be; but when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty and spite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living house and abiding place, and to the dead burial? Or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cherish that person in his house with all kinds of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconsistency is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him being dead, who during his life-time always deserved praise? All these things have happened unto Bucer, who whilst he lived had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes: and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward spitefully taken up and burned. Which things, although they did no harm to the dead, (for the dead carcases feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God) yet manifest the extreme cruelty and insatiable desire of revenge in them which offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home, they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end with most cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless aliens, being strangers, and being also fetched hither by us out of such a country, where they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but on the contrary were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as also among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle than these men was bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine? who against his own countrymen, let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel: and yet he spared foreigners, because the right of them is so holy, that there was never nation so barbarous, that would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned clerk Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he should go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers.

And whom the law of God could not with-hold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of strangers, which hath ever appeased all barbarous beastliness, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be ever so far separated and far asunder, both by sea and by land, without which access there can be no intercourse of merchandise, there can be no conference of wits, which first of all engendered learning, nor any commodity of society long to continue. To repulse them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our sufferance dwell among us, and have increase of household and household-stuff, is a point of wickedness. Wherefore this cruelty hath far surmounted the cruelty of all others, which, to satisfy the unsatiable greediness thereof, drew to execution not only strangers, brought hither at our intreaty and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcases digged out of their graves; to the intent that the unmeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead men's bones.

These, my brethren, these, I say, are the just causes which have so sore provoked the wrath of God against us; because that in doing extreme injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the same away we have been slow and slack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to say freely what I think ye shall bear with me, if I chance to cast forth any thing unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration) that even this place, in which we have so oftentimes assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness, such as man never heard of before, is a lett and hindrance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

The blood of Abel shed by Cain, called and cried from the earth that sucked it up: likewise the undeserved burning of these bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to punish us, and crieth, that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers thereof are impure, the places defiled in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for so execrable wickedness. Look well about you (my dear brethren), and consider with yourselves the evils that are past; and ye shall see how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one on the neck of another even to this day. First and foremost, when we were even in the chiefest of our mourning, and scarcely yet comforted of our sorrow for his death, the sweating sickness lighted upon us, which passed swiftly through all England, and as it were in haste dispatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our most noble king Edward VI. (whose life in virtue surmounted the opinion of all men, and seemed worthy of immortality) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age, in which, unless violence be used, few do die. The conversion of religion, or rather the eversion and turning thereof into popery: the incursion and domination of strangers, under whose yoke our necks were almost subdued: the great cruelty of the bishops against the christians, which executed that wickedness, for making satisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. These are the things that ensued after his death; but after his burning ensued yet more grievous things: namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diseases, unknown to the very physicians, whereby either every man's health was impaired, or else they were brought to their graves, or else very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the slaughter with great loss. Which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and sighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and assembly



assembly in the following light: that forasmuch as we have violated their corpse, we should do them right again; so that the memorial of these most holy men may be commended unto posterity unhurt and undefamed. Wherefore amend yet at length (my brethren), which hitherto, by reason of the variableness and unconstancy of the times, have been wavering and unstedfast in your hearts; shew yourselves cheerful and forward in making satisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with such great wickedness of late you injured and defiled; not censuring them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now worn out of use, and put to flight, but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble submission be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requests.

When Mr. Ackworth had made an end of his oration, Mr. James Pilkington, the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going into the pulpit, made a sermon upon the 112th Psalm, the beginning whereof is, "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord."

Where intending to prove, that the remembrance of the just man shall not perish, and that Bucer is blessed, and that the ungodly shall fret at the sight thereof, but yet that all their attempts shall be to no purpose, (to the intent that this saying may be verified, I will curse your blessings, and bless your cursings) he took his beginning of his own person; That although he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthiness of the matter itself, and especially for certain singular virtues of those persons, for whom that congregation was called; notwithstanding, he said, he was not fit to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reason, that he which before had done Bucer wrong, should now make him amends for the displeasure. As for his own part, he was so far from working evil against Bucer, either in word or deed; that for their singular knowledge almost in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart: but yet he somewhat more favoured Bucer, as with him he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In consideration whereof, although that it was scarce convenient that he at that time should speak, yet he was contented, for friendship and courtesy's sake, not to fail them in their business.

Having made this preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, so fiercely extended against the dead. He said, it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have shewed such extreme cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to misbehave himself in such wise toward the dead, was such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: saving that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead bodies to have come first from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that Eutychius was of the same opinion, induced by the example of Josias, who slew the priests of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars. Whereas before, the time of Eutychius this kind of punishment was nearly unknown, neither afterward usurped by any man (that he ever heard of) till 900 years after Christ. In the latter times (which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apostles, the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelty began to creep further: for it is manifestly known, that Stephen the Sixth, pope of Rome, digged up Formosus, his last predecessor in that see, and spoiling him of his apparel (as they call it), first cutting off and throwing his two fingers into the Tyber, with which, according to their accustomed manner, he was wont to bless and consecrate. Which his unspeakable tyranny used against Formosus, within six years after Sergius the Third increased also against the same Formosus: for, taking up his dead body, and setting it in a pope's chair, he caused his head to be struck off, his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to

be cast into the river Tyber, abrogating and annulling all his decree, which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cause why such great cruelty was exercised (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; because that Formosus had been an adversary to Stephen and Sergius, when they sued to be made bishops.

This kind of cruelty, unheard of before, the popes a while exercised one against another. But now, before they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among them, it might have remained still with the authors thereof, and not have been spread over thence unto us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly passeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliffe was in like manner digged up, and burnt to ashes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried. In the same manner was served one William Tracy, of Gloucester, a man of a worshipful house, because he had written in his last will, that he should be saved only by faith in Jesus Christ, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in heaven or on earth; therefore he bequeathed no legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since we may remember, about the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1530.

Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, he said it was an easy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own men, these few years past. And if we would take the pains to peruse things done somewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of our own chronicles. However, it was sufficient for the manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the beastly butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenses at Cabrier, and the places thereabout, by his captain Miner, about the year of our Lord 1545, than which there was never thing read of more cruelly done, no not even of the barbarous pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had shewed their utmost cruelty both against these and many others, they were so far from their purpose, in extinguishing the light of the gospel, which they endeavoured to suppress, that it increased daily more and more. Which thing Charles the Fifth (than whom all Christendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Christ a forer enemy) easily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomeran with certain other preachers of the gospel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely against them, nor violated their graves, but also intreating them gently, sent them away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the doctrine that they professed. For it is the nature of Christ's church, that the more that tyrants spurn against it, the more it increaseth and flourisheth. A notable proof assuredly of the providence and pleasure of God in sowing the gospel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wickliffe, of whom we spoke before, who at that time read openly at Oxford; and also the going of our men to the said Bohemians when persecution was raised against us. But much more notable was it, what we have seen come to pass in these our days; that the Spaniards, sent for into the realm on purpose to suppress the gospel, as soon as they were returned home, replenished many parts of their country with the same truth of religion to which before they were enemies.

By which examples it might evidently be seen, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, considering how the mercy of God hath sown it abroad, not only in those countries that we spake of, but also in France, Poland, Scotland, and almost all the rest of Europe. For it is said, that some parts of Italy (although it be under the pope's nose) yet do of



late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth; wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the success and increase thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is sent us from heaven, unless we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advisedly consider the voyages that the emperor and the pope, with both their powers together, made jointly against the Bohemians: in which the emperor met such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Hereof also might be an especial example of the death of Henry, king of France, who, on the day that he had purposed to persecute Christ's church, and to have burned certain of his guard, who were imprisoned for religion, at whose execution he had promised to be present, in the midst of his triumph at Tournay, was wounded so fore in the head with a spear, by one of his own subjects, that he soon after died.

In which behalf the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own countrymen. For one that was a notable slaughter-man of Christ's fairs, rotted alive, and before he died, such a rank smell steamed from his body, that none of his friends were able to come to him, for fear of vomiting. Another, being in utter despair of all health, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits. Divers others, that were enemies to the church, perished miserably in the end. All which things were certain tokens of the favour and defence of the Divine Majesty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants. And forasmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he said it was a most apt example that was reported of their captain Zisca, who, when he should die, ordered his body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum: for it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the sound of it, they should not be able to stand against them. The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning Bucer: that like as the Bohemians did with the skin of Zisca, the same should they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer: for as soon as the papists should hear the noise of him, their gew-gaws would forthwith decay. For saving that they used violence to such as withstood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might seem (having but mean understanding in holy scripture) to be grounded upon any reason. As for those things that were done by them, against such as could not play the mad-men as well as they, some of them favoured of open force, and some of ridiculous foolishness. For what was this first of all? Was it not frivolous, that for the space of three years together, mass should be sung in those places where Bucer and Phagius rested in the Lord, without any offence? and as soon as they took it to be an offence, straightway to be an offence if any were heard there; or that it should not be as good then as it was before: as if that then, upon a sudden, it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it there; and that the fault that was past should be counted the more grievous, because it was done of long time. Moreover, this was a matter of no effect, that Bucer and Phagius only should be dug up; as if they alone had embraced the religion which they call heresy. It was well known how one of the burghesses of the town had been inclined toward the popish religion: who, when he should die, desired neither ringing of bells, dirges, nor any kind of trifles, to be done on his anniversary, as it is termed; but that they should go with instruments of music before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial; and also, that yearly a sermon should be made to the people, bequeathing a piece of money to the preacher. Neither might he omit in that place to speak of Ward the painter, who, although he was a man of no reputation, yet was not to be despised for the religion's sake which he diligently followed. Nor were divers others to be passed over with silence, who were known of a

certainty to have continued in the same sect, and to rest in other church-yards in Cambridge, and indeed through the whole realm, and yet defiled not their masses at all.

All which persons (forasmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought to have been taken up, or else all have been let to lie with the same religion; unless a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they like lawful and unlawful, at pleasure.

In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howsoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse Phagius, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, except a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm, he never read, disputed, preached, or taught; for he died soon after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his adversaries to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer so deadly, for allowing marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his defence in that matter (besides other helps) the testimony of pope Pius the Second, who, in a certain place says, That upon weighty considerations, priests' wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored. And also the statute of the emperor, (they call it the Interim) by which it is enacted, That such of the clergy as were married should not be divorced from their wives.

Thus turning his style from this matter to the university, he reproveth, in few words, their unfaithfulness towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt, without revengement (as saith Amos), let us assure ourselves he will not suffer so notable a wrong done to his godly preachers unrevenged.

Afterward when he came to the condemnation, (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, in the name of them all) being somewhat more moved at the matter, he admonished them how greatly it behoved them to use circumspection, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the university. For that he which should take his authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion he had of their doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think but well of them: for it would come to pass, that if they would bestow their promotions upon none but fit persons, and let the unfit go as they come, both the common-wealth should receive much advantage and profit by them, and they should highly please God. But if they persisted to be negligent in so doing, they should grievously injure the common-wealth, and work their own shame and reproach. Besides, they should greatly offend the majesty of God; whose commandment (Not to bear false witness) would be broken and violated.

While he was speaking these and many other things before his audience, many of the university, to set out and defend Bucer, beset the walls of the church and church-porch on both sides with verses; some in Latin, some in Greek, and some in English, in which they made a manifest declaration how they were minded toward Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his sermon was ended, they made common supplication and prayers. After giving thanks to God for many other things, especially for restoring the true religion, every man departed his way.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous clerk Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it will not be improper here to insert the funeral verse of Dr. Redman upon Bucer's death, now translated into English.



*The Epitaph, or Funeral Verse, of Dr. REDMAN,  
upon the Death of MARTIN BUCER.*

HENCE, O far hence let envy fly,  
Nor be revenge nor mock'ry nigh:  
The lying lips and faithless mind,  
Let here no rest or refuge find.  
These from the man God's image take,  
And him more like the devil's make.  
But holy truth be present here,  
Thou virgin everlasting fair:  
And to the inquiring many shew,  
From whence proceeds this scene of woe.  
BUCER, who led the church before,  
BUCER, that light of learning, is no more:  
As the sun gilds the world around,  
So he in learning's orb was found.  
The mourning schools his loss confess,  
But who can CAMBRIDGE's grief express?  
High as the stars her sighs ascend,  
Lamenting thus her wonted friend.  
No more shall we a master find,  
Like him so just, like him so kind:  
Whose exemplary life was fraught  
With all the virtues which he taught:  
His rest so small, labour so great,  
Nature sunk down beneath the weight,  
And yielded to death's fatal power,  
Before his short appointed hour.  
But stop, my muse, thy labour's vain,  
Thy lines can't half his praise contain:  
Then farewell, BUCER, thy remains  
An humble sepulchre retains,  
Till the Great Judge of all shall come,  
And pass his universal doom:  
Then he thy body will restore,  
More glorious than it was before.  
Till when thy soul amongst the blest remains,  
There happily thou lives, there happily thou reigns.

*The despiteful Handling and Madnes. of the Papiests to-  
ward PETER MARTYR's Wife at Oxford, who was  
taken up from her Grave at the Command of Cardinal  
POOLE, and afterwards buried in a Dunghill.*

AND because one university should not mock the  
other, like cruelty was also declared upon the  
dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an ho-  
nest, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and al-  
ways a great helper of poor people, as many dwelling  
there can well testify.

In the year of our Lord 1552, she departed this life,  
with great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose  
necessities she had often liberally eased and relieved.  
Now when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas  
Ormanet, datary, Robert Morwen, president of Cor-  
pus Christi college, Cole and Wright, doctors of the  
civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors, they,  
among other things, had in commission to take up this  
good woman out of her grave, and to consume her  
carcase with fire, not doubting but that she was of the  
same religion that her husband had professed before,  
when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a  
shew that they would do something disorderly, they  
called all those before them that had any acquaintance  
with her or her husband. They administered an oath  
to them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was  
demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew  
not what religion she was of, by reason they understood  
not her language.

To be short, after these visitors had sped their busi-  
ness they came for, they went to the cardinal again,  
certifying him, that upon due inquisition made, they  
could learn nothing upon which by the law they might  
burn her. Notwithstanding, the cardinal did not leave  
the matter so, but wrote down his letters a good while

after to Marshall, then dean of Frideswide's, that he  
should dig her up; and lay her out of christian burial,  
because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswide's re-  
lics; sometime had in great reverence in that college.  
Dr. Marshall calling his spades and mattocks together  
in the evening, when he was well fuddled, caused her  
to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

However, when it pleased God, under good queen  
Elizabeth, to give quietness to his church, long time  
persecuted with prison and death, then Dr. Parker,  
archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, bishop  
of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her  
majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion,  
(nothing ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth  
had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violat-  
ing the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous  
woman) willed certain of that college; in which this  
uncourteous fact was attempted or done, to take her  
out of the dunghill where she lay, and solemnly, in  
face of the town, to bury her again in a more decent  
grave: for though the body being once dead, no great  
estimation were to be had, where the bones were laid;  
yet some reverence was to be used toward her for the  
sake of her sex. Besides, in fact, it was shameful,  
that he, after travelling so far at king Edward's re-  
quest, from the place wherein he had dwelt quietly,  
and had taken so earnest pains, being an old man, in  
reading and setting forth the truth as far as he was able,  
with learning to teach and instruct, and so well de-  
served of that university, should, by so ungentle a re-  
compence of ingratitude, be rewarded again, as to  
have his wife, who was a godly woman, a stranger,  
good to many, especially to the poor, and doing in-  
jury to no one, in word or deed, without just deserving,  
and contrary to their own law, not proceeding against  
her according to the order thereof, spitefully to be laid  
in a stinking dunghill.

To all good people the fact seemed odious, and of  
such indue with humanity, utterly to be detested.  
Wherefore Mr. Calfield, sub-dean of the college, di-  
ligently provided, that from Marshall's dunghill she  
was restored and translated to her proper place again,  
yea, and withal coupled her with Frideswide's bones,  
that in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter to re-  
move this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for  
them to discern her bones from the other. And in  
order to inform the minds of men the better, the next  
day, being Sunday, Mr. Rogerson preached unto the  
people, in which sermon by the way he declared the  
cruel usage of the adversary, which not contented to  
practise upon the living, but they must also rage against  
one that was dead, and lain two years in her grave.  
God grant them once to see their own wickedness.  
Amen.

Thus much touching the noble acts and strangeness  
of this worthy cardinal in both the universities; where-  
unto it will not be impertinent here also consequently  
to adjoin and set forth to the eyes of the world the  
blind and bloody articles set out by cardinal Poole, to  
be inquired upon, within his diocese of Canterbury,  
whereby it may the better appear what yokes and  
snares of fond and fruitless traditions were laid upon  
the poor flock of Christ, to intangle and oppress them  
with loss of life and liberty. By which, wise men  
may see what godly fruits proceeded from that catholic  
church and see of Rome: in which, although thou  
seest (good reader) some good articles interspersed,  
let not that move thee; for else how could such poison  
be ministered, but it must have some honey to relish  
the reader's taste.

*The Articles set forth by Cardinal POOLE, to be inquired  
upon in his ordinary Visitation, within his Diocese of  
Canterbury.*

## Touching the Clergy.

1. **F**IRST, Whether the divine service in the church  
at times, days, and hours, be observed and  
kept duly, or no.
2. Item, Whether the parsons, vicars, and curates,  
do



do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no.

3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly administer the sacraments or sacramentals, or no.

4. Item, Whether any of the parishioners die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

5. Item, Whether the said parsons, vicars, or curates, do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no.

6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

7. Item, Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be christened.

8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

9. Item, Whether there be any priests that of late unlawfully had women under pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

11. Item, Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and christian life, according to the canons of the church.

12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers, pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's majesties.

13. Item, Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and unity of the church.

15. Item, Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do administer the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church.

16. Item, Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies, or of evil opinion.

17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or whether the said women do privily resort unto them.

18. Item, Whether they do go decently apparelled as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven.

19. Item, Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report.

20. Item, Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the laws ecclesiastical.

21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

#### Touching the Lay-people.

1. **F**IRST, Whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm, any heresies, errors or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.

2. Item, Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ: or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

3. Item, Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

4. Item, Whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sundays and holy-days.

5. Item, Whether being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of divine service.

6. Item, Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds, and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of any of them.

7. Item, Whether any do blaspheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common swearers.

8. Item, Whether any be perjured, or have committed simony or usury, or do still remain in the same.

9. Item, Whether the churches and church-yards be well and honestly repaired and inclosed.

10. Item, Whether the churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.

11. Item, Whether any do with-hold, or draw from the church any manner of money, or goods, or that do with-hold their due and accustomed tithes from their sons and vicars.

12. Item, Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of divine service.

13. Item, If there be any who do practise or exercise any arts of magic or necromancy, or do use or practise any incantations, forceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof.

14. Item, Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity, prohibited by the laws of holy church, or that do marry, the banns not asked, or do make any privy contracts.

15. Item, Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof.

16. Item, Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion, contrary to the laws.

17. Item, Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and ember-days.

18. Item, Whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19. Item, Whether the sacrament be carried devout to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.

20. Item, Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the school-masters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary.

21. Item, Whether any do take upon them to administer the goods of those that be dead, without authority from the ordinary.

22. Item, Whether the poor people in every parish be charitably provided for.

23. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. Item, Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. Item, Whether any do keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books.

26. Item, Whether any do with-hold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

27. Item, Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28. Item, Whether any do violate or break the Sunday and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same.

29. Item, Whether the taverns or alehouses, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in time of mass, mattins, and even-song, do keep open their doors, and do receive people





*The Martyrdom of Kemp, Prowting, Waterer, Lowick, Hudson, Haies, and Canterbury, in Kent.*



*The Martyrdom of Hugh Lavercock and John Apprice, at Stratford near Bow, in Middlesex.*



people into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

30. Item, Whether any have or do deprave or condemn the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness, or the see of Rome.

31. Item, Whether any minstrels, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs against the holy sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

32. Item, Whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions be taken away, or with-held from the said hospitals, and by whom.

*An Account of Ten MARTYRS condemned and burnt within the Diocese of Canterbury.*

MENTION was made a little before of the persecution in Kent: where we declared that 15 were imprisoned and condemned in the castle of Canterbury: of which 15 we declared five to be furnished to death within the said castle, and buried by the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten in January, 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Their names are as follow: John Philpot, of Tenterden, William Waterer, of Beddingden, Stephen Kempe, of Norgate, William Hay, of Hithe, Thomas Hudson, of Salenge, Matthew Bradbridge, of Tenterden, Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden, Nicholas Final, of Tenterden, W. Lowick, of Cranbroke, W. Prowting, of Thornham.

Of these ten godly martyrs, six were burnt at Canterbury about the 15th of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudson, and Hay. The other two, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the same month. The other two, Final and Bradbridge, were burnt together at Ashford the 16th of the same.

What the ordinary articles were that were commonly objected to them of Canterbury diocese, is before rehearsed, save only that to some of these, as to them that follow after, as the time of their persecution did grow, so their articles withal did increase to the number of two and twenty, containing such like matter as seemed to the maintenance of the Romish see.

Their answers likewise to these articles need not be rehearsed, seeing they all agreed together, though not in the same form of words, yet to the same effect, &c.

The next month, which was February, came out another bloody commission from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commission I thought here not to omit; not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the first persecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximinian, Diocletian, Licinius, &c. so now in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority, to the uttermost they could devise against Christ and his gospel. Yet, notwithstanding all these laws, institutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided against Christ and his gospel, he still continueth, his gospel flourisheth, and truth prevaileth; kings and emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devices dissolved, their counsels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifest. But now let us

hear the intent of this commission, in tenor as follows:

*A bloody Commission given forth by King PHILIP and Queen MARY, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.*

PHILIP and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Thomas, bishop of Ely, and to our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsor, knight, lord Windsor, Edward North, knight, lord North, and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Rastal, serjeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of St. Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, noised, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against Us, but also have sown divers heresies, and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this Our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst Our loving subjects, but also betwixt Us and Our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of Us and Our people, We, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms and discretions, have authorised, appointed and assigned you to be Our commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, or any three of you, to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against Us, or either of Us, or against the quiet governance and rule of Our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, bowing, key, or other place or places, within this Our realm of England or elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the sea, and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, books, rumour and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, or any three of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, where they or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you and every of you to search for the same in all places according to your discretions.

Also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or with-holding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the said churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service,



vice, and all such as refuse to go in procession to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise do misbehave themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed within Our said realm.

Nevertheless, Our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called or convened before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any kind of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then you or three of you do immediately order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barrators, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within Our city of London and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

And further to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms shall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing or obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things, touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the said person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered, &c.

#### *The Apprehension of twenty-two Prisoners in Essex.*

**A**FTER this bloody proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was the eighth day of February, in the third and fourth years of the reign of the king and queen, these new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons almost full of prisoners; namely, in the diocese of Canterbury, whereof (by the leave of Christ) we will say more presently.

In the mean time, about the town of Colchester, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; insomuch that three and twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at one time; of which number one escaped; the other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of christian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the gospel's sake. Notwithstanding the bishops, afraid perhaps of the number, to put so many at once to death, sought means to deliver them, and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves; notwithstanding divers of them were afterwards taken again and suffered, as (God willing) ye shall hear hereafter. Such as met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields scattering in such sort, as that

they might easily have escaped away. And when they entered into the towns, their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the same in their hands, every one having another cord about his arm, as though they were tied. And so were these fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were pinioned, and so came into the city. But first let us declare concerning their being taken and their attachers, contained in the commissary's letter written to Bonner; then the indenture made between the commissioners and the popish commissary. The letter of the commissary is this:

**A**FTER my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your honourable and most loving letters, dated August 7, be it known unto your lordship, that on the 28th of August, the lord of Oxenford, lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendlows, E. Tyrel, R. Weston, R. Appleton, published their commission, to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause was determined. And also there was likewise proclaimed the queen's warrant for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester, and the hundreds thereabout, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination. And that divers persons should certify to me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the justices' next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas next. And the parishes which had presented at two several times, to have all ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And those names blotted in the indenture, were indicted for treason, fugitives, or disobedience; and were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the sealing, my lord Darcy said unto me apart, and Mr. Bendlows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your lordship, and, if need were, the heretics to remain in confinement till I heard from you, yea, till the lords legates grace commissioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my lord Darcy's house and parlour belonging to Mr. Barnaby, before my said lord and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good lordship, and asked me if I would: I said, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and the jailors, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the 30th of August, to go and receive my prisoners by-and-by. Then I said, It is an unreasonable commandment, for I have attended on you here these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men. Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will please my lord, my master, to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his lordship. Then Mr. Brown said, We are certified that the council have written to your master to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste. I answered, Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days. Then Mr. Brown said, The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

I replied, Sir, you have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I knew not, trusting that you will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the catholics. Well, said Mr. Brown, for that cause you shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Mess.

Bailiffs,



Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wednesday, set open your door, and let them go.

Then I said, My lord, and masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these heretics within these ten days. The lord Darcy answered, Commissary, we do and must all agree in one: wherefore do you receive them on or before Wednesday.

To which I replied, My lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle and St. Catherine's chapel two hours and a half, and in great press and danger; wherefore this may be to desire your lordship, to give in commandment unto Mr. Sayer, my bailiff, here present, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours warning; all which both my lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

The 31st of August, William Goodwin, of Muchbirch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey, of Copford, your lordship's apparator of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least, whereof one should be a bow-man, to come to me the next day at two of the clock in the afternoon, that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eightpence: wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday, before three of the clock in the morning, receive there at my hand within the castle and mote-hall, fourteen men and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry, or lead and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found continually, until the said Goodwin and Alsey shall cause the said two and twenty persons to be delivered to my lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said lord, then to bring unto me the said fetters, with a perfect token of or from my said lord, and then this covenant is void, or else, &c.

Mr. Bendlows said unto me in my lord of Oxenford's chamber, at the King's-head, after I had said mass before the lords, that on the morrow after Holy-Rood day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, I think, Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like case divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest, or else I think they will not labour the matter, and so tell Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice, the wife of William Walley, of Colchester, hath submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemn penance in her parish church at St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholic and a faithful woman as long as God shall spare her life. And for these covenants her husband standeth bound in five pounds: which Alice is one of the nine women of your indenture, and she is with child. Wherefore she remaineth at home, and this done in the presence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And because Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he inquired who was the former? The answer was, sir Francis Jobson. Who is the parson? The quest-men answered, sir Roger Ghosflow. When was he with you? Not these fourteen years. How is your cure served? Now-and-then. Who is the patron? My lord of Arundel. And within a short time after, sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy to my lord Darcy's place; and I saw no more come in.

Sir Robert Smith, priest, some time canon of Bridlington, now curate of Appledore in the wild of Kent, came to Colchester the 28th of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined by the lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain persons, and especially of one, priest, whose name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith), doubting this priest to be the same Pullen, though neither he nor his wife would confess the same.

Wherefore he still lieth in prison, but surely this is not Pullen. If it please your lordship to have in re-

membrance, that the householders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own seat in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much. Also, there be yet standing hospitals, and others of like foundation, about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation, as the masters and lazars of Mary Magdalen in Colchester, the proctor of St. Catherine's chapel in Colchester, the hospital or bread-house of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremary, the hospital and beadmen of Little Horksley. Thus presuming on your lordship's goodness, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honourable lordship a condign reward.

From Eastthorp, this present 30th of August.

We found a letter concerning the marriage of priests in the hands of the aforesaid sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had made the proclamation. I said, Yea. Then he said openly upon the bench, that they should be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the constables and officers, and they take and punish the offenders accordingly.

By your poor beadman,

John Kingston, priest.

*An Indenture made between the Lords and Justices within specified, and BONNER's Commissary, concerning the Delivery of the Prisoners above-named.*

THIS indenture, made the 19th day of August in the third and fourth years of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, defenders of the faith, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundy, Millain, and Brabant, counties of Hasburgh, Flanders, and Tirol, between the right honourable lord John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England, Thomas lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, the king and queen's serjeant at law, Edmund Tyrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, esquires, justices of oyer and terminer, and of the peace within the said county of Essex, to be kept of the one party, and John Kingston, clerk, bachelor at law, commissary to the bishop of London, of the other party, witneseth, that Robert Colman, of Walton, in the county of Essex, labourer; Joan Winsley, of Horseley Magna, in the said county, spinster; Stephen Glover, of Rayley, in the county aforesaid, glover; Richard Clerke, of Much Holland, in the same county, mariner; William Muns, of Much Bently, in the said county, sawyer; Margaret Field, of Ramsey, in the said county, spinster; Agnes Whitlock, of Dovercourt, in the said county, spinster; Rose Allin, of the same town and county, spinster; Richard Bongeor, of Colchester, in the said county, currier; Richard Atkin, of Halstead, in the said county, weaver; Robert Barcock, of Wiston, in the county of Suffolk, carpenter; Richard George, of Westbarhault, in the county of Essex, labourer; Richard Jolley, of Colchester, in the said county, mariner; Thomas Feeresanne, of the same town and county, mercer; Robert Debnam, late of Dedham, in the said county, weaver; Cicely Warren, of Cockfall, in the said county, spinster; Christian Pepper, widow, of the same town and county; Allin Simpson, Helen Euring, Alice the wife of William Wallis, of Colchester, spinster; William Bongeor, of Colchester, in the said county, glazier; being indicted of heresy, are delivered to the said John Kingston, clerk, ordinary to the bishop of London, according to the statute in that case provided.

In witness whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said earl, lord, and other the justices, the said ordinary hath set to his hand and seal; and to the other part remaining with the said ordinary, the said earl, lord, and other the justices, have set to their



their several hands and seals, the day and year above written.

Oxenford.	William Bendlows.
Thomas Darcy.	Edmund Tyrel.
Henry Tyrel.	Richard Weston.
Anthony Brown.	Roger Appleton.

The twenty-two afore said prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to bishop Bonner; concerning whom Bonner himself writeth to cardinal Poole, in the following manner:

*A Letter of Bishop BONNER to Cardinal POOLE.*

**M**AY it please your grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty to understand, that going to London on Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germaine's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following, to comfort my strength withal, letters from Colchester, that either that day or the day following, I should have sent me from thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners, and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, both of which cost me above twenty nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and all the way from Colchester to Stratford-le-Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

And although I took order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and they would take no way but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons: which thing I took very strange, and spake to sir John Gressham, being then with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These wicked heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they shewed themselves desperate, and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to win them, causing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding in them nothing but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I proceeded herein, first to inform your grace hereof, and know your pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of you, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the same. At Fulham, Anno 1556.

Your grace's most bounden headsmen and servant,  
Edmund Bonner.

By this letter of bishop Bonner to the cardinal, is to be understood what good-will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have passed sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) stayed his fervent headiness. Concerning which cardinal, though it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, that he was a professed enemy, and a reputed papist; yet it is to be supposed that he was none of the cruel sort of papists, as may appear by staying the rage of this bishop, as well as by the solicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certain papists, accusing him to the pope, of being a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope's letters sent to him upon the same, calling him to Rome, and setting friar Peto in

his place, had not queen Mary, by intreaty, kept him out of the pope's danger. Which letters I have (if need be) to shew; besides, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, just before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no less suspected at Rome: yea, he there converted a certain learned Spaniard from papism to Luther's side; notwithstanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward induced him to play the papist as he did. But enough of this cardinal.

To return to this godly company: first, ye have heard how they were brought up in bands to London; also, how Bonner was about to have read the sentence of death upon them, and how he was stopped by the cardinal, ye know. Touching their confession, which they articulated up in writing, it were too tedious to recite it at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's supper (for which they were chiefly troubled) they wrote as follows:

*The Supper of the Lord.*

**W**HEREAS Christ, at his last supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body:" and likewise took the cup and thanked, &c. we understand it to be a figurative speech, the most part of his language being in parables and dark sentences, that they which are carnally minded should see with their eyes and not perceive, and hear with their ears, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we, through his body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood cleanseth us from all our sins, and hath pacified God's wrath toward us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

And in that he said further, "Do this in remembrance of me," it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ: and he commanded it for this cause, that the congregation of Christ should come together to shew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and so to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ had given his body, and shed his blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine; as divers places in scripture are spoken by Christ and the apostles in like phrase of speech, as in John xv. "I am the true vine." Also, in John x. "I am the door." And as it is written, in the 9th chapter to the Hebrews, and in Exod. xxiv. how Moses took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, "This is the blood of the covenant or testament." Also, in the 5th of Ezekiel, how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, "This is Jerusalem," &c.

Thus we see the scriptures how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy scriptures. Also we do see that great idolatry is sprung out of the carnal understanding of the words of Christ, "This is my body," and daily springeth, to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that as their Maker.

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they devised a letter withal, in manner of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be ministered unto them: the copy of which letter I thought good also to shew unto the reader in form as followeth:



*A Supplication of the Prisoners to the Judges.*

**T**O the right honourable audience, whom these our simple writings, and the confession of our faith, shall come to be heard or seen, we poor prisoners, being fast in bonds upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and strength over us concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves as obedient subjects in all things due, you being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people according to right, hear the poor and helpless in truth, and defend their cause.

God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all goodness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God, which art the most high, the creator and maker of all things, and of all men both great and small, and carest for all alike, who dost try all men's works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor: we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers' hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so may they hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here seemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or disagreeing to the scripture, if it shall please your lordship to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to the scriptures, thereby to make answer and be tried, in so doing we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage, are most bound to pray for your noble estate and preservation.

The request of these men being so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop and other judges, but that sentence should have proceeded against them immediately, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants than the bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence, it was thought otherwise by the cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing, lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might arise among the people; so it was decreed among themselves, that they should rather make some submission or confession such as they would themselves, and so be sent home again, as they were indeed: however, divers of them were afterward apprehended and put to death. In the mean time, touching their submission which they made, it was in the following form:

*The Submission or Confession of the aforesaid Prisoners.*

**B**ECAUSE our Saviour Christ at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me;" therefore, according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe in the sacrament to be Christ's body. And because he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many;" therefore likewise we do believe that it is the blood of Christ, according as Christ's church doth administer the same. Unto which catholic church of Christ we do in this as in all other matters submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good christian men, and here in this realm to use ourselves as it becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors, both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties.

No. 49.

The names of those who subscribed to this submission were these:

John Arkin, Alyn Sympson, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winsley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winsley, Cicely Warren, Rose Alin, Ann Whitelocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

*An Account of Five godly MARTYRS, burnt at one Fire in Smithfield, on the 12th Day of April, 1557.*

**T**O proceed further in this history of persecuted martyrs, next follow these five, namely—

Thomas Loseby,	Margaret Hide,
Henry Ramsey,	and
Thomas Thirtell,	Agnes Stanley,

Who being, some by the lord Rich, some by other justices of the peace, and constables (their own neighbours), at the first accused and apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, were in the end sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and by his commandment, on the 27th of January, were examined before Dr. Darbyshire, then chancellor to the said bishop, upon the former general articles mentioned.

*Answers to the Articles.*

**W**HOSE answers thereunto were, that as they confessed there was one true and catholic church, wherein they stedfastly believed, and thought the church of Rome to be no part or member; so in the same church they believed there were but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper. However, some of them attributed the title and honour of a sacrament to the holy estate of matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather out of simple ignorance than of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admonished.

Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptized into the faith of that true church, as in the third article is specified. And here, in reading, as well these articles as the rest, mark, I beseech you, the subtlety of these catholic companions, who, intermixing certain points of faith, and of the true church, with the idolatrous and superstitious trash of their Romish synagogue, caused the poor and simple people, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets.

For after they had made them grant a true church, with the sacraments of the same, though not in such a number as they would have them, and also that they were christened in the faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, they craftily now in their other objections, descending, as it were, from the faith of the Trinity unto their idolatrous mass and other superstitious ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof, they have severed themselves from the faith of the true church, wherinto they were baptized, which is most false: for though the true light of God's gospel and holy word was marvellously darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished, yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved, and into the faith thereof were they baptized, and not into the belief and profession of their horrible idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things not thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful and true members of Christ, caused some of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the gospel, they did separate themselves from the faith



of the church, meaning none other but only to separate themselves from admitting or allowing of such their popish and erroneous trash as they now had defiled the church of England with, and not from their faith received in baptism, which in express words, in their answers to the other articles they constantly affirmed, declaring the mass and sacrament of the altar to be most wicked blasphemy against Jesus Christ, and contrary to the truth of his gospel, and therefore they utterly refused to assent unto them, or to be reconciled again thereunto.

These answers in effect being thus taken by the said chancellor, they were for that time dismissed; but the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, the 6th of March, propounded unto them certain other new articles; the copy whereof here followeth:

*Other Articles objected by BONNER, Bishop of LONDON, against THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSEY, THOMAS THIRTELL, MARGARET HIDE, and AGNES STANLEY, the 6th of March, being the second Time of Examination.*

**F**IRST, That thou hast thought, believed and spoken, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, is not a true and laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass, and the seven sacraments, nor is agreeable to God's word and testament; and thou canst not find in thy heart, without murmuring, grudging, or scruple, to receive and use it, and to conform thyself unto it, as other subjects of this realm customably have done and do.

2. Item, That thou hast thought, &c. that the English service set forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, was and is good and godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

3. Item, Likewise thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy parish church, and there to be present, and hear mattins, mass, even-song, and other divine service, sung or said there.

4. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come in procession to the church upon days and times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying then the accustomed prayers used in the church, nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemas day, nor take ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor to creep to the cross upon accustomed days, nor to receive and kiss the pyx at mass-time, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner and fashion as they are used in this realm.

5. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confess thy sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands, as God's minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in this church of England.

6. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, thou must follow and believe thine own conscience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the catholic church, and the see of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

7. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that all things do chance of an absolute and precise mere necessity, so that whether man do well or evil, he could not chuse but do so, and that therefore no man hath any free-will at all.

8. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that the fashion and manner of christening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby saved, except he be of years of discretion to believe himself, and so willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.

9. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, avail nothing, and are not allowable by God's word, or profitable in any wise, and that the souls departed do go straight to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom, so that there is no place of purgation at all.

10. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that all such as in the time of king Henry the Eighth, or in the time of queen Mary in England, have been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, but faithful and good christian people; especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and such like; and that thou didst and dost allow, like, and approve all their opinions, and dost mislike their condemnations and burnings.

11. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in this church of England, and the appointing of days for fasting, and the abstaining from flesh upon fasting-days, and especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by God's word, but is hypocrisy and foolishness; and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

12. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reserve and keep it, or to honour it, is plain idolatry and superstition; and likewise of the mass and elevation of the sacrament.

13. Item, Thou hast thought, &c. that thou or any else, convented before an ecclesiastical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, are not, nor is bound to make answer at all, especially under an oath upon a book.

#### *Their Answers to the above Articles.*

**C**ONCERNING the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, saving that they denied the souls of the departed to sleep till the day of judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

And as concerning the sixth objection, they thought themselves bound to believe the true catholic church, so far forth as the same doth instruct them according to God's holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonical church of Rome.

As for the seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any such absurd opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that man of himself, without the help and assistance of God's Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in God's sight.

To the eleventh they said, that true fasting and prayer, used according to God's word, are allowable and available in his sight, and that by the same word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

After this, the 1st of April, they were again convented before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant, and deny the received and infallible truth, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, the third of the same month of April in the forenoon, where first understanding by them their immutable constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one what he had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Loseby first answered, God give me grace and strength to stand against you and your sentence, and your law, which devourereth the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would consent to your devouring law, and believe in that idol the mass.

Next



Next unto him answered Thomas Thirtell, saying, My lord, I say thus, if you make me an heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics; for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life therefore.

The bishop then asked the like question of Henry Ramsey; who said again, My lord, will you have me to go from the truth that I am in? I say unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will stand unto; and I say unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himself and other true martyrs and professors of Christ) be of the true church, and ye be not.

Unto this question next answered Margaret Hide, saying, My lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me, for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it: and I do wish that I were more strong in it than I am.

Last of all answered Agnes Stanley, and said, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were of ever so much value, sooner than I will forsake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith:

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again in the afternoon in the same place: which commandment being obeyed, the bishop first called for Loseby, and after his manner ordered his articles and answers to be read: in reading whereof, when mention was made of the sacrament of the altar, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loseby said, My lord, seeing you put off your cap, I will put on mine; and accordingly put it on. The bishop continuing in his accustomed persuasions, Loseby again said, My lord, I trust I have the Spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor, for the wisdom of God is foolishness unto you. Whereupon the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him.

And delivering him unto the sheriff, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he used the like order or exhortations. To whom she said, I will not depart from my sayings till I be burnt: and, my lord, said she, I would wish you to instruct me with some part of God's word, and not of the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the scripture.

But neither himself nor any of his colleagues, being able rightly to accomplish her request, to make short work, used his final reason of conviction, which was the sentence of condemnation. Therefore, leaving her off, called for Agnes Stanley, who, upon the bishop's like persuasions, made this answer:

My lord, where you say I am an heretic, I am none; neither will I believe you, nor any man that is wise will believe as you do. And as for those that you say were burnt for heresy, I believe them true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live.

Her talk thus ended, she received the like reward that the others had. And the bishop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtell, received of him likewise this final answer: My lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways; for I say, the mass is idolatry, and will stick to my faith and belief so long as the breath is in my body. Upon which words he also was condemned as an heretic.

Last of all Henry Ramsey was demanded if he would, as the rest, stand unto his answers, or else recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he answered, I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live; and, my lord (said he), your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's word.

After these words, the bishop (to conclude) pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest (as you have heard), charging the sheriffs of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, the 12th of the same month of April,

brought them into Smithfield, where they all in one fire most joyfully and constantly ended their temporal lives, receiving therefore the life eternal.

*An Account of Three MARTYRS burned in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.*

**I**N the month of May following, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, ——— King, suffered in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than this of Stephen Gratwick; who first was condemned by the bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Rochester, who were not his ordinaries.

Secondly, When he did appeal from these incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, When they had no other shift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they suborned one of the priests to come in for a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him.

Fourthly, Being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet Dr. White, the said bishop of Winchester, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience assistant once to say, God strengthen him.

Fifthly, As they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him, so they pretended false articles against him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their devising, to have his blood.

Sixthly and lastly, Having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words, "That which I said, I have said," they read the sentence of death upon him.

And thus did these men deal, who needs will be reputed for catholic fathers of the spirituality, successors of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whose proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the judgment hereof to them who know the institution of Christ's religion and doctrine.

Now, lest the disordered mis-rule of these Christmas lords will not be credited upon the simple narration of the story, you shall hear the whole discourse of this process, registered by the hand of the martyr himself, who, as he could best tell what was done, so I am sure he would not testify otherwise than the truth was, as you shall hear by his declaration.

*The Declaration of STEPHEN GRATWICK concerning his own Story and Condemnation.*

**O**N the 25th day of May, in the year 1557, I Stephen Gratwick came before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, at eight o'clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me—

*Winchester.* Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy heresies, which thou hast maintained and defended within my diocese, oftentimes before me? Also upon Sunday last you stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your heresies, so that you have offended within the liberty of my diocese: and now I being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not, which I have here in writing; and if you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read the articles against you.

And when he had ended, he bade me answer unto them.

*Gratwick.* My lord, these articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making; for I never had any of my examinations



tions written at any time, and therefore these are the objections that you lay against me as a snare to get my blood. Wherefore, I desire your lawful favour, to allow my appeal to mine ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your diocese, I say, it is not so; for I have not enterprised either to preach or teach within your diocese, but was apprehended by mine own bishop, and sent prisoner into your diocese, by the consent of the council and mine own ordinary; and therefore I so being in your diocese, you have no cause to refuse my lawful appeal.

And with that came the bishop of Rochester, (whom the bishop of Winchester gladly received) according to their determinate purpose; and so followed the archdeacon of Canterbury: and the bishop again started up, as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me. Then said Winchester—

Sir, I am very glad of your coming; for here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you, being his ordinary. Then said the archdeacon of Canterbury—

I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And I answered—

My lord, I am not of his diocese by five miles: for his diocese reacheth on that part no farther than the cliffs of Lewes, and I dwelt at Brighthelmstone, five miles beyond, in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocese.

Then the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, cast their heads together and laughed: and then they said my ordinary would be here by-and-by; and so they sent for a counterfeit, instead of mine ordinary: then I saw them laugh; when I spoke to them, and said—

Why do you laugh? Are you confederate together for my blood, and therein triumph? You have more cause to look weightily upon the matter; for I stand here before you upon my life and death. But you declare yourselves what you are: for you are clothed in lamb's apparel; but I would to God you had coats according to your assembly here, which is scarlet gowns, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my blood.

And then came rushing in that counterfeited bishop, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high-priest; and the bishop hearing him come, with haste inquired of his man who was there? and he said, My lord of Chichester. Then the bishop in haste rose up and said—

You are most heartily welcome; and required him to sit down: and then said the bishop of Winchester to me, Lo, here is your ordinary; what have you now to say to him?

*Gratwick.* I have nothing to say to him. If he has nothing to say to me, I pray you let me depart. Then answered my counterfeit ordinary, and said—

Here you stand before my lords and me in trial of your faith; and if you bring the truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word; and your doctrine to be heard and embraced for a truth.

*Gratwick.* Then I demanded of him whether he meant by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

And he answered me, By authority as well as by the Spirit.

Then, said I, now will I turn your own argument upon you; for Christ came before the high priests, scribes and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself, which truth cannot lie, yet both he and his truth were condemned, and took no place with them: and also the apostles, and all martyrs that died since Christ:

therefore I turn your own argument upon you; answer it, if you can.

Then the said counterfeit ordinary, with great heat and choler, said to the bishop of Winchester, Object some articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would fain get out of our hands; therefore, hold him to some particular: so that no other answer could I have to this argument.

Then the bishop of Winchester began to read objections of his own making against me, and he bade me answer to them.

And I said, No, except you will set the law apart, because I see you are mindful of my blood.

*Winchester.* Now you may see he will not answer to these, but as he hath aforesaid.

Then spake the counterfeit ordinary again, and said, My lord, ask him what he saith to the sacrament of the altar. Then the bishop asked me, as my counterfeit ordinary required him.

*Gratwick.* My lord, I do believe that in the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, truly administered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the body and blood of Christ. Then I asked him, if it were not the truth, and he said, Yes; then, said I, Bear witness of the truth.

Then the bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtlest to gather upon my words, said, My lord, see you not how he creepeth away with his heresies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here separateth the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true sacrament, and also how he condemneth our administration in one kind, allowing that the unworthy receiver doth not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ; which be sore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his subtle shifts and sophistry, but he shall answer directly before he depart.

*Gratwick.* My lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confessed the same sayings to be the truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have an advantage for my blood: but seeing you judge me not to mean the sacrament of the altar, now come to the probation of the same sacrament, and prove it to be the true sacrament, and I am with you; or else, if you can prove your church to be the true church, I am also with you.

But then he called to memory the last probation of the church and sacraments, how he before was driven to forsake the scriptures, and to shew me by good reason how they might administer the sacrament in one kind: and his reason was this, Like as a man or woman dieth on a sudden, and so when we have given him the body of Christ, in the meantime the party dieth, and so he eateth the body of Christ, and drinketh not his blood. And this was his simple shift in the proving of their sacraments: so he was now half ashamed to begin that matter again.

But yet a little shift he brought in, and said—

What sayest thou by the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they minister in both kinds?

To that I answered, You have two administrations, for I am sure at Easter you administer but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but after your own imaginations.

*Winchester.* Then, what sayest thou to these words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" These are the words of Christ. Wilt thou deny them?

*Gratwick.* My lord, they are the words of scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.

*Rochester.* Why, then, thou dost confess the sacrament of the altar to be a real presence, the selfsame body that was born of the virgin Mary, and is ascended into heaven.

*Gratwick.* My lord, what do you now mean? Do you not also mean a visible body? For it cannot be, but of necessity, if it be a real presence, and a material body, it must be a visible body also.

*Winchester.*



*Winchester.* Nay, I say unto thee, it is a real presence and a material body, and an invisible body too.

*Gratwick.* My lord, then it must needs be a fantastical body, for if it should be material and invisible, as you affirm, then it must needs be a fantastical body: for it is apparent that Christ's human body was visible and seen.

Then the bishop brake out and said, When didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.

To that I answered and said, A simple argument it is; because our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth it prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?

And with that the bishop began to grow weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament, and said, He eat him wholly, as the apostles did.

And then I asked him, If he meant Christ's flesh and blood, which he speaketh of in the sixth of John, and saith, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me."

To that he answered and said, Yea.

Then said I, Of necessity Judas must needs be saved, because he did eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed, and also all the ungodly that die without repentance, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ: therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life: which is a great absurdity to grant, and then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned: for Christ saith, "Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you." And you have afore said that of your sacrament, which you say is the same flesh and blood which Christ speaketh of: and here I prove, that all children then that die under age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument, must be damned, which is horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you; answer it, if you can.

*Winchester.* My lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he bringeth in against us, mingled with sophistry, and keepeth himself so that we can get no hold of him? But I say unto thee, perverse heretic, I see thou art a perverse fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our time about thee; yet I answer thee, St. Paul doth open the sixth of St. John plainly, if thou wilt see: for he saith, "They eat Christ's body and drink his blood unworthily;" and that was the cause of their damnation.

*Gratwick.* My lord, take heed you do not add unto the text, for he that addeth to the text is accursed of God, and I am sure here you have brought more than Paul hath spoken: for he saith not; Because they have eaten his body and drank his blood unworthily; but St. Paul saith, "Whosoever shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ." Note, my lord, he saith not as you have affirmed, but quite contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

Then the bishop of Winchester said I belied the text.

And then I called for the text.

*Winchester.* I asked thee even now if thou didst understand Latin, and thy answer was, Whether thou didst or no, the people shall bear witness in English.

*Gratwick.* And so I called again for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English, for the trial of the text.

And then when the bishop of Winchester saw that I cared not which of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold of him that should bring a Testament: but God disappointed him thereof, and so he flew away from the matter, and began to rail upon me, and said, my sub-

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tle arguments should not serve: for if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. For (said he) I see a mad toy in thine head; thou gloriest much in thy talk, and thinkest now the people are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant heretical opinion. For the last day, when thou wast before me upon Sunday in St. Mary Overy's church, thou there reprovedst my sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.

To that I answered, My lord, I know your cruelty far exceeds your pity. I know from experience that you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their souls' comfort, which all men ought to have: and so you treat them more like brute-beasts than christian men.

*Winchester.* No, sir, we will use you as we will use the child: for if the child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. Because you will damn your soul with the word, you shall not have it.

*Gratwick.* My lord, a simple argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but you that did not affirm our sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word, as you say: and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good also: because that some men do abuse drink, therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such like good gift.

*Winchester.* My lords, we lose much time, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions: so that we can get no advantage of him.

Then spake my counterfeit ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet somewhat with haste when he was awakened he began to tell his tale, and said—

Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words—"That which I said, that I have said."

Then the bishop of Winchester began to read them again.

But I said unto him I would not answer them, because they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their own making, because they would have my blood. But yet I said, if they would set the law apart, I would talk my conscience freely to them.

Then my counterfeit ordinary began to speak again, charging me with the saying of St. Peter, that I should render an account of such hope as was in me.

*Gratwick.* So I can do, yet I shall not please you, for here I now render my hope as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jesus Christ to have my salvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in such sort, as you may have my blood, and therefore you bring good scriptures, and evil apply them.

*Winchester.* Why, this fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands than we have already; therefore let us pronounce sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.

*Gratwick.* Nay, my lord, seeing you will needs have my blood, let me say a little more for myself.

On Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James, and said, "If any man think himself a religious man, and in the mean time seduce his tongue or his heart, the same man's religion is a vain religion;" and so, my lord, you standing there in the pulpit, in the mean time seduced your tongue to slander us poor prisoners, being there present in iron bands, burdening us with the sects of Ariens, Herodians, Anabaptists, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians.

And when we stood up to purge ourselves thereof,



you said you would cut out our tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave yourself a shrewd blow, for your tongue in the mean time slandered your neighbour. For I, my lord, will give my life against all these heresies, which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation, and said—

Thou wilt grant here no more but this word, "That I have said, I have said:" and here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou hast heretofore said.

Then I answered, If you can prove that ever any of my examinations were written, it is enough: but you have nothing against me but objections of your own making.

*Winchester.* Have at thee now, if thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce sentence against thee; and so he proceeded forward, cursing and banning in Latin; so I told him if the people might hear it in English, they would think him an uncharitable bishop.

And then I said, Stay, my lord, and mind what you do: for you have neither temporal nor spiritual law here against me in any cause.

Then stepped forth a gentleman, and said unto my lord, Take heed what you do: for he doth here say, that you have no title or cause why you should condemn him.

Then the bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him, whereof I should recant.

Then said the bishop, Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do: and so he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another gentleman which began to snap and snatch at me: and then, said I, I would to God I had known this before I had ever come from home, I would have put on breeches, and not had my skin thus torn. And all this while the bishop read on still.

At last his chaplains cried, Stop, stop, my lord; for now he will recant. And then the bishop asked me again.

To which I answered, My lord, my faith is grounded more stedfastly, than to change in a moment; it is no process of time can alter me, unless my faith were as the waves of the sea: and so the bishop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be again carried to the Marshalsea. And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice, that he would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were his good will, and they refused my prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth: and so I was brought to the Marshalsea, and bound in irons. Therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this present writing shall come, may take example by my death and warfare. So be it.

By me Stephen Gratwick, condemned for God's everlasting truth.

Here, for want of time, I left out many matters, because the Lord hath hastened the time, so that I have written but the briefness of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of faith, which the bishop of Rochester and I debated upon; which matter I would have been glad to have set down in writing.

Also much more talk there was, that the bishop of Winchester and I had concerning my worldly friends and personal estate: for he played Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountains, and there told me my learning was good, and my eloquence, and also my knowledge, save that I did abuse it, said he; and then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comely, and worthy to serve a prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me answer to such objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his diocese.

Thus this christian martyr Stephen Gratwick, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Winches-

ter (as you have heard), was burnt with W. Mo-  
raunt, and one named King, in St. George's-fields,  
about the latter end of May.

*The History of seven godly MARTYRS, five Women  
and two Men, burnt at Maidstone for professing the  
true Religion of Christ.*

**I** SHEWED a little before, how after the universal proclamation was set forth by the king and queen in the month of February last, the storm of persecution began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before), but yet in no place more than in the diocese of Canterbury, by reason of the aforesaid inquisitors, being now armed with authority, but especially by reason of Richard Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who were so furious and fiery against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly saint lieth slain under the altar.

Now to return to the said diocese of Canterbury, in the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were seven christian and faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst.

Walter Appleby, of Maidstone.

Petronil, his wife.

Edmund Allin, of Frytenden.

Catherine, his wife.

John Manning's wife, of Maidstone.

Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the same ordinary in the aforesaid diocese of Canterbury.

Now as touching their answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with their adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allin some intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cause and answers before the justices, as here consequently you shall understand.

#### *The Examination of EDMUND ALLIN.*

**T**HIS Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did; also fed them with the food of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests dwelling thereabouts, by the procurement of them, namely of John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before sir John Baker, knight, who committed both him and his wife to prison, but soon after they were let out, I know not how, and went to Calais; where continuing some time, he began to be troubled in conscience, and meeting with one John Webb, from Frytenden (who had likewise fled from the tyranny of sir John Baker and parson Taylor), said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; for God, said he, had something to do for him in England: and shortly after he returned to Frytenden, where was cruel Taylor.

This parson being informed that Edmund Allin and his wife were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it), even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto their house, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them as soon as he could. Which promise he well performed,



performed, for he had no sooner made an end of *Ite, missa est*, and the vestments off his back, but presently he was at the house, and there laying hands on the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the scriptures to the people; and so he and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. Witnessed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Crambroke, and John Webb, of Frytenden.

No sooner were they in prison, but sir John Baker immediately sent certain of his men to their house, namely, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house: where they found in the bed straw a little chest locked with a padlock, wherein they found a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold and partly in silver; which money after being told, and put in the bag again, they carried away with them.

Besides also they found there certain books, as psalters, bibles, and other writings: all which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, and afterwards in the fifth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, it was by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly robbed and spoiled of all their goods, were brought, as is aforesaid, before sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conspiracies to sow sedition and rebellion; and thus he began to reason with him.

A Conference between Sir JOHN BAKER, COLLINS, his Chaplain, and EDMUND ALLIN.

Baker. **W**HO gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy licence.

Collins, sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. If it pleases your honour to permit me to answer in the cause of my faith, I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other christians. Why are we called christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our master? and shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our Redeemer, and shall not we praise his name, and serve him who hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, when but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? and yet, notwithstanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward priesthood; wherefore, if we be christians, we must do the same.

Collins. Please your honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ!

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out presently an infinite number of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself?

Allin. Yea, that I have. Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and posterity, and so David teacheth in divers Psalms: and Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the preacher very well proveth, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called "The eighth preacher of righteousness," in the second epistle of Peter. Also, in the 11th chapter of Numbers, where Moses had chosen seventy elders to help him to

teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents, wherefore Joshua being offended, complained to Moses, that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. Why should I be long? most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

Collins. These are authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knowest no school-points. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, and judicial?

Allin. I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Colossians, where he saith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Christ is the body."

Collins. And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Christ in the fifth chapter of Matthew, and by Paul in the first epistle to Timothy. The law, saith he, is not set forth for the virtuous and godly, but for man-slayers, perjurors, adulterers, and such like.

Collins. Thou art an heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again? Wilt thou have adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parents to be stoned? wilt thou have *Legem Talionis*? But thou art an ass. Why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

Allin. If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither false witness bearers, nor ruffians.

Baker. Master Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why did you teach the people, whom you said you had fed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest?

Allin. Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to others. For as out of flint stones cometh forth that which is able to set the world on fire; so out of christians should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and to utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea and commended to practise his faculty and science, and the christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised by christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, 1 Cor. xiv. to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbid any. Read the Acts of the apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard a learned man preach in king Edward's days.

Collins. This villain, please your honour, is mad. By my priesthood, I believe that he will say that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest bind and loose?

Allin. No, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest. For every christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth, and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore, saith Christ, Matth. xviii. "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whose soever sins they forgive, they are forgiven, and whose soever they retain,



tain. they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and salvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, St. Austin, Origen, and others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all night: wherewith some that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, desired Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel, in the sixth chapter. "Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them, behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly before the sacring, went out and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast, and lamented that he was seduced by the words of Baruch, which his conscience told him was no scripture, or else had another meaning: after this he was brought again before sir John Baker, who asked why he refused to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

*Allin.* It is an idol.

*Collins.* It is God's body.

*Allin.* It is not.

*Collins.* By the mass it is.

*Allin.* It is bread.

*Collins.* How provest thou that?

*Allin.* When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat.

*Collins.* Bread, knave?

*Allin.* Yes, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he was in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else he had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity.

*Baker.* Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.

*Allin.* Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

*Collins.* Thou ignorant ass, the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be every where.

*Allin.* If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths by your own reason.

*Collins.* A glorified body occupieth no place.

*Allin.* That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing else: but Christ's body, you say, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward.

*Collins.* This rebel will believe nothing but scripture. How knowest thou that it is the scripture but by the church? and so saith St. Austin.

*Allin.* I cannot tell what St. Austin saith, but I am persuaded that it is scripture, by divers arguments: First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myself I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, presumption.

The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (saith St. Paul) certifieth my spirit that I am the son of God, and that these are the scriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. i. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works (as David dis-

courseth in Psal. xix.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God and his power, majesty and might; and because the scripture teacheth nothing disagreeing from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, that the seed of the woman should break down the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and these words, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

*Baker.* I heard say that you spake against priests and bishops.

*Allin.* I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds a-piece, then would they apply their study; now they cannot for their affairs.

*Collins.* Who will then set his children to school?

*Allin.* Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty; because that one bishop's living divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many men, as well learned as the bishops now are who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any such revenue.

*Baker.* Let us dispatch him; he will mar all.

*Collins.* If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men.

*Baker.* But our bishops would be angry, if that they knew it.

*Allin.* It would be for the common good to have such bishoprics divided, for the further increase of learning.

*Baker.* What sayest thou to the sacrament?

*Allin.* As I said before.

*Baker.* Away with him.

Then he was carried to prison, and afterward burned. And thus much concerning the particular story of Edmund Allin and his wife: who, with the five other martyrs above named, being seven, were burned at Maidstone, the 18th of June, 1557.

#### *Another Story of like Cruelty, shewed upon three Men and four Women, who were burnt at Canterbury.*

**A**MONG such infinite seas of trouble in these most dangerous days, who can withhold from tears to see the madding rage of these pretended catholics, who being never satisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the precise law of God's commandments, in slaying the simple poor lambs of the glorious congregation of Jesus Christ, and that for the true testimony of a good conscience, in confessing the immaculate gospel of their salvation? What heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these men, who for want of work do so wrack their time on silly poor women, whose weakness the more strength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed of men that be stronger, and especially of priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who supernaturally hath induced from above such weak creatures with such manly fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost extremity of these merciless persecutors: as he did before strengthen the mother of the seven sons in the Maccabees, and as he hath done since with divers other godly women in our days, partly before mentioned, and partly hereafter, as may appear by the martyrdom of the seven following, four women and three men, burnt together at Canterbury the 30th of the said month of June, 1557, whose names are these—

John Fishcock,	Bradbridge's widow,
Nicholas White,	Wilson's wife,
Nicholas Pardue,	Benden's wife.
Barbara Final, widow,	

As it would be tedious exactly and particularly to relate the several stories of every one of these martyrs, so I cannot





*The Burning of John Fishcock, Nich. White, Nich. Pardue, Barbara Final, Mary Branbridge, Ann Wilfon and Alice Benden at Canterbury, in Kent.*

*The Martyrdom of Robt. Glover }  
Corps Bungey, at Coventry, Warwick-sh.*



I cannot pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden during her imprisonment, according as I have received by the faithful relation of them who were best acquainted with her, and partly also some doers in the matter, being her own natural brethren. The story is thus:

Alice Benden, wife of Edward Benden, of the parish of Staplehurst, in the county of Kent, was first brought before Mr. Roberts, of Cranbroke, in the said county, the 14th of October, 1556, of whom she was demanded why she would not go to the church? To which she answered, that she could not do so with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For which, with many mocks and taunts, she was sent to prison, where she lay fourteen days: and on the 20th of October, her husband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurst, to write to the bishop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannical sword in Kent for those days, which they did, desiring him to send her home.

Wherefore the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church. Whereunto she answered, If I would have so done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be confessed by thy parish priest? And she said, No, that she would not.

Well, said he, go thy ways home, and go to the church when thou wilt. To which she answered nothing. But a priest that stood by, said, She saith she will, my lord. Wherefore he let her go, and she came home forthwith.

On the Saturday following her husband desired her to go to the church; which she refused to do: wherefore, on the Sunday fortnight after, he going to the church, came into the company of divers inhabitants of the same parish; among whom, through his foolish talk and behaviour, he procured her to be sent to Sir John Gilford, who commanded her to prison again: yea, and the more to utter his own shame, they said her husband took money of the constable to carry her to prison, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself. But she having much more care of his honest and good report, than he had regard (as it is easy to see) of his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his unnatural doings, chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world should bear witness against her husband of so wicked a fact. Wherefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her: but he answered that he could not; yet he granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison, namely, Canterbury castle, according to commandment.

Here one thing is worthy to be noted, that while she was in this prison, she practised with a fellow-prisoner, the wife of one Potkin, to live both of them on two-pence halfpenny a day, to try thereby how well they could sustain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they should be removed from thence to the bishop's prison, their allowance should be but three farthings apiece a day: and did indeed both so live for 14 days before she was removed.

The 22d of January following, her husband went again to the bishop, desiring him to deliver his wife out of prison; but he said she was an obstinate heretic, and would not be reformed, and therefore said that he could not deliver her.

Then said he, My lord, she hath a brother, whose name is Roger Hall, who resorteth unto her. If your lordship could keep him from her, she would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and persuadeth her not to return or relent.

This caution was no sooner given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the bishop commanding her upon the same to a prison called Monday's Hole, he gave a strict charge, that if at any time her brother came, he should be apprehended.

No. 49.

This prison was within a court where the prebend's chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and before the window inclosed with a pale about four feet and an half high, and three feet distance from the same; so that she looking from beneath, might only see such as stood at the pale. After this, her brother sought often for her, with no less danger of life than diligence. But, for the unknown situation of the place, it being but seldom used as a prison, and the matter closely kept, he could never understand that she was there, until, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he coming thither early in the morning, her keeper being gone to the church to ring, happened to hear her voice, as she was pouring out her sorrowful complaints unto God, saying the Psalms of David: and he could not relieve her, only by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking the same on a pole, and so reached it to her; for neither with meat nor drink could he sustain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither, in all which time no creature was known to come at her more than her keeper.

Her lying in that prison was only upon a little straw between a pair of stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, one half-penny for bread, and a farthing for drink, neither could she get any more for her money. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread, and used water for her drink. Thus did she lie nine weeks. During all which time she never changed her apparel; whereby at last she became a very piteous and loathsome creature to behold.

At her first coming into this place she did grievously bewail, with great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself, why her Lord God did suffer her with such heavy justice to be sequestered from her loving fellows into such extreme misery.

In these dolorous mournings did she continue, till on a night as she was in her sorrowful supplication, rehearsing this verse of the Psalm, "Why art thou so heavy, O my soul?" And again, "The right hand of the Most High can change all:" she received comfort in the midst of her misery, and after that continued very joyful till her delivery from the same.

About the 25th of March, in the year 1557, she was called before the bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and to the church or no, promising her great favour, if she would be reformed and do as they did.

To whom she answered, I am thoroughly persuaded, by the great extremity that you have already shewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly: and I see that you seek my utter destruction; shewing how lame she was by hunger and cold, while she lay in the dismal prison, whereby she was not able to move without great pain.

Then the bishop delivered her from that filthy hole, and sent her to West-gate, where being kept clean, her skin did peel and scale off, as if she had been poisoned by some mortal venom. Here she continued till the latter end of April, when she was called before them, and with others condemned, and committed to a prison called the Castle, where she lay till the 19th of June, and then resigned her life in the flames.

When she was at the stake, she threw her handkerchief to one John Banks, requiring him to keep it in memory of her; and from her middle she took a white lace, which she gave to the keeper, desiring him to give the same to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him, that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the chain. A shilling also, of Philip and Mary, she took forth, which her father had bent and sent her when she was first sent to prison, desiring that her said brother should with obedient salutation render the same to her father again, and shew him that it was the first piece of money that he sent her after her troubles began, which (as she protested) she had kept, and now sent to let him understand, that she never wanted money while she was in prison.

7 C

Alice



Alice Benden, and the other five before mentioned, were burnt at the same time. Being brought to the place of martyrdom, they undressed themselves joyfully at the fire, and being ready, they all seven (like the communion of saints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to the Lord with such zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the cross could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they arose and went to the stake, where being soon encompassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hands of the Lord.

This Bradbridge's wife had two children, the one named Patience, the other Charity, and when she was condemned by the bishop, she desired (if she must needs be burnt) that he would take Patience and Charity (meaning her two children) and keep them. Nay, quoth the bishop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them.

### The Troubles and Examinations of MATTHEW PLAISE.

**M**ATTHEW PLAISE, of the parish of Stone, in the county of Kent, weaver, and a faithful christian, being apprehended and imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination in the year 1557, before Thornton, bishop of Dover, archdeacon Harpsfield, commissary Collins, and other inquisitors, in the following manner:

*Bishop.* Art thou of the diocese of Canterbury, and where dwellest thou?

*Plaise.* I am of the parish of Stone, in Kent, and subject to the king and queen of England.

*Bishop.* Thou wert indicted by twelve men at the sessions of Ashford, for heresy.

*Plaise.* That is sooner said than proved.

*Bishop.* I have spoken the truth, and can prove it.

*Plaise.* I desire to hear it, and then I will answer to it.

*Bishop.* No, no; you shall answer to the article, yea or nay.

*Plaise.* You cannot prove it; for I was not at Ashford, and therefore you have nothing to lay to my charge; but now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

*Harpsfield.* Peace, peace; we do not desire thy blood, but we are glad to hear thou art no heretic, [with many other flattering words] yet thou art suspected of heresy; and if thou wilt be content to confess how thou dost believe concerning these articles, we shall gladly teach thee.

*Plaise.* I do not think so, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I believed in the sacrament, and I recited unto him the text, and because I would not make my exposition to him upon it, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him, for my instruction, to write his mind, and if it were the truth I would believe him; and this I desired of him for the love of God, but it would not be.

*Harpsfield.* I dare swear upon a book, that it is not so.

*Plaise.* Nay, I can prove it to be true.

*Harpsfield.* I will tell thee the truth [and he stood up with a long process], I am sure that the same doctor doth believe as I do.

*Plaise.* How do you know that? Seeing St. Paul doth say, That no man knoweth what is in man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you knew what Christ meant by these words, "I require mercy and not sacrifice," Matthew xii. you would not kill innocents.

*Bishop.* I charge thee, in the name of the king and queen and the lord cardinal, to answer yea or nay to the articles.

*Plaise.* I command you, in the name of Him who shall come in flaming fire with his mighty angels, to

render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that believe not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ who shall be punished with everlasting damnation, that you shall speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his apostles, and then I will answer you, or else not.

*Bishop.* Unless thou wilt answer to every article, I will immediately condemn thee.

*Plaise.* Well, if you do, you shall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourself a murderer.

Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the second article, which was, That I was a christian man, and did believe in their mother the catholic church, and the determination thereof.

*Plaise.* I am a christian man indeed, and therefore you have nothing against me.

*Harpsfield.* What sayest thou to the catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this heresy hath sprung up in this realm?

*Plaise.* No man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the catholic church of Christ.

*Bishop.* Dost thou not believe the creed?

*Plaise.* Yes verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with the rest of the scriptures.

*Bishop.* Thou dost confess that there is a catholic church, I am glad of that; but tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or no?

*Plaise.* Well, now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge, for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.

*Bishop.* Is there no part of that church here in England?

*Plaise.* Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where; Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them.

Then the archdeacon stood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and said to the people that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long time, and that half a dozen of us should have the truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived, with such like taunts and mocks; but would not suffer me to speak one word. Then he read the article of the sacrament, and said I denied the real presence to be in the sacrament after it was once consecrated, and that I said, Christ's body was in heaven, and no where else, and that the bread was nothing but a sign, token, or remembrance.

*Plaise.* You have to shew where and what my words were.

Hereof we talked a great while.

At last the bishop was so angry, that he charged me, in the names of the king, queen, and cardinal, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea, or nay, he would condemn me.

Then said I, Seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, why should I answer?

Then the archdeacon said I was guilty, and that I was like a thief at the bar, who would not confess his fault because his accusers were not present; with a great many more words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

Then I saw whereabouts they went, gathering to answer them by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning, I believe that Christ took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me."

*Harpsfield.* Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?

*Plaise.*



*Plaise.* Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the very truth.

*Harpfield.* Thou hast very well said, we will take no advantage of thy words.

Then he praised me with many words, going about to prove his body real and substantial, and said, Christ called himself bread: and this to prove, when Christ said, "This is my body;" the bread was his body, said he, indeed, real and substantial, not so long and so big as it hung on the cross, as the Capernaïtes did think; but we eat it, as man's weak nature can eat Christ. Therefore when he had said, "This is my body," the bread was his body in very deed.

*Plaise.* What did Christ mean by these words, "Which is given for you?"

*Harpfield.* Christ spake that by the bread also.

*Plaise.* Is Christ's body made of bread? Was bread given for our redemption? Or was the bread crucified for us, or not?

*Harpfield.* No, by St. Mary, I say not so.

*Plaise.* You have said the truth indeed, and even as I believe.

Then he stood up with a great many words, and said, that I thought it but bare bread still, as other bread is; but he was sure Christ called it his body, and then it was his body indeed, for he would believe Christ.

When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by the law, I said, he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

*Harpfield.* What dost thou say it is?

*Plaise.* I do believe it was that which he gave them.

*Harpfield.* What was that?

*Plaise.* That which he brake.

*Harpfield.* What did he break?

*Plaise.* That which he took.

*Harpfield.* What did he take?

*Plaise.* The text saith, "He took bread."

*Harpfield.* Well then, thou sayest it was but bread that his disciples did eat, by thy reason.

*Plaise.* Thus much I say, Look, what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

*Harpfield.* Why, then, was not that his body which they did eat?

*Plaise.* It was that which he brake.

*Harpfield.* Well, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou dost think it is but bread still, and that he was not able to make it his body.

*Plaise.* That is your exposition upon my mind.

*Harpfield.* What didst thou receive when thou didst receive last?

*Plaise.* I do believe that I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood; for he saith, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Then he said, I had answered well, thinking to have had some advantage over me, and prayed me to tell him how I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood.

Then I said, I must answer you by the word which Christ saith, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him."

Then he faced out the matter with sophistry, and said, I did eat Christ as that church was in his eye, with many such mocks, but would not let me answer one word.

Commiffary Collins then asked me, if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself bread in the 6th of John. So Paul saith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread, (meaning Christ's body) unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lord's body." For thus saith Christ, "The bread that I will give you is my flesh." Now it is no bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alledged every scripture false, to make up the matter.

*Plaise.* I believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he hath spoken them. For thus he saith, "He

that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body."

*Collins.* What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation?

*Plaise.* St. Paul declareth it plainly with these words, "If ye had judged yourselves, ye should not have been judged of the Lord."

*Harpfield.* I marvel that you will not say, that he called the bread his body, seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.

*Plaise.* You have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.

*Harpfield.* In that they said it was his body, they said the truth.

*Plaise.* Wherefore were they killed, seeing they said the truth.

*Bishop.* I had all their answers, and they did not believe as they said. For they said Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body: but thou shalt answer me by-and-by, whether it be his body or not, or else I will anger thee.

*Plaise.* I have answered you by the word already, and I believe it also; therefore if you condemn me for that, my life is not dear unto me, and I am sure you shall not escape unpunished; for God will be revenged on such murderers.

Then the archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my soul might be saved; with many more words, and desired me that I would believe him, for he would speak the truth: beginning with how Christ fed five thousand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine; even so Christ took bread and blest it, and when he had done, he brake it, and said, "This is my body," and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it must needs be his body.

*Plaise.* I desire you to speak the text right, or else I will not believe you.

Then archdeacon Harpfield stood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and said, I was a stubborn fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

*Plaise.* I ought to hold you accursed, if you teach doctrine contrary to Christ and his apostles.

*Harpfield.* Do you believe that Christ gave that he took or not?

*Plaise.* I do believe as much as can be proved by the scripture, and more I will not believe.

Then he began with Moses's rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was by Moses being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing and gave to his disciples another?

*Plaise.* Your comparison is nothing like, for Moses's rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed; but in this sacrament no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

*Bishop.* Your opinion and faith is like unto the Capernaïtes.

*Plaise.* Yours is more like their opinion than mine.

Then Harpfield asked me, whether Christ took not one thing and gave another?

*Plaise.* What he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and no other answer will I make, contrary to the word.

Then the archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued 1500 years: neither yet did say, as others had before, how Christ did call it his body.

*Plaise.* When Cranmer, who was here bishop, was in authority, he said, he held the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and hath given his life for his opinion, and would you have me believe you, because you say you hold the truth? That which makes me believe chiefly, is the scripture, which I am sure is the truth indeed.

*Bishop.*



*Bishop.* I have spoken the truth, and you will not believe.

*Plaife.* If you do not now speak the truth, I am sure you have spoke the truth: [for he had before preached doctrine contrary to this.]

Then the rest of my articles were read; which I answered, and in every article he had up this brea-den god. And they sent for a lighted candle, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure then: blessed be his name for evermore, Amen.

Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide me, because I would not desire a day of the bishop, and said, I was a naughty stubborn fellow, and that it had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

*Plaife.* I have spoken the truth; and therefore will not ask him for a day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Then the commissary said, Dost thou not think that thou mayest be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?

*Plaife.* Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was sure God's word could not be deceived.

Then the commissary prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn; and said, they would be glad to teach me.

*Plaife.* I will be as glad to learn as any man.

And thus they rose up, and went away, saying nothing.

What became of this Matthew Plaife afterwards, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

#### *The History of TEN MARTYRS, who were burnt in one Fire at Lewes.*

**I**N the town of Lewes, on the 22d of June, the ten following persons suffered in one fire.

Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Mainard, Alexander Hofman, his servant, Thomas Wood, Mainard's maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her son, Denis Burgis, Ashdon's wife, and Grove's wife.

Of which number Richard Woodman was the first, who by his occupation was an iron-maker, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Suffex, and diocese of Chichester, about the age of 30 years. The occasion of his first apprehension was this:

There was one Fairebanke, who had sometime been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught and set forth in king Edward's days. And afterward, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the said Fairbanke preached contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman hearing him preach so contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconsistency, how before time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For which words he was apprehended, and brought before Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. Tonston, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Roberts, justices of the peace in the county of Suffex, and by them committed to the King's-Bench, where he continued from June, the space almost of a year and a half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Story into bishop Bonner's Coal-house, where he remained a month before he came to examination.

At length, the same day, when Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, he with four other prisoners was set at liberty by bishop Bonner. Notwithstanding shortly after he was sought for again, and at last taken by means of his father, brother, and other friends, and was sent up again to bishop Bonner, where he remained in the Coal-house eight

weeks. He was there six times examined, and twenty-six times before; so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his apprehension to his condemnation. And as the matter is somewhat strange, and will perhaps scarce find credit upon my narration, with them who deny all things that do not please them, you shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his own examinations, recorded by himself as follows:

*A true Certificate written by RICHARD WOODMAN, of his Apprehension and Imprisonment, and how he was there used, till he was brought before the Bishop of Chichester, at Black-Friars, London, together with his Examinations.*

**G**ENTLE reader, you will here perceive how the scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of these poor lambs. First, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands in the year 1555, and the same day that Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his Coal-house eight weeks, wanting a day; and before that I was almost a year and a half in the King's-Bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sessions before I was sent to prison, and carried to two more while I was in prison; twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners; and then sent to Bonner's Coal-house, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I have written.

And it pleased God to deliver me with four more out of the butcher's hands, requiring nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true catholic church that was built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the true head of the church; to which we all affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purposed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he ordered us many times to speak well of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful a servant in his master the devil's business. For he had burnt good Mr. Philpot the same morning, in whose blood his heart was so drunken (as I supposed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he sought for some of us again, yea, and that earnestly. He waxed dry, after his great drunkenness, wherefore he is like to have blood to drink in hell, as he is worthy, if he repent it not speedily. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will.

This have I written, chiefly to certify to all people how we were delivered, because many carnal gospellers and papists have said, that it was prescribed that we should be so delivered, because they think that God is subject to man, and not man to God: for if they did they would not blaspheme him as they do, or if they thought they should give an account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Israel out of Egypt, and Daniel out of the lion's den? Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, out of the burning oven? with divers other such like examples; yea God is the same God that he was then: he is no older, nor less in power, as some count him, in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was delivered, the papists said, that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad; - which was the least part of my thought, (I praise God for it) as they well perceived, and knew the contrary in a short time: for I went from parish to parish, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefest in all the country; and I angered them so, that they with the commissioners complained of me to the lord chamberlain that was, then to the queen, sir John





*The Burning of Rich<sup>d</sup> Woodman, Geo. Stevens, W<sup>m</sup> Maynard, Alex<sup>d</sup> Hosman, Tho. Wood, Margery Morris, Ja<sup>s</sup> Morris, M<sup>r</sup> Ashdowne, M<sup>r</sup> Gloves & M<sup>r</sup> Burges, at Lewes, in Sussex.*



*Rose Allin's Hand burnt with a Candle by that Monster of inhumanity Edmund Tyrrel*



John Gage, shewing him that I baptized children, and married people, with many such lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the commissioners sent out certain citations to bring me to the court. The lord chamberlain had directed out three or four warrants for me, that if I had come there I should have been attached and immediately sent to prison; which was not God's will, for I had warning of their lying in wait for me, and went not thither, but sent my deputy, and he brought me word that the bailiffs waited for me there; but they missed of their prey for that time, whereupon they were displeased.

Then within three days after, my lord sent three of his men to me, whose names were Dean, Jeffrey, and Francis. I being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my house, least mistrusting them of all others, came and spake to them, asking them how they did. And they said they arrested me in the names of the king and queen, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain. Which words made my flesh to tremble and quake, being suddenly surprised. But I answered them that I would go with them, and desired that they would go with me to my house, that I might break my fast, and put on some other apparel; and they said I should. Then I remembered myself, and said in my heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myself happy. I remembered how I was willing before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid; for then were all my labour vain.

So by-and-by I was persuaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loth to forego my wife and children, and goods; for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soon as I had determined in my mind to die, I had regard to nothing in this world, but I was as merry and as joyful, I praise God, as ever I was. This agitation lasted not a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death itself, for the time it lasted.

So after I had my breakfast, I desired them to shew me their warrant, thinking thereby I should know for what cause I was arrested, that I might the better defend myself when I came before their master. And one of them answered, they had not their warrant there. Which words made me astonished, and it was put into my mind by God; that I need not go with them, unless they had their warrant. Then said I to them, That is a wonder you will come to take a man without a warrant. It seemeth to me that you come of your own mind to get thanks of your master; for, indeed, I heard say, that there were four or five warrants out for me, but they were all called in again, because I had certified to my lord and the commissary, by a letter I had sent to the commissary's court, that I was not guilty of that they had charged me with, which was baptizing of children, and marrying folks; which I never did; for I was never a minister appointed to do any such thing: wherefore set your hearts at rest, I will not go with you, unless you will carry me by force, and if you do so be it at your peril. So I rose from the table, and stepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them, if possible, seeing God had made the way so open for me. I meant to play Peter's part with them, but God would not it should be so, but sent a fear amongst them, that as soon as I was gone into my chamber, before I could come out again, they were gone out of my house.

When I saw that, I knew it was God's doing to set me at liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to speak to them, and said, If you have a warrant, I desire you for God's sake to shew it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I desire you, in God's peace and the king's to depart; for surely I will not go along with you without the order of law; for I have been too simple in such things already. Before I was sent to prison first, I met the justices at two sessions, without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and went justly to them,

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and they sent me to prison, and kept me there near a year and three quarters; without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cause gently debated. And it seemeth strange to me that I should be thus evil treated; therefore I will go to none henceforth, without the extremity of the law.

Then one of them said to me, We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it. Then said I, Fetch it, if you will; but if you come in my house before you have it, at your peril be it. So I shut my door, and went out at the other door. They got help to guard my house, and one of them fetched the constable and many more, thinking to have carried me away with a licence; but, as God would have it, I was gone before. Notwithstanding, they sought every corner of my house, but to no purpose. I suspected they would search it that night again, and kept myself abroad; and there came seven of his men, and the constable, and searched my house. When they found they could not meet with me, they could have rent their clothes, that I had so escaped them, knowing they should have a check from their master. Hearing that they had so sought for me again, and perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, I came home, and my wife told me all things.

Then I supposed that they would search all the country for me, and the sea coast, because I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not imagine that I would dare to be near home. So I told my wife that I would take my lodging in a wood near my house, as indeed I did, even under a tree, and there had my Bible, pen and ink, and other necessities; continuing there six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the country, that I was seen and spoken with in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me: for they had sought all the country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put it in my mind they would.

So when all was hushed; I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the sea into Flanders and France; but I thought every day seven years whilst I was there; so I came home again as soon as possible. I was there but three weeks, before the priests of Baal discovered me, and procured warrants against me, causing my house to be searched sometimes twice in a week. This continued from St. James's-tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Sometimes I went privily, at others openly; sometimes from home a fortnight or three weeks, at others I was at home a month or five weeks together, living most commonly and openly, about my ordinary business; yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was fully come: and then by the voice of the country, and manifest proofs, my brother as concerning the flesh, delivered me into their hands, because he knew that I was at home.

My father and he had as much of my effects in their hands as would produce 56l. a year clear. I delivered into their hands a lordship and an honour, and half an honour, to pay my debts; and the rest to remain with my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts, which grieved me sore, for it was 200l. better than the goods came to; which caused me to speak to some of my friends, that they would speak to them to come to some sort of reckoning with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver to me such writings and writs as they had of mine, or to whom I should appoint them.

So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning should be made and sent to me the same day that I was taken; my brother supposing that I should have put him out of most of all that he possessed; for it was all mine, in a manner, that he occupied, as all the country can and do well know. Where-



upon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar, my next neighbour, and some of Mr. Gage's men, or Mr. Gage himself: and so he sent to his brother, and his brother sent twelve of his men (he being sheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the bushes near my house, till about nine o'clock, the hour that was appointed among themselves; for about the same time they thought to have had me within my house.

They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, mother, yonder comes twenty men. I sitting in my bed, making of shoe-thongs, heard the words, and suspecting that I was betrayed, I put on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the door before they had come. My wife being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were by. Then she shut the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and barred the other. They immediately beset the house, and commanded the doors to be opened, or they would break them in pieces. Then I had no shift, but I must either openly appear, or make some other remedy.

There was a certain place in my house that had never been found out, though searched at least twenty times, and sometimes almost by as many men at once; into which place I went. Then my wife opened the door, and they came in and asked for me: but she said I was not at home. They asked her why she shut the door, if I was not at home. She said, because she had been made afraid divers times with such as came to search us; therefore she shut the door: for it is reported (said she) that whosoever can take my husband, may hang him or burn him directly; and I doubt they will serve me or my children so; for I think they may do so unto us as well as to him. Well, said they, we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we are the sheriff's men: let us have a candle: it is told us there are many secret places in your house. So she lighted a candle, and they sought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my house into the church-yard, and there talking with my father and some he had brought with him.

When they could not find me, one of them went to my brother, who informed them I was at home, and they said, We cannot find him. Then he asked them if they had sought over a window in the hall (as it was known after), for the same place I had told him of myself: for many times when I came home, I used to send for him to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search again. One looked up over the window, and spied a little loft, with three or four chests, and the entrance was between two of the chests, but no man could perceive it. Then he asked my wife the way into it: here is a place that has not been sought. When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said, the way into it was out of the chamber they were then in. So she sent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for myself that I could. The place was boarded over, and nailed fast, and if I had come out the way that I went in, I must needs come out amongst them all in the hall. Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, making a great noise; and they that were in the other chamber, seeking the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an out-cry. Yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on.

So I took down a lane that was full of sharp cinders, and they came running after with a great cry, and their swords drawn, crying, Strike him, strike him. This made me look back, and there was no one near me by an hundred feet; and that was but one, the rest being a great way behind. I turned about

hastily to go, and stepped upon a sharp cinder with one foot, and saving of it, I stepped into a great miry hole, and fell down, and before I could arise, and get off, he came up with me. His name is Parker the Wild, as he is counted in all Suffex. But if I had had my shoes on, they had been like to have gone back errandless, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to which I had not a stone's cast: but it was not God's will; if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

Then they took me and led me home again, to put on my shoes, and such clothes as I had need of. Then said John Fauconer, Now your master hath deceived you. You said you were an angel, and if you had been one, why did you not flee from us? Then said I, Who are they that ever heard me say that I was an angel? It is not the first lye by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women: but if they had said, they had heard me say, that I do trust I am a saint, they had not said amiss. What, do you think to be a saint? Yea, that I do, and am already in God's sight, I trust in God; for he that is not a saint in God's sight already, is a devil. Therefore he that thinketh scorn to be a saint, let him be a devil. And with that word they had brought me to mine own door, where I met my father, and he desired me to remember myself.

To whom I said, I praise God, I am well remembered whereabouts I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies; but woe unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The scriptures are now fulfilled on me, "For the father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death," as it is this day come to pass. Then said one, He doth accuse his father, a good child indeed. I accuse him not, but say my mind; for there was no man knew I was at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, who I dare say would not hurt me for all the good in this town.

There was one George Beching that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, Brother, do not think I was the cause of your being taken. I answered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then one from Lause said, that I had been a gosseller, and stood from them when I was brought to a sessions at Lause; and he said, I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at Lause, and I offered Hussey the sheriff to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was, and said, Be you the pewterer? And he said, Yea. Then said I, It has happened to you according to the true proverb, as St. Peter saith, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that is washed, to wallow in the mire," and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning. Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

All this time I stood on the outside of my door; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and clothes; then they put an harness about my arms, made of a dog's slip, which rejoiced my heart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never expecting to see them any more in this world: for it was so thought by all the country, that I should not live six days after my apprehension; for they had so reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unless God would grant it; I know what God can do; but what he will do I know not: but I am sure he will work all things for the best to them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Fille about three o'clock. And thus much touching the causes and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Let us now see his examinations, which follow in this order.



The first Examination of RICHARD WOODMAN,  
before Dr. CHRISTOPHERSON, Bishop of Chichester,  
Dr. STORY, Dr. COOK, and others.

ON the 12th of April, in the year of our Lord 1557, I was sent from the sheriffs to London, and afterwards, on the 14th of the same month, I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

*Chichester.* I am sorry for you, and so are all the worshipful men of your country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good estimation with all the country, amongst the poor and rich, till of late. Wherefore look well upon yourself, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled by me. Think not yourself wiser than all the realm. Be informed, and you shall have the favour of them all, as much as ever you had.

*Woodman.* You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended: as, if you will give me leave, I will shew you.

*Chich.* Yes, I pray you say your mind.

*Woodman.* May it please you, you have charged me as though I made myself wiser than all the realm; God doth know, I stand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you say, I have been well esteemed both by the rich and poor, God doth know, I know not that I have given any just offence either to rich or poor. As for my wife and children, God knows how I love them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children, are all in God's hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I trust, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all, than them, if I might have my choice, and not displease God.

*Chich.* The sheriff took pains to come to me out of love, which he bare to you as to himself; and said you were desirous to speak to me.

*Wood.* I thought it meet to appeal to mine ordinary: for they go about to shed my blood unrighteously, and they have laid many unjust things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by God's word, I stand to be reformed; and likewise if my blood shall be shed unrighteously, that it might be required at your hands, because you have taken upon you to be the physician of our country.

*Story.* Is not this a perverse fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood shall be required at your hands? Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death unjustly, that thy blood should be required? No, if he should condemn an hundred such heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good many of you: and I promise thee, I will help to rid thee too, the best that I can.

Then I would have answered him, but the bishop desired us both to give him place.

*Chich.* Well, neighbour Woodman, I call you neighbour, because you are one of my diocese; and you are sent to me that I should give you spiritual counsel: for I am your spiritual pastor. Therefore hear what I shall say to you.

*Wood.* First, I desire you to hear me a few words. You have said, you will give me spiritual counsel: are you sure you have the Spirit of God?

*Chich.* No, I am not sure of that.

*Wood.* No! be you not sure of that?

*Chich.* No, by St. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt that.

*Wood.* Then you are like the waves of the sea, as St. James saith, that be tossed about with the wind, and are unstable in all their ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand: yea, you are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spew you out of his mouth, as saith St. John.

Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, who said,

What a perverse fellow is this! He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the devil. Now I perceive that it is true what is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such heretics to boast themselves:

*Chich.* Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

*Wood.* The Jews said to Christ, he had the devil, and was mad, as you have said here by me. But I know the servant is not above his master. And God forbid that I should learn of him, who confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

*Chich.* Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

*Wood.* I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

*Chich.* You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles, which is great presumption.

*Wood.* I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubts, in 1 Cor. vii.

*Chich.* It is not so, you bely the text.

*Wood.* If it be not so, let me be burnt to-morrow.

*Story.* Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow, but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee.

*Chich.* If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more.

Then one looked in a Latin Testament, another in a Greek Testament, and they said it was in them both, that Paul supposed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

*Chich.* Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but am not sure.

*Wood.* If that place be wrong translated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, it cannot be avoided but offences must be given; but woe unto them by whom they come. I may say, Woe unto false translators: for cursed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you bely not the translators: I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes, than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong translated, I can prove by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's elect have.

*Chich.* How prove you that?

*Wood.* "No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost," 1 Cor. vii. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and blood-shedding, as Paul and all the apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do; which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; so there is no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus. "For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a cast-away," as he saith in the same text. And again, "We have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spirits, that we are the sons of God." Here are proofs enough that Paul was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also St. John saith, "He that believeth not that Christ is come in the flesh, is an Antichrist, and denieth both the Father and the Son:" which is sin against the Holy Ghost, and shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Besides all this, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him." So it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. O good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, than to mistrust that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blindness, and whose servants they be, as they do declare themselves both by their words and deeds.

*Story.* O my lord, what an heretic is this fellow! Why hear you him? Send him to prison to his fellows in



in the Marshalsea, and they shall be dispatched within these twelve days.

When I heard him say so, I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind: for I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's Coal-house, or Lollards'-Tower, yea, I thought myself happy if I might have gone to Lollards'-Tower; but it pleased God to put in their hearts to send me to the Marshalsea, amongst our brethren and my old fellow-prisoners. So merciful hath God dealt with me in easing of my burden that I looked for.

And when they perceived that I feared not imprisonment, but rather rejoiced, the bishop then said, Methinks he is not afraid of the prison.

*Wood.* No, I praise the living God.

*Story.* This is an heretic indeed. He hath the right terms of all heretics: the living God! I pray you be there dead gods, that you say the living God?

*Wood.* Are you angry with me, because I speak the words that are written in the Bible?

*Story.* Bible babble, bible babble. What speakest thou of the Bible? there is no such word written in all the Bible.

*Wood.* Then I am much to blame if it be not so written. "Behold, for the offences that you have done, you shall be carried away captive by Nebuchodonosor to Babylon, and there you shall be seven generations: and when you be there, you shall see gods of gold, of silver, of wood, and of stone, borne before and behind you upon men's shoulders, to cast out a fear among the heathen. When you shall see all these abominations, then say in your heart, It is the living God that ought to be worshipped." Here I prove my saying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Also David saith in the Psalms, "My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God;" with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for speaking the truth.

*Chich.* I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but such is the speech of all heretics.

*Story.* My lord, I will tell you how you shall know an heretic by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been; that is, they will say [the Lord,] and [we praise God,] and [the living God]. By these words you shall know an heretic.

*Wood.* All these words are written for our learning, and we are commanded by the prophets to use them daily, as this; "The Lord's name be praised from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same." Also, "As many as fear the Lord, say always, the Lord be praised."

*Story.* My lord, send him to prison, you shall do no good with him, I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretic. Wast thou never before me ere now?

*Wood.* Yea forsooth, that I have.

*Story.* Yea, I thought so; and I sent thee to the bishop of London, and he released thee, and thou promised him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true catholic church, which thou hast not fulfilled.

*Wood.* I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man is able to prove the contrary.

*Story.* Well, it will be tried well enough. My lord, I will take my leave, I fear you will do this man no good.

*Chich.* I would not have you to use such speeches as you do, as the Lord be praised, and the living God, with such like words. Can you not say as well, our Lord, or our God, as otherwise?

*Wood.* I marvel why you should reprove me for it, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to say, our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the scripture where it is written. If I should, it must follow, that I denied the words of God, and must needs be an heretic; but I do not. Wherefore I marvel what you

mean to find fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you mistrust that I believe not as you do.

*Chich.* Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

*Wood.* I believe in the living God, if you do not so, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it please you to examine me upon any particular matter, now or at any other time, I will make answer thereto by God's help.

*Chich.* Though you believe in God, I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can shew you by your hand-writing. You have denied the catholic church. Wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be said that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the church, from which you have erred.

*Wood.* I will not deny my hand by God's help. For I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not; but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there are enough that know my hand.

*Chich.* Do you know it yourself, if you see it?

*Wood.* Yea, that I do.

Then he arose and brought a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me observe. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

*Chich.* How say you, is it not your own hand-writing?

*Wood.* Yea, surely it is.

*Chich.* How say you to this, is not this your hand also?

*Wood.* Yea, verily it is.

*Chich.* Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare say.

*Wood.* Yes, I know it well; here is a great deal, which I had thought had been in my house, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. This contains all the talk that was between the commissioners and me, when I was before them five times, and also before the bishop of London divers times: and I am sure, neither you nor they shall find any words false therein written: and I think the sheriff's men, on searching my house for me, when I was taken, found this, and took it with them, but I never knew it before. I am not sorry for it, but am rather glad; for herein you may see all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in prison, and how I was tossed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be so or not. I suppose those who found it, and brought it to you, had thought it would have turned to my displeasure; but it is certain all things work for the best to them that fear God.

*Chich.* Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perilous gear, here is sedition. This was set up upon the church door, which you know well enough.

*Wood.* Indeed I wrote it to the priest, and to others that took upon them to fetch my child out of my house without my leave, and used it at their pleasure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conscience compelled me to shew them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

*Chich.* Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is such gear coupled together I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part. Cast not yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to teach nor preach. St. Paul saith, "Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide." Remember you are called to another vocation; for God's sake walk therein. It is not right to do as you have done. You might do as much good by the report of worshipful men, as any man might do in all the country



country by your example, and if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are.

*Wood.* I would not that you should say that I am out of the church of God, for I am not, but do allow the church of God according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true church, that be out, by any means that I could use, I should be glad. God knoweth I love all people as myself. And where you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot deny; for it becometh every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others (as far as he can) that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the scripture, and leaving my vocation (as you say), I left not my vocation in reading the scripture: for I trust I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greatest reason that compelled me to read the scriptures, was because the preachers and teachers were so changeable.

*Chich.* No? Did you not preach at a fair?

*Wood.* No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a fair indeed. While I was in prison, I had leave of the council to go home to pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to sell cattle, and met with divers poor men that I had set to work, who lovingly asked me how I did, and how I could away with imprisonment. I shewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would also deal with them that put their trust in him; and this they called preaching. And since that it hath been reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, which I never did; for I never was a minister. And if I had, I had done contrary to the order of the apostles, which God forbid I should.

*Chich.* I am well paid if you be faultless in these things; for I have heard the contrary.

*Wood.* I have shewed you the truth, and that no man living shall be able to prove the contrary.

*Chich.* You said you did not disallow the true catholic church.

*Wood.* No, that I do not.

*Chich.* Why do you not then go to the church? I am informed you do not go there.

*Wood.* I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not to the church where the most do resort. For if I was, I should offend, and be offended: for the last time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. For conscience sake therefore I would not come there. I was sent to prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleased any way with me, for they seek my life. Look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be an house of defence against my enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find just cause in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the matter is weighty, deliver me not into their hands, and think so to be discharged.

*Chich.* I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. I have not full authority as yet of mine office: but I will send for you and talk with you, if I thought I should do you any good.

*Wood.* I should be glad to talk with you, and to let you know my mind in any thing you shall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

So then he desired the sheriff's men to tarry and dine with him; that this man (said he) may dine with me also: for it may be he may have no great store of meat where he is going.

So we tarried to dinner with him, and had no farther talk, neither how to prove where the true church of God is, nor of the sacraments, nor of any thing pertaining toward me, for the space of two hours or more: but he entered into talk with me, how I understood many scriptures, and for bishops and priests marriages, and whether Paul had a wife or not. To

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whom I answered, It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages; but I am content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve. When he had talked with me of divers scriptures, he liked my discourse well. He asked me how I said by St. Paul, whether he were married or not? To whom I answered, I can prove by the scriptures that he was never married.

*Chich.* How prove you that?

*Wood.* I will prove it well enough, by God's help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had.

*Chich.* Why, had the apostles wives?

*Wood.* Yes, all, saving Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Paul's words in the 9th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ? Are not ye my work in the Lord? and if I be not an apostle to others, yet to you I am an apostle: for you are the seal of mine apostleship in the Lord. Mine answer to them that ask me, is this, Have we not power to eat and to drink? Or have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other apostles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? Or have not Barnabas and I power thus to do?" So this text proveth that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth, that the rest had wives, and that they had power likewise so to have, but they found no need thereof. Paul declareth, in the 7th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, that he who hath no power over his flesh may marry: "For it is better to marry than to burn. Wherefore, to avoid fornication, let every man have his wife." He saith, "Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband." By this text of scripture, I understand, that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men, rather than burn, or commit fornication. But I think verily he that can abstain, having power of his own will, doeth best; but if he marieth, he sinneth not.

So then he debated the scriptures with me divers ways, that a bishop or priest ought not to have a wife; but I proved by divers scriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, which was spoken generally to all men. Wherefore (said I) every man may have a woman, and sin not, in honest matrimony, as well bishops and deacons, as other men, which you call priests, if they be true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order that bishops and deacons were in Paul's time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, in the first epistle and 3d chapter, "That a bishop should be the husband of one wife," and how they should be honestly apparelled, and should bring up their children, and likewise the deacons. This proveth more plainly, that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time, which he could not deny. But then he alledged, that no bishop or priest might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office; but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpose for his life and his learning, he might keep his wife and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy, or else might they have no wives.

Then said I, I think Paul's meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a bishop nor a deacon, if he had ever so much learning. But that text doth not say, that a bishop or a deacon may not marry after they be made bishops and deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop, when he said, "He had power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other apostles had." Here Paul declares, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a bishop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Thus have I shewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests; as I understand the scriptures. However, it is a thing which I have little to do with: but as you required me to give you my sentiments on that matter, I have done so.

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*Chich.*



*Chich.* Marry, I am glad you have said as you have done. Many do affirm boldly that Paul had a wife, and cannot prove it by the scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that you are contented to be ruled by God's word. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you will do well: therefore, good Mr. Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I protest before him, I would you should do as well as my own soul and body, and so would all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.

*Wood.* Why, my lord, I take God to record that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace as any man in the world, if I might. And I stand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is so, I have talked with a dozen priests at the least, since I was delivered out of prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have asked them: therefore they have complained of me to the sheriff and justices, forging tales and lies of me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England, I think; the more it is to be lamented.

*Chich.* I promise you I do much lament it myself: for I hear what you say is true. I wish I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the best that I can when I come into the country; and I will be glad to talk with you at some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see I am very tender now, as I have been more than half a year. Come to dinner; it is ready. I caused you not to tarry for any great cheer that you should have, nor would I have you think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come, sit down.

*Wood.* I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchant-man, one of the sheriff's men, and I; and we had good cheer, God be praised therefore. We had no talk of the scriptures all dinner time: but when dinner was over, the bishop said—

Now call Mr. Story's man: for the commissioners have committed you to prison: but I will send for you before it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I should be very glad of it.

*Wood.* Should it please you to send for me, I should be glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then, if it please your lordship to examine me on any particular matter, I will shew you my mind therein, by God's grace, without dissimulation. But pray let me have nothing to do with Mr. Story, for I think he is a man void of reason.

*Chich.* Well, before you go, what say you to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be the more willing to send for you.

*Wood.* I know not seven sacraments.

*Chich.* Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?

*Wood.* I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by God's word, that there be more than two, I stand to be reformed.

*Chich.* If I prove not seven by God's word, then believe me not: and so he bade me farewell.

Then the sheriff's two men, and one of Dr. Story's, carried me to Dr. Cook's house, when Dr. Cook commanded them to carry me to the sheriff's prison in Southwark, saying, he shall be called before us again shortly, and all his fellows, and we shall dispatch them from troubling the country any more.

And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I now am (God be praised), looking for judgment of my flesh; for they intend to dispatch me shortly, if God gives them leave: but he hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me but as he pleases. Wherefore I commit my cause to God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my

head perish without my heavenly Father's will, although I undergo ever so much trouble. Job perished not, for all his trouble, although God gave the devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as he hath suffered his members to trouble and try me divers and many ways. They shall as little prevail against my faith (I trust), as the devil prevailed against Job, whatsoever they do with my goods, life, or body. He that kept Job in all his trouble, neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or die, it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will, and if we die, we die to his will: so, live or die, we are the Lord's; therefore blessed be his name.

Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom my writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you. They can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to destroy both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer. For the sheriff, with divers other gentlemen and priests, whilst I was at the sheriff's house, said to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times past upon St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or such like. Wherefore, said they, look well on it, you have a great thing to answer for. I answered, I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for heresy, as I am sure he will not. For he hath set my sins as far from me as it is from east to west: so that I am sure they shall never come near me again. Yea, and in that they call heresy, we serve God withal. I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. Yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise; and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God they never shall by his grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to loose us asunder, neither for life nor death, I praise my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. Which death of my body were best of all for me, if God be pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised therefore: I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in him I shall not offend my brethren in receiving death, but shall rather be the cause of their faith being strengthened, by chusing and receiving it with joy. As Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, and comfort of our brethren. Whereas the bishop saith, he will prove seven sacraments, be you out of doubt he will never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well, from the Marshalsea, where I now am, as a sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised therefore.

*The second Examination of RICHARD WOODMAN before the Bishop of Chichester, two of his Chaplains, and Dr. STORY, on April 27.*

**F**IRST, I was sent for to the Marshalsea by Dr. Story, and carried to his house near St. Nicholas Shambles: when I had spoken to him, he sent me to the bishop of Chichester, and said he would come to him presently. When we were in the bishop's hall, I was sent for by the bishop, and when I came before him, I paid my obeisance.

Then said the bishop, You are welcome. How do you now?

*Wood.* Well, I praise God, thanking your lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at our last interview.

*Chich.* Well, good Mr. Woodman, I have sent for you out of love and good-will to talk with you, and



and would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the last time that I talked with you, our talk was so long, that I fell into a great drought, and have been the worse in my body ever since. Wherefore, I pray you, let me know your mind briefly in those particular matters that I shall demand of you, according to the promise that you made when you was last with me. Will you?

Wood. Yea, I will answer to any thing you shall demand of me (by God's help) as well as I can.

Chich. How say you by the seven sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. How say you now to it? Will you deny all except two?

Wood. I say now as I said then. You said, there be seven sacraments; and I said I knew but two; but if you could prove seven by God's word, when I came before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God's word, I should not believe them: and now I am come to see how well you can prove them.

At which words the bishop and his chaplains were moved.

Chich. By God and my troth, I believe he thinketh I cannot prove them. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony?

Wood. Why, my lord, St. Paul saith to Timothy, A bishop should be faultless; and you use much swearing, which is the greatest fault in a bishop of all others, that should be an example to the flock.

Then the bishop and his priests were in a rage with me, because I reprov'd him for swearing.

Chich. What, I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day: what, he taketh upon him to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.

Priest. So I think, my lord, he is a stout fellow indeed, as we have seen.

Wood. Yea, I am stout, because I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace; for I should bear your sin, which I will not do for any of you, I tell you plainly.

Chich. Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Wood. If thou see thy brother sin, reprove him; if he repent, thou hast won thy brother. But you repent it not, but rather go about to maintain the same, Christ saith, "He that breaketh one of the least of my commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven;" and you go about to teach men so, as far as I see.

Priest. Why, my lord, this man is past cure. I see no hope in him.

Chich. No, so I think. I will never talk with him more. Call Mr. Story; let him do with him as he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.

Wood. No, I praise God, my faith hangeth upon no man, but upon God.

Priest. Nay, my lord, I think he is not the worse for them: I fear they be the worse for him. I know this man of old, before mine old lord.

Wood. Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged.

Chich. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I will do so, if you demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to others to kill me: and I know there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chich. I am not yet consecrated: wherefore my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my lord of London; for you are now in his diocese.

Wood. Yea, my lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabouts you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me

what you will, but I will shew you nothing of my mind. I promise you I will not answer in particular matters, so that you may accuse me to others, and they to kill me.

Chich. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind respecting the sacraments, and if you do not understand them, I should be glad to let you know how I understand them. For I would you should do as well as mine own self.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and tell you my mind; otherwise I should be loth.

Chich. Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing against you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. What say you to the sacrament of matrimony? is it a sacrament or no? What think you of it?

Wood. I think it is an holy institution ordained by God in paradise, and so to continue to the world's end.

Chich. Lo, now you shall see how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the rest. Come hither. You can read Latin I am sure.

Wood. Yes, I can read Latin, but I understand very little.

Chich. Come to me, you shall see that Paul calleth it an holy sacrament. For these are his words, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined to his wife: and two shall be made one flesh:" this is a great sacrament.

Wood. I remember such a saying; but St. Paul calleth it not a sacrament, but he saith, "It is a great mystery."

Chich. Where saith he so?

Wood. I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these are St. Paul's words, and that he calleth it not a sacrament in all his writings.

Chich. What, the last day you were full of scriptures! here it is written, and there it is written. Why, we can rehearse the scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we are sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will shew you the place, I think, that you mean.

I looked, and it was written *Sacramentum*. I know it is a great mystery, in the English translation.

Chich. I permit it to be a mystery. What is a mystery?

Wood. A mystery is (as I take it) unseen; for he saith, he speaketh betwixt Christ and the congregation: so the great mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that are married, which is hid in Christ, which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage we see, but the inward marriage of the heart we see not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a mystery. Therefore if it be a sacrament, it is invisible to us: it is not seen, as other sacraments are.

Chich. Nay, I tell you it is a visible sacrament, seen as the others are; for is not the marriage seen, is not the man and woman seen?

Wood. My lord, I pray you, what is a sacrament?

Chich. It is a sign of a holy thing.

Wood. Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itself.

Then his chaplains would have interrupted me, but I desired my lord I might speak my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me say what I could.

There need not be a sign of a thing, where the thing is itself. Matrimony is holy of itself, and is ended outwardly, and need no more signs but themselves; so it cannot be a sacrament as others be.

Chich. Lo, how much you speak against yourself. For example, I come by an hosier's shop, and there hangeth a pair of hose, which be hose, and are a sign that hose is sold within.

Priest. What say you to this? Now my lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perilously, I tell you, with sophistry to blind mine eyes withal. I wonder you are



are not all ashamed of it. I can answer that to all your shames, if I might be justly heard.

*Priest.* What, you are angry, methinks.

*Wood.* I am not angry, but I am in earnest, to see your blindness and folly. I talked of the scriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by, and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hoes. And you can as well prove it by that as by God's word.

*Priest.* Why, is there nothing true but what is written in the Bible?

*Wood.* St. Paul saith to the Galatians, chap. i. "If an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than may be proved by God's word, hold him accursed:" and so do I, I tell you plainly.

*Priest.* Here is a Testament in my hand, if I hurl it into the fire and burn it, have I burned God's word or not? I will buy a new one for sixteen-pence.

*Wood.* I say you have burned God's word, and I believe he that will burn a Testament willingly, would burn God himself, if he were here, if he could; for he and his word are one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

*Wood.* Laugh on. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with speed.

Then the bishop began to cloak the priest's folly, and said, Why, if my counting-house were full of books, and if my house should chance to be on fire, and be burned, was God's word burned?

*Wood.* No, my lord, because they were burned against your will: but yet if you should burn them willingly, or think it well, you burn God's word as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a shrewd turn, doth allow it to be good.

*Chich.* Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. "We have an altar, whereof you may not eat." What meaneth St. Paul thereby?

*Wood.* There is no man so foolish to eat stones, I suppose.

*Chich.* What mockers and scornors be you, to say, no man will be so foolish to eat stones? it is a plain mock.

*Wood.* Why, my lord, you said I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor understanding: wherefore it becomes you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much.

*Chich.* I dare say you know what it meaneth well enough. The greatest fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do.

There stood some of his men at a distance, talking together by a window. He called one by his name.

*Chich.* Come hither, I say to thee thou shalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?

*Chich. Man.* Forsooth, my lord, you would not have me eat of this table; laying his hand thereon.

With this answer he made all them in the house fall a laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burst out with laughter, and said—

He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I.

*Chich.* He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him.

Answer me again, to make it more plain, I say to thee thou shalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?

*Chich. Man.* Forsooth, you would not have me eat this table.

These words made them all laugh. Wherewith the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said—

He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this table. How sayest thou, dost thou not mean so?

*Chich. Man.* Yes, forsooth, my lord, that was my meaning indeed.

*Wood.* Yea, my lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can say so too; and so could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had said,

Paul meant that no man should eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the priests.

*Chich.* Yea, I perceive you understand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you like to cavil with me.

*Wood.* Why, my lord, do you think I understand such dark places of the scripture without learning? You said, even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I answered you as you judged of me.

*Chich.* Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you by the sacrament of the altar?

*Wood.* You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

*Chich.* I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say.

*Wood.* You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?

*Chich.* I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it so strange to you?

*Wood.* It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of stone.

*Chich.* It is that altar that I mean.

*Wood.* I understand not the altar so.

*Chich.* No, I think so indeed: and that is the cause that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?

*Wood.* If you will give me leave till I have done, I will shew you how I understand the altar, and where it is.

*Chich.* Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind as much as you will.

*Wood.* It is written, Matt. xviii. "That whosoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them; and whatsoever they ask the Father upon earth, it shall be granted them in heaven." Agreeing to the 5th of Matthew, saying, "When thou comest to offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift." The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bade them let me alone, for (said he) you shall hear a pretty conclusion anon.

I pray you let me make an end, quoth I, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of scripture, I prove that Christ is the true altar, whereon every Christian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, wherefore the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the altar, so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity; if not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer our gift. Some will say, How shall I agree with mine adversary, when he is an hundred miles off? May I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all such I answer, If thou dost presume to pray among the faithful, wishing evil to any man, woman or child, thou askest vengeance upon thyself. No such asketh any thing else of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thine adversary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word. Say in thy heart, without dissimulation, that thou askest God and the world forgiveness from thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer, on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I shewed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I understand it.

*Chich.* Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so, no not Luther, the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.

*Wood.* If he were an heretic, I think he understood it, not so indeed, but I am sure all christians ought to understand it so.

*Chich.* O what vain-glory is in you, as though you under-



understood all things, and other men nothing? Hear me; I will shew you the true understanding both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We have an altar (saide Paul, Heb. xiii.) "that ye may not eat of." Meaning, that no man might eat of that which was offered on the altar, but the priest. For in Paul's time all the living that the priest had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing against their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and went and were reconciled to their brother: and they came again and offered their gift, and the priest had it. This is the true understanding of the place that you have rehearsed; wherefore you be deceived.

*Wood.* My lord, that was the use in the old law. Christ was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Paul's words, that sacrifice was offered in Paul's time: yet that maketh not that it was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it seemeth to me that you be deceived.

*Chib.* Who shall be judges between us in this matter?

*Wood.* The 12th of John declareth who shall be judge in the last day.

*Chib.* You mean the word shall judge the word, how can that be?

*Wood.* St. Peter saith, "The scripture hath no private interpretation;" but one scripture must be understood by another.

*Chib.* You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another; and who shall be judge between us then?

*Wood.* The true church of God is able to discuss all doubts: to whom I refer it.

*Chib.* I am glad you say so, if you mean so indeed.

*Wood.* My lord, I never meant otherwise.

*Chib.* The church of God doth allow the sacrament of the altar.

*Wood.* What do you now offer upon the altar?

*Chib.* We offer up, in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ, to pacify the wrath of God the Father; and therewith they all put off their caps to the abominable idol.

*Wood.* St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, in the 10th chapter, "We are sanctified by offering of the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross once for all:" and all priests are daily ministering, and oftentimes offering one manner of offering, which can never take away sins; and that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you be priests after the order of Aaron, that offered up sacrifice for their own sins, and the sins of the people.

*Chib.* Nay, Aaron's sacrifice was with blood, which signifieth the death of Christ, the which was ended upon the cross by his blood-shedding; but we are priests after the order of Melchisedek, which offereth bread to the king in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christ's body in bread and wine at the last supper, which he gave to his disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the world. This is the sacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

*Wood.* I think you have made the matter plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the sacraments, willing them to be used in remembrance of him, to the world's end.

*Chib.* What in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word saith, "Take, eat, this is my body;" it is not the sign only, but the thing itself. How say you? is it not his body, after the words are spoken by the priest? How say you? Go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

*Wood.* My lord, if you will answer me to one sacrament, I will answer you to another.

*Chib.* Yes, I am well content with that.

*Wood.* If you say the words of baptism over the water, and there be no child there, is there true baptism?

No. 50.

*Chib.* No, there must be the water, the word and the child, and then it is baptism.

*Wood.* Very well. Then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized.

*Chib.* No: the child must be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, or else it is not truly baptized.

*Wood.* Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the sacraments?

*Chib.* No.

*Wood.* Now, my lord, I will answer to you, if you please.

*Chib.* Well, how say you, "Take, eat, this is my body;" is it not Christ's body, as soon as the words be said?

*Wood.* My lord, I will answer you by your own words, which is true: the water, the word, and the child; all these together make baptism: the bread, wine, and the word, make the sacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Christ's body, but to the faithful receiver. For he said, "Take, eat, this is my body." He called it not his body before eating, but after. St. Augustine saith, Believe and thou hast eaten. And St. John saith, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:" so it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith.

*Priest.* Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you what did Judas eat?

*Wood.* Judas did eat the sacrament of Christ, and the devil withal.

*Priest.* He eat the body of Christ unworthily, as St. Paul saith.

*Wood.* Nay, St. Paul saith no such thing. He speaketh not of eating his body unworthily, but of the sacrament unworthily. For he saith, "Whosoever eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." If Judas had eat Christ's body, it must needs follow, that Judas is saved. For Christ saith, in the 6th of John, "Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day."

*Priest.* My lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind.

*Chib.* I see it is but folly to talk with you; it is but lost labour. How say you? do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the real body of Christ? Make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you.

*Wood.* I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true sacrament. I do believe, that if I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically by faith: this I believe.

*Chib.* Why, then it is no body without faith; God's word is of no force, as you count it.

*Wood.* My lord, I have told you my mind without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the scriptures: and if you will do so, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay to that I have said.

Then they made a great laughing, and said, This is an heretic indeed; it is time he were burned. Which words moved my spirit, and I said to them, Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. What you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honour: but now we may see



how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished. These words you shall say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counsel.

*Priest.* What, you are angry, methinks. Now I will say more to you than I thought to have done. You were at Baxill a twelvemonth ago, and sent for the parson, and talked with him in the church-yard, and would not go into the church; for you said it was the idol's temple. Yea, I was with mine old lord, when he came to the King's-Bench to you, and you said many stout words to him.

*Wood.* That I said, I said: and where you said I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God with cheerfulness.

*Priest.* The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough! think you that you have the Spirit of God?

*Wood.* I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God for it; and you are deceivers, mockers, and scorers before God, and are the children of hell, all the sort of you, as far as I can see. And therewith came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the bishop in Latin, saying at length:

*Story.* I can say nothing to him, but he is an heretic. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reason in him.

*Wood.* Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged yourself.

*Story.* What, be you a preaching? you shall preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourself no more with him.

With these words, one brought word that the abbot of Westminster was come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was running away with speed to him.

Then said Dr. Story to my keeper, Carry him to the Marshalsea again, keep him close, and let nobody come to speak with him.

And so they departed. Then one of the priests began to flatter me, and said, For God's sake remember yourself. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were a great pity you should do amiss.

*Wood.* What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the scriptures well; and but even now you said I was an heretic, and despised me. If I be an heretic, I can have no good wit, as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience doth accuse you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will.

*Priest.* I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions.

*Wood.* You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with God's word. Then one cried, Away, away, here come strangers. So we departed, and I came again to the Marshalsea with my keeper.

*The Third Examination of Mr. WOODMAN, (copied with his own Hand) before Dr. LANGDALE, Chaplain to my Lord MONTAGUE, and Mr. JAMES GAGE, at my Lord MONTAGUE's House, near St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, May 12, 1557.*

**T**HE 12th of May the marshal came to the Marshalsea, and sent for me to speak with him. When I came before him and had done my duty, he asked my name, and what countryman I was; I informed him both. Then he asked me when I was abroad in the city. To whom I answered, If it shall please your mastership, I was abroad in the city on Monday was seven-night.

*Marshal.* What took you abroad?

*Wood.* The bishop of Chichester sent for me to talk with me at his house, near St. Nicholas's Shambles.

*Marshal.* Were you abroad no otherwise than so?

*Wood.* No, forsooth: I was never abroad since I was sent hither, but then. For I have nothing to do abroad, unless they send for me.

*Marshal.* This is a marvellous matter. I promise you I was not so rebuked these seven years, as I was for you within these three days. It is reported that you were abroad in the city at certain taverns, and spake seditious words both in the taverns and streets as you went.

*Wood.* Sir, the truth is, I was in never a house or tavern while I was abroad, but in the bishop's house, as my keeper can, and will (I am sure) testify: nor did I ever talk with any man in the streets as I came, but with my keeper, except one man indeed, of the parish of Framfield, in Suffex, where Mr. James Gage dwelleth. His name is Robert Smith, being one of my greatest enemies; who stood in a wain as we came by, and was unlading of cheese but a little way from the Marshalsea. Indeed I bade him God speed, and asked him how he did: and he said, well, he thanked me. And he asked me how I did; and I said, well, I praise God; and that was all the talk that we had. And these words were spoken as I came by him: I promise you, sir, I stood not still while I spake them, as my keeper can tell: and I think these words were not seditious words, but might be spoken well enough, I think, or else it were very strait.

*Marsh.* Then it is to be thought, that that man reported otherwise than it was. I am glad it is as you say. Well, make you ready: for you must go forth straitway, where you shall be examined of that and of other things, where you shall answer for yourself. Go, make haste, for I will tarry till you be ready.

So I departed, and went to my fellow-prisoners, and took my leave of them, desiring them to pray for me, for I expected to see them no more. I did suppose I should have gone before the council, because the marshal said, he would tarry for me himself: and especially because he said, it was reported that I had spoken seditious words, I imagined they had contrived false things against me to bring me to my end. I remembered what Christ said, "The servant is not above his lord." Seeing the Jews brought false witnesses against Christ, I thought they would do much more, or at least do so to me, if God would suffer them, which made me think the worst. But I was sure that all the world could not justly accuse me of any such thing, which made me merry and joyful, being confident withal, that they could do no more against me than God would permit. I took my leave of my fellow-prisoners, and went to the marshal in the porter's lodge, and he delivered me to one of his own men, and one of my lord Montague's men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my lord Montague's Place, in Southwark, not far from St. Mary Overy's, and brought me into a chamber in my lord Montague's house; and there was one Dr. Langdale, chaplain to my lord. My keepers said to the doctor, This is the man that we went for.

*Lang.* Is your name Woodman?

*Wood.* Yea, forsooth, that is my name.

Then he began with a great circumstance, and said, I am sorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but stand so much in your own conceit, displeasing your father and others, judging that all the realm doth evil, saving a few that do as you do: what think you of them that died long ago, your grandfather, with their fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all others that use the same as they did throughout all Christendom, unless it be in Germany, and here in England a few years, and in Denmark; and yet they are returned again. Thus we are sure this is the truth, and I would you should do well. Your father is an honest man, and one of my parish, and hath wept to me divers times because you would not be ruled: and he loveth you well, and so doth all the country, both rich and poor, if it were not for those evil opinions that you hold.

*Wood.*



*Wood.* I pray you give me leave to speak a few words to you.

*Lang.* Yes, say your mind.

*Wood.* You have told a great long tale, as it were against me (as you think), saying, I hold this and that; I judge my father and my grandfather, and almost all the world, except a few of our sect. But I judge no man. The 12th of John declareth, who it is that judgeth, and shall judge in the last day. The father shall not bear the son's offences, nor the son the father's offences: but that soul that sinneth shall die, as saith the prophet. And again, We may not follow a multitude to do evil, as saith the prophet: for the most go the wrong way. And Christ saith in the 12th of Luke, that his flock is a little flock. Here are places enough to discharge me, although I do not as the most do. But can any man say that I do not as I ought to do? where are my accusers?

*Lang.* What, you be full of scriptures methinks, and call your accusers as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me, for I mean no more hurt to you than I do to myself, I take God to be my record.

*Wood.* I cannot tell; it is hard trusting to fair words. When a man cannot trust his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that he never saw before, saying, "Be as wise as serpents, and as innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you." And I suspect you, because you blame me for answering with the scriptures. I doubt that you would take advantage of me, if I should speak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, because I have been deceived already by them I trusted most. So blame me not, though I answer circumspectly. It shall not be said, by God's help, that I will run wilfully into my enemy's hands, and yet I praise God my life is not dear to myself, but it is dear with God: wherefore I will do the uttermost that I can to keep it.

*Lang.* You are afraid where no fear is, for I was desired by master Sheriff and his brother, and other friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were desirous to talk with me, and now you make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were sent to prison for nothing: for you call for your accusers, as though there were no man to accuse you. But if there were no man to accuse you, your own hand-writing did accuse you enough, that you set upon the church-door (if you remember it), and other letters that you let fall abroad, at divers places. Wherefore you need not call for your accusers. Your own hand will accuse you, I warrant you; it is kept safe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were so much against me.

*Wood.* I will not deny my own hand; for it cannot easily be counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the priest, and others of the parish, declaring their folly and presumption, to come into my house without my love or leave, and take out my child, and use it at their pleasure: which moved me to write my mind unto them: and because I could not tell how to convey it to them, I set it on the church door: which letter my lord of Chichester hath; for he shewed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will answer to it by the help of God, to all their shames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you said I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honest neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will answer them with Christ's words, in Matthew xviii. Woe unto themselves, because they gave me the occasion.

And whereas you said, I was desirous to speak with you, and that master Sheriff and his brother, and other of my friends, willed you to talk with me, and that I set now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were sent to prison for nothing: the truth is,

I know no more why I am sent to prison, than the least child in this town knoweth. And as for me, I desired not master Sheriff to speak with you; but indeed he desired me that I would speak with you, and utter my faith to you. For he supposed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refused to talk with you at the first. For I remembered not that you were the parson at Baxted: and I said to him, I would not utter my faith to any but to the bishop. I said, he is my ordinary, and I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St. Peter, in the first epistle, chap. iii. to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath authority: wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore send me to him if you will, or else there shall no man know my faith, I tell you plainly.

These words made the sheriff angry, and he went his way, and when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you that he would have me to talk with; and then I remembered that I had made the promise to my father and Goodman Day, of Vefield, not past a fortnight before I was taken, that whensoever you came into the country, I would speak with you by God's help, because they praised you so much, that you were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

So all these things called to remembrance, I desired my keeper, which was the sheriff's man, to tell his master that I would fain speak with him; for I had remembered things that were not in my mind before, when I spake to him. So he went to his master, and shewed him the matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my mind, and what promise I had made; and he said he would send for you on the morrow, as he did, and the messenger brought word you could not come; you preached before the queen, he said. Whereupon the sheriff came up himself, and spoke to bishop Christopherson, that he should come down, but he was sick. So when he came home again, he sent me to the bishop, and I have talked with him twice already, and I am sure he can find no fault in me, if he say justly; and yet I know not wherefore I was sent to prison; for I was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that I had baptized children, the which I never did, as God knoweth; wherefore I had wrong to be thus handled.

*Lang.* Indeed it hath been reported, that you have christened children; and that you christened your own child; but since I heard say, you would not have the child christened, which is a damnable way, if you deny baptism? and they said, your child was not christened in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chiefest of the parish were obliged to fetch it out of your house against your will. So you wrote railing words against the priest and them for their good will: the which declareth that you allow not the baptizing of children. And if the child had died, it had been damned, because it was not christened, and you should have been damned, because you were the hindrance thereof.

*Wood.* What abominable lies have you told? Be you not ashamed to speak such words as you have? First you say, I christened my own child, and by and by you say, I denied baptizing of children, and that my child was a fortnight or three weeks old before it was baptized. What abominable lies be these? I neither baptized my child myself, neither held against the baptizing of it, but did most gladly allow it; for it was baptized as soon as it was born, and I was glad thereof; therefore you are to blame to report such things of me.

*Lang.* I pray you, who baptized it? some unthrif of your providing.

*Wood.* Nay, surely, the midwife baptized it.

*Lang.* But it was your mind that it should be so.

*Wood.* Nay sure, I was not nigh home by almost twenty miles, nor heard that my wife was brought to bed till four days after the child was christened. But it was not like to live, so the midwife baptized it.

*Lang.* Would you have had it to church to have been christened, if it had not been christened?

*Wood.*



*Wood.* That is no matter what I would have done. I am sure you cannot deny but it is sufficiently done, if the midwife do it, and I hold not against the doing of it, neither did I it myself, as you said I did.

*Lang.* Wherefore were you displeased with them that carried it to church?

*Wood.* First tell me whether the child were not truly baptized by the midwife?

*Lang.* Yes, it was truly baptized, if she baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

*Wood.* Yes, that I am sure she did, and you grant that was sufficient: and the cause that I blamed them was, because they did more to it than need was, as you say. Yea, they fetched it out of the house, without my leave; which was not well done.

*Lang.* They had it to church, to confirm what was done.

*Wood.* Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. Let that matter pass. But I would you should not say, that I hold against baptizing of children; for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be most necessary, if it be truly used. But methought you spake words even now that were unfit to be spoken: if a child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward sign of baptism?

*Lang.* Yea, that they be.

*Wood.* How prove you that?

*Lang.* "Go, faith Christ, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved: and he that believeth not, shall be damned." These be the words of Christ, which are my warrant.

*Wood.* Then, by your saying, baptism bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in water shall be saved. Shall they?

*Lang.* Yea, that they shall; if they die before they come to discretion, they shall all of them be saved; and all that be not baptized, shall be damned every one of them.

*Wood.* Then my spirit was moved with him to reprove him sharply, because I had manifest scriptures fresh in my mind against his saying. Then said I—

O Lord God! how dare you speak such blasphemy against God and his word, as you do? How dare you take upon you to preach and teach the people, and understand not what you say? I protest before God you understand not the scriptures, but as far as natural reason can comprehend. For if you did, you would be ashamed to speak as you do.

*Lang.* Wherein have I spoken amiss? take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you despair: I dare say you cannot tell what you say. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

*Wood.* Because you blaspheme God; and as for despairing, take heed to yourself. For I cannot see but you be out of your wits already; and as for me, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and what you have said; which shall turn to your shame, if you will talk by the scriptures with me.

So when he perceived that I spake in earnest, and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his flesh to tremble and quake. And I said—

Prove your sayings true, if you can; for I will prove them false, with God's help. You said, All children, or others, that be not baptized with water, shall be damned. I dare not say so for all the good in the world. And you brought in Christ's saying as a warrant. In Mark xvi. it is written, "Who so believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved;" which words are true: "and who so believeth not, shall be damned." Which words be true also. He says, "He that believeth not, shall be damned." Yea, St. John saith, "He that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not." But neither of these two scriptures, nor any other in all the New Testament, saith, That he that is not baptized shall be damned, or is damned already; but if he believe not, he shall be damned,

and is damned already, as aforesaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge that I was an Anabaptist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said—

Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, with God's help, in this matter, as ever you had to answer a thing in your life. You know, I am sure, it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a man's mouth, nor is it the order of reasoning, as you know that better than I can tell you. Then Dr. Langdale bade me say on.

*Wood.* My saying was, that those that believe not, shall be damned, and are damned already. But I dare not say for all the goods under heaven, that all those that receive no material baptism by water shall be damned, as you have said: but I would you should not gather of these words, that I deny baptism, as you were about to accuse me of, before I had half told out my tale. I would not have you, nor any man so rash in judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it seem to the simple, that the outward washing of water were the cause of faith.

*Lang.* Why, is it not so? Will you deny it? How say you? I say, the child hath no faith before it is baptized; therefore, the baptizing bringeth faith. What say you to it? Make me a plain answer to this question.

*Wood.* Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take advantage of my words. But, by God's help, I will answer you so, that you shall well see your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the mouth of the prophets and apostles; and then ask them whether they will deny it.

You said, that faith cometh by baptism, had by the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you where Jacob was baptized before he had faith. St. Paul saith in the 9th chapter to the Romans, "Before ever the children were born, before ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the grace of the Caller, the elder shall serve the younger. Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated." How think you, had this child faith before he were born, or no? Answer to this, if you can.

*Lang.* What, you speak of the old law. Jacob was not christened, but circumcised. I speak of baptism, and you are gone from baptizing to the time of circumcision; answer me to the baptizing. Remember, by your talk, you deny original sin and free-will, by the words that you brought in of St. Paul.

For if children can be saved without baptism, then it must needs follow, that children have no original sin, which is put away in baptizing. But I think you know not what original sin is, nor free-will neither.

*Wood.* Yes, I praise God, I think I can tell them all better than you can. First, I pray you what free-will hath man to do good of himself? Tell me this first, and then I will answer to all other questions that you have objected against me.

*Lang.* I say that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall.

*Wood.* Pray, how prove you that?

*Lang.* Thus I prove it, that as sin entered into the world, and by the means of one that sinned all men became sinners, which was by Adam; so by the obedience of one man, righteousness came upon all men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before their fall, which was by Jesus Christ, Rom. v.

*Wood.* O Lord, what an overthrow have you given yourself here in original sin, and cannot see it! For, in proving that we have free-will, you have quite denied original sin. For you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall; and I am sure that Adam had no original sin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, "My grace is sufficient for thee."

These



These words, with divers others, prove original sin in us; but not that it shall hurt God's elect people, but that his grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one place, it is not without baptism; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Christ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are baptized in the blood of Christ that he shed on the cross, and in the water that he sweat for pain, and the putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I say with David, Ps. li. "In sin was I born, and in sin hath my mother conceived me:" but in no such sin that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by faith, as St. John saith, chap. iii. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the prophet, Ps. xxiii. "Because the Lord imputeth not my sin," and not because I have no sin; but because God hath not imputed my sins. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy he hath saved us. Where is now your boasted free will that you speak of? If we have free will, then our salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God; which is great blasphemy against God and his word.

And St. James saith, chap. i. "Every good and perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableness, neither is he changed into darkness. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof;" as likewise saith St. John, chap. iii. "but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: even so is it with every one that is born of God." For St. Paul saith, Phil. ii. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure." Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and alighteth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both to will and to do, methinks all the rest of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it be wickedness. So methinks here be places enough to prove that a man hath no free will to do good of himself, with an hundred places more that I could recite, if time did serve. And as for original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my saying of Jacob and Esau, that I brought in to prove that faith was before baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) Jacob was not baptized. If you will give me leave, you shall hear what I can say therein; for I suppose you think my talk long. This I said, because I perceived he was much offended at my sayings.

*Lang.* Say what you can; for what I have said to you is ineffectual. I was desired to send for you, to teach you, but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

*Wood.* I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer such things as you shall lay to my charge: and I speak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the prophets and apostles. Will you give me leave to answer briefly in this matter, that you may report to others the opinions I hold? And he said he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have taken advantage of my words.

First, if you remember, you said, that if my child had died without baptism, if I had been the cause that it had not been baptized, the child should have been damned, and I too. How say you?

*Lang.* Yea, that you should.

*Wood.* That is most untrue. For the prophet saith, "The father shall not bear the child's offences, nor the child the father's: but the soul that sinneth shall die." What could the child have done withal, if it had died without baptism? What say you to this? And I am sure, that which I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before baptism, is not disagreeable to the word. For circumcision is a figure of baptism. And that I may bring to prove baptism by, as well as Peter did: for he brought in Noah's flood, which was a long time before Jacob and Esau, to prove baptism, saying, "While the ark was prepar-

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ing, wherein few (that is to say eight souls) were saved by water, like as baptism now also saveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the flesh, but there is a good conscience consenting to God."

Here Peter proveth, that water had not saved Noah and the other seven, no more than it saved all the rest; if it had not been for their faith, which faith now saveth us; not in putting away the filthy soil of the flesh, by the washing of the water, but by a good conscience consenting unto God.

But you said, If they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to years of discretion, they are all saved; which St. Peter is clean against, unless you grant that children have faith before they are baptized.

Now I ask you what consent of conscience the children have, being infants. For you say, they believe not before they are baptized; therefore, they consent not to be baptized, because they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none shall be saved, if they be baptized. I would know how you can answer this.

*Lang.* You are the most perverse man I ever knew. You know not what you say. The children are baptized in their godfather's and godmother's faith, and that is the good conscience that St. Peter speaketh of: and the christening is the keeping of the law that St. Peter speaketh of, saying, Neither is circumcision any thing worth, nor uncircumcision any thing worth, but keeping of the law is all together. Like as the circumcision was the keeping of the old law, so is baptism the keeping of the new law.

*Wood.* Ah, I thought if you would talk with me, you would bring in the old law to maintain your sayings by, (for all that you refused it) when I brought it in. But yet it serveth not for your purpose, so much as you think; for here you have confessed, that neither circumcision availeth, nor uncircumcision; which you have coupled with baptism, proving that neither of them availeth, but keeping of the law is all together: which law is kept (you say) by the outward signs; which is not so: for Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness, and this was before he was circumcised. So the children believe before they be either circumcised or baptized, according to my first saying of Jacob and Esau, "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated." These words declare, that Jacob had faith in his mother's womb: and John Baptist was sanctified in his mother's womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteousness: and I am sure, if they had died before they had either received circumcision or baptism as concerning the outward deed, they should have been saved. For God's gifts and callings are such, that he cannot repent of them. But, by your saying, he doth both repent and change. For you say, keeping of the outward law is all together; but a bad excuse is as good as none at all. And where you said, the children are baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, they being all unbelievers, in what faith is that child baptized then? In none at all, by your own saying. Which words made him stamp and stare.

*Lang.* What? then you would count that there were very few believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment against the people. Possibly you think there be none that believe well, unless they be of your mind. Then indeed Christ's flock was a very little flock.

*Wood.* Indeed these are Christ's words in Luke xii. which we may see to be very true. Yea, you said, if there were not one amongst three, there were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred, for any thing that I can see. For if there were, there would not be so many that would seek their neighbour's goods and lives as there be.

*Lang.* Is the flock of Christ such a little flock as you speak of? You may call it a great flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

*Wood.* A pretty question, I think, it is that you ask me: as though I did make myself equal with God. No, no, you shall catch no such advantage of my words,



words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as near as I can.

*Lang.* Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, seeing you are so cunning.

*Wood.* You shall see my judgment in it by and by. First, the prophet saith, "Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they must go the wrong way." For the most go the wrong way. This is one point to know them.

Then Christ saith in Matt. vii. "Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth unto destruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and straight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." And in Luke xii. it is written (which words were spoken of Christ), "Come, you little flock, it is my Father's will to give you a kingdom." The third point is this, in Mark iii. and Matt. ii. "You (saith Christ) shall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit:" so by the fruits I know them: for every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire (into hell I think Christ meant), and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the people who shall be saved make but a small company in comparison with the rest. But if that be not enough, for the proof thereof, I have twenty more ways to prove it by, and you were never the nearer your purpose.

*Lang.* What a naughty man are you! you would make the most patient man in the world angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with mockery, despising and judging of men. It is time such a fellow were apprehended indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I think he is blessed of God that took you; for you are not fit to be in a common-wealth.

With divers such like words that I cannot recite, they came out so thick, with such stamping, as though he had been out of his wits. I held my peace until he had made an end, and then I spake.

Wherein have I said amiss? or have I not answered you unto every question that you demanded of me? what fault can you find in one word that I have said? I dare say you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus against me, having no cause so to do.

*Lang.* No, no, you have not answered me to original sin, you deny original sin.

With these words Mr. James Gage came in; and I think he stood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. Langdale saw him: for his face was toward the door, and my face was from it.

*Gage.* Ah, Woodman, I think Mr. Doctor and you cannot agree.

*Wood.* Yes, sir, I think we agree very well.

*Lang.* Without doubt, sir, he is the naughtiest man I ever talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

*Gage.* Woodman, leave that pride. Do not trust too much to your own wit. Harken to this man, this is a learned man. He is known to be learned; or he would not be allowed to preach before the queen's majesty: and I dare say he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will do himself: and I dare say he will not go to the devil to bring you there. How say you, Mr. Doctor? You would think us mad, if we would hurt ourselves to hurt you. No, I promise you, my brother, neither I, nor any gentleman in the country, I think of my conscience, but would you should do as well as their own souls and bodies, as a great many of them have said to thy face, whilst thou wast at my brother's, and which you cannot deny.

*Wood.* I can say no otherwise but that I was gently treated at your brother's, both with meat and drink, and gentle words, both by you and him, and divers other gentlemen: and I am sure neither you nor they can say, that you found me unreasonable at any time. For I said I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and so I am, God knoweth: and here, Mr. Doctor, I think, can say no otherwise; for I

dare say he can find no fault in the talk that we have had.

*Lang.* No, marry, I can find nothing else in you. I promise you, Mr. Gage, if you had been here, you would have said so yourself. He took me up indeed, and said, he wondered how I durst preach. For he said, I understood not the scripture, but as far as natural reason comprehended: as though he understood all, and I nothing. With many other such like words he made a great complaint to him of me, and said to Mr. James Gage, he would make you believe I could find no fault in him. Yes, I understand, he denies original sin.

*Gage.* Doth he so? by St. Mary that is a great matter: Woodman, leave your pride. That pride will come to nought. Can you live without sin?

*Wood.* Sir, now I perceive he will soon belie me behind my back, when he will not stick to lie before my face.

He saith, I denied original sin; and it was he himself, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For, as he went about to prove that man had free will, he said, we were set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall: which proves plainly, that we have no original sin: and I took him withal, and said, Had Adam original sin before his fall? and then he could not tell what to say, but cavilled with words, and said he meant not so: and therefore I marvel he is not ashamed to tell such lies to my face. These words made them both astonished.

*Gage.* Mr. Doctor, he said even now you could find no fault in all his talk. Ask him one question, and you will find fault enough. I pray you ask him, how he believeth in the sacrament of the altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

*Wood.* Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by God's help.

*Lang.* Well, how say you to the sacrament of the altar?

*Wood.* I say, I know no such sacrament, unless Christ be the altar you mean.

*Gage.* Lo! I told you you should soon find fault in him, if you came to the point with him. You should have begun with that first, and not have talked with him about other things. What, know you not the sacrament of the altar?

*Wood.* No sure, I know no such, unless Christ be the altar that you mean; for Christ is the altar of all goodnes. And if you mean Christ to be the altar of the sacrament you speak of, you shall soon hear my mind and belief therein.

*Lang.* Well, we mean Christ to be the altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almost dinner-time.

*Gage.* I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner.

*Wood.* Yes, you shall soon hear my mind therein, by God's help. I do believe, that whensoever I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, being truly ministered according to his institution, I believing that Christ was born of the virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on the cross, and shed his blood for the remission of my sins, and so take and eat the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and man, mystically by faith. This is my belief of the sacrament, which no man is able to disprove.

*Gage.* By St. Mary I can find no fault in this. How say you, Mr. Doctor?

*Lang.* Sir, you see not so much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted, that the faithful receiver receiveth the body of Christ, God and man, yet he hath not granted that it is the body of Christ before it be received, as you shall see by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How say you? Is it the body of Christ as soon as the words be spoken by the priest, or not? for these words will try him more than all the rest.

*Wood.* Doth the word say that it is his body before it is received? If it do, I will say so too.

*Gage.*



*Gage.* Why then we shall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the word.

*Wood.* Yes indeed, that I will; God forbid else.

*Gage.* Why, the word saith it is his body before it is eaten.

*Wood.* Those words would I fain hear; but I am sure they be not in the Bible.

*Lang.* No? That you shall see presently (says he to Mr. Gage), and then turned to the 22d of Luke, and there he read, "When supper was done, Christ took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body:" Then they spake both at once, Here he saith it is his body.

*Wood.* Mr. Gage, I do not deny that he called it his body, but not before eating, as I said before; wherefore I pray you mark the words. Christ said, "Take, eat:" I pray you, sir, mark these words that he said, "Take and eat," and then he said, "it was his body." So you see, eating goeth before. For he said, "Eat, this is my body." So according to the very word, I do believe it is his body. Which words made them both astonished.

*Lang.* Why, then, by your saying, Judas eat not the body of Christ. How say you, did he not?

*Wood.* Nay, I ask you. Did he?

*Lang.* I ask you.

*Wood.* And I ask you.

*Lang.* And I ask you.

*Wood.* Marry, I ask you: and I bid you answer if you dare for your life; for whatsoever you answer, unless you say as I have said, you will damn your own soul. For, Mr. Gage, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as my own soul and body; and it grieveth me to see how you be deceived with them; they be deceivers all of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove Judas to be saved, or else he must prove that it is no body before it be received in faith, as you shall well perceive, by God's help, if he dare answer the question.

*Gage.* Yes, I dare say he dareth. What, you need not to threaten him so.

*Wood.* Then let him answer if he can.

Then he said he knew what I would say to him; therefore he was much in doubt to answer the question.

*Lang.* Mr. Gage, I will tell you in your ear what are the words he will answer me with, before I speak to him.

Then he told Mr. Gage a tale in his ear, and said, I have told Mr. Gage what you will say.

*Gage.* Yea, and I will speak the truth for both parties.

*Wood.* Well, how say you? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?

*Lang.* Yes, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ.

*Wood.* Then it must needs follow, that Judas hath everlasting life: for Christ saith in John vi. "Who so eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." If Judas did eat Christ's body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his flesh, and drink his blood, and then is Judas saved by Christ's own words. Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ's body, or else that Judas is saved.

*Gage.* Surely these be the very words that Master Doctor told me in mine ear that you would say to him.

*Wood.* Well, let us see how well he can avoid this argument.

*Lang.* Judas is damned, and yet he eat the body of Christ; but he eat it unworthily: and therefore he is damned.

*Wood.* Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Christ unworthily?

*Lang.* They be St. Paul's Words, 1 Cor xi.

*Wood.* Master Gage, I desire you for God's sake wark well the words that I say. If St. Paul speak any such words there, or in any other place; if there be any

such words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any man eat the body of Christ unworthily, then say I am the falsest man you ever heard speak. But indeed, these are the words of St. Paul, "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body;" that is, because he presumeth to eat the Lord's body without faith, making no difference between the sacrament and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul's meaning, and not that any man doth or can eat the body of Christ unworthily. For whosoever eateth the body of Christ, hath everlasting life, as is aforesaid in John vi. with these words one came for them to dinner in all haste.

*Gage.* I am sorry, I would fain hear more of this talk, but we can have it another day well enough.

*Lang.* Nay, master Gage, I will never talk with him any more; for he is the most unreasonable man that ever I talked with in all my life.

Then Mr. Gage put off his cap, and desired him that he would not refuse to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For, he said, we will seek all the means possible to make him an honest man, and to keep him from burning, if we could: for if it had not been for me and my brother, he had been burnt before this.

*Lang.* Sir, for your sake, and for my master your brother's sake, and for his father's sake, and other of his friends sakes, that have spoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the best to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth.

*Gage.* Woodman, you hear what master Doctor saith: when will you come again?

*Wood.* Even when you will send for me. For I am a prisoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I should desire to come, it will cost me money, and I have none to give: but if you send for me, it will cost me none.

*Gage.* Well, I will send for you on Friday or Saturday at farthest, for to-morrow I must ride out of town; and I would fain hear your talk.

*Wood.* Sir, I would be very glad you should hear our talk always, and I trust in God you shall hear me say nothing, but the word of God shall warrant.

So Mr. Gage took his leave, and went away to his lodging, which was right in my way to the prison; and when he came without my lord Montague's gates, there we met with one Hood, of Bursted, a smith.

Then said Mr. Gage, Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hood had brought me in remembrance of as soon as I saw him; for he heard when the tale was told me. Hood, did you not hear when Smith, of Framfield, told me that he saw Woodman abroad in the city at liberty?

*Hood.* Yea forsooth, that I did.

*Gage.* Yea surely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwise afterwards again, that you had leave of the keeper to go abroad and speak openly in the streets as you went up and down.

*Wood.* Indeed so the marshal told me to-day. But indeed I was never abroad since I came to prison, but when I was sent for; and indeed the same time I was abroad with my keeper, coming from the bishop, and as I was coming, even not far from the Marshalsea, I saw goodman Smith stand in a wain unloading of cheese, and I asked him how he did, even as I went by, and never staid for the matter, and thereupon it did arise. So I departed from them, with my keeper, to the Marshalsea again, where now I am merry, I praise God, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

*The Fourth Examination of RICHARD WOODMAN, before the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Rochester, and a certain Doctor, with divers other Priests and Gentlemen, May 25, 1557.*

*Wood.* I Was brought from the Marshalsea to the said bishops and priests, sitting in St. George's



George's church, in Southwark, by one of the marshal's men, and one of the sheriff's men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then said the bishop of Winchester,

What is your name?

*Wood.* My name is Richard Woodman.

*Winch.* Ah, Woodman! you were taken and apprehended for heresy about three years ago, and were sent to the King's-Bench prison, and there remained a long time. Mine old lord of Chichester, being a learned famous man, well known in this realm, and almost through all Christendom, I think came to prison to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, persuading you many times (because he was your ordinary) to pluck you from your heresies that you held, but he could by no means reform you.

Then you were delivered to the commissioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they sent you unto my lord of London. He calling you before him divers times, means were used by your friends, that you might be released. My lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honest man, because he had heard so of you in times past, yea and of yourself promising him that you would go home and recant the heresies which you held, delivered you; sending also a letter of your recantation to the commissary, that he should see it done. But as soon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever, and would never fulfil your promise, but have hid yourself in the woods, bushes, dens, and caves, and thus have you continued ever since, till it was now of late. Then the sheriff of that county (being a worshipful man) hearing thereof, sent certain of his men, took you in a wood, and carried you to his house. I cannot tell his name. What is your sheriff's name?

*Wood.* His name is sir Edward Gage.

*Bishop.* Well, you were apprehended for heresy, and being at master Gage's three weeks or more, you were gently treated there; he and other gentlemen persuading you divers times, little prevailed.

Then you appealed to the bishop of Chichester that now is. The sheriff, like a worshipful man, sent you to him, and he hath reasoned with you, and others also, and can do no good with you, so we have sent for you.

*Wood.* Then I spake to him, for I thought he would be long before he made an end. I thought he was a year in telling those lies against me already. Yea, I kept silence from good words, but it was great pain and grief to me, as David said. At length the fire was so kindled in my heart, that I could not chuse but speak with my tongue; for I feared lest any of the company should have departed before I had answered to his lies, and so the gospel slandered by long silence. So I said, My lord, I pray you let me now answer for myself, for it is time.

*Bishop.* I permit you to answer to these things that I have said.

*Wood.* I thank God for that, and I think myself happy (as Paul said when he was brought before king Agrippa) that I may this day answer for myself. My lord, I promise you there is never a word of your saying true that you have alledged against me.

*Bishop.* I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never saw you before this day; but I am sure it is not all lies that I have said, as you report.

*Wood.* Yes, my lord, there is never a true word in all that you have said. And further, where you said you never saw me before this day, you have both heard me and seen me before this day, I dare say.

*Bishop.* I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you played the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I saw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the sheriff's men?

*Wood.* No, I was taken near my own house, I being in my house when they came, wherefore that is not true.

*Bishop.* Were you not three weeks at the sheriff's?

*Wood.* Yes that I was, just a month, and was gently treated by him; I can say no otherwise; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words.

*Bishop.* It is not all lies then, as it chance. For I spake but of three weeks, and you confess a month yourself.

*Wood.* Yet your tale is never the truer for that: for you said, I was there three weeks for heresy, which is not so: for I was not apprehended for heresy at the first, neither did my old lord of Chichester reason with me, to pull me from heresy, as you said; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I sent to the commissioners, nor to the bishop of London for heresy, neither was I delivered to him for any such thing, nor promised him to recant, as you said I did. Wherefore I marvel that you are not ashamed to tell so many lies, being a bishop, that should be an example to others.

*Bishop.* Lo, what an arrogant heretic he is. He will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

*Wood.* My lord, judge not lest you be judged yourself: for as you have judged me, you shall be judged, if you repent not; and if I have set my hand to any recantation, let it be seen to my shame before this audience; for I will never deny my own hand by God's help.

*Bishop.* It is not here now, but I think it may be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

*Wood.* By my lord of London; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter for which I was sent to prison. For it was upon the breach of a statute, as master Sheriff here can tell. For he was sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was tossed up and down from sessions to sessions; and because I would not consent that I had offended therein, they sent me to prison again.

Then my lord of Chichester being my ordinary, and I being his tenant, came to me, to persuade me to consent to them, and to find myself in fault, when I was in none: to which I would not agree; but I desired that he would see me released of my wrong: but he said he could not; but willed me or my friends to speak to the commissioners for me, because it was a temporal matter: and when I came before them, they sent me to my lord of London, who was certified by the hands of almost thirty men, both esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chief in the county where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter I was sent to prison for: whereupon he delivered me, not requiring me to recant heresies, for I held none (as God knoweth), neither do I now: nor do I know for what I was sent to prison, no more than any man here; for I was taken away from my work.

*Bishop.* No? Why then did you appeal to my lord of Chichester, if it were not for heresy?

*Wood.* Because there was laid to my charge that I had baptized children, and married folks, which I never did, for I was no where minister. Wherefore I appealed to my ordinary, to clear myself thereof, which I have done. Wherefore if any man have any thing against me, let him speak: for I came not hither to accuse myself, neither will I.

*Bishop.* Master Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of statute he was sent to prison first?

*Sheriff.* Yea, my lord, that I can.

*Wood.* My lord, if you will give me leave, I will shew you the whole matter.

*Bishop.* Nay, master Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter, seeing you know it.

*Sheriff.* My lord, it was for speaking to a curate in the pulpit, as I remember.

*Bishop.* Ah, like enough, he would not stick to reprove a curate. For did you not see how he fashioned himself to speak to me in the pulpit on Sunday? He played the impudent fellow with me; so it is no great wonder that he played that part with another.

*Wood.*



Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure. For we spake for no other cause, but to purge ourselves of those heresies that you laid to our charge. For these were your words; Good people, these men that be brought before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, and the Holy Ghost to be God (pointing to us with your left hand) which might seem to the whole audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear ourselves thereof we spake, and said we held no such thing. And you said you would cut out our tongues. But I am sure you have no such law.

Bishop. Yes that we have, if you blaspheme, and as it chanced, I found such amongst you.

Wood. Indeed after we spake, you declared who they were, but not before: for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged ourselves.

Bishop. But I pray you, how can you purge yourself for speaking to the curate, that it is not heresy?

Wood. Forsooth these be the words of the statute; Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter sessions, there (being sorry for the same) to be released upon his good behaviour one whole year. But I had not so offended, as it was well proved; for he that I spoke to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own law; and therefore I brake not the statute, though I spake to him.

Bishop. I am glad I perceive this man speaketh against priests' marriages; he is not contented with priests that have wives. He is an honest man than I took him for, master Sheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not priests' marriages.

Wood. Then I would have answered to his saying, but he would in no wise hear me, but bade the sheriff have me away. So the sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me speak, but going out of the chancel door, I said, I would shew him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but seeing he will not, if he will let me go so, they shall see whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was sent to the Marshalsea again, where I now am merry, I praise God therefore, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the bishop said when I was gone, that they would take me whilst I was somewhat good. Which words seemed to many of the people that were there, that I spake against priests' marriages, but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were these:

How can you purge yourself from heresy, for talking to the curate in the pulpit, and not offend the statute? said the bishop; meaning thereby, I think, to have advantage of my words; but it was not God's will that he should at that time. For I answered him by the words of the statute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is) Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment. But I prove that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own law) because he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no priest may say mass, nor preach with the mass, but he must first be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and their's naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now I give you all to understand, that I did not reprove this priest because he had a wife, but because he taught false doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent preacher against the mass, and all the idolatry thereof seven years before, and then came and held with it again; for which cause I reprov'd him in the pulpit; and the words that I spake to him are written in divers of my examinations at my first impri-

sonment. But in very deed, I knew not of the statute when I reprov'd him. But because I was sent to prison upon the breach of it, I bought a statute book, and when I had perused it, I perceived I had not offended by their own law; and therefore still when I was called to answer, I answered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in prison a year and almost three quarters before I was released. I was at mine answer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow bishops and priests' marriages, let them look in my first examination before the bishop of Chichester that now is, during this my imprisonment, and there they will find what I have said on the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that same day: but we may all see that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is fully come, I trust in God I shall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preserver, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore, Amen.

*The Fifth Examination of Mr. RICHARD WOODMAN, before the Bishop of Winchester, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. LANGDALE, a fat Priest, and others whose Names I know not, at St. Mary Overy's Church, in Southwark, June 15, 1557.*

Winch. **W**OODMAN, you was before us the last day, and would not be known in any wise that you were sent to prison for heresy, and called for your accusers, and stood stoutly in defending of yourself, and on your departing I had thought you had spoke against priests' marriages, thinking by your words we should have found you an honest man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told such a fair tale for yourself, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge: for you said it was all lies that I told against you; but since I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to shew. By which I have proved, that you reprov'd not the priest for lacking of authority, and because he had not put away his wife, but because you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reprov'd him because he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary since.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of authority, or because I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was first sent to prison. For you said it was for heresy, and made a long tale against me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your sayings true, but were all lies, as they were indeed. For I never was sent to prison for heresy, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heaven and earth to witness; but I told you I was sent to prison upon the breach of a statute, which was for speaking to a priest in the pulpit, and for that cause the justices of that country thought that I had offended the statute, and called me before them, and would have had me bound to my good behaviour, and because I refused it they sent me to prison. And these be the words of the statute, as I told you the last day: "If any man do interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that then every party that so offendeth, shall suffer three months imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter-sessions, and there being sorry for the same, and also bound for his good behaviour one whole year, to be released, or else to return to prison again."

And when I was in prison I bought a statute book, which when I had perused over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, because he was not lawfully authorized, as the bishop of London was certified by the hands of almost thirty of the chief men in the country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the statute took not place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my lord of London, seeing me have so much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and released me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the sheriff take me away; you said



you were glad I held against priests' marriages, because I answered to the question you asked me.

**Fat Priest.** My lord, do you not hear what he saith by my lord of London? He saith he is a good man in that he released him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing else.

**Wood.** What? can you tell what I mean? let every man say as he findeth; he did justly to me in that matter. I say, if he be not good in any thing else, as you say, he shall answer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other matters.

**Bishop.** Well, how say you? How liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

**Wood.** That is no matter how I liked it. Howsoever I liked it, I offended not the statute. Wherefore you have nothing to say to me for that, I am sure.

**Bishop.** Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand-writing. I am sure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

**Wood.** It is mine own handy-work indeed, which by God's help I will never deny, nor ever yet did.

**Bishop.** And here is good gear, I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it: these be the words before the commissioners. How say you? Do not you believe as soon as the words are spoken by the priest, that there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but only the very body of Christ, both flesh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary? These were the words of the commissioners.

And then thou saidst, thou durst not say otherwise than the scripture saith. I cannot find (say you) that it is the body of Christ before it is received by faith, bringing in the 22d of Luke, saying, Christ said, "Take, eat, this is my body." So I cannot prove it is his body before it be eaten. Then said the commissioners, Did not Judas eat Christ's body? And if you can prove that Judas is saved (said you), I must grant that he eat his body. For Christ saith in the 6th of John, "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day;" which words prove, said you, that if Judas eat the body of Christ, he must needs be saved. How say you now? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?

**Wood.** Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his diocese, to condemn me with. Though I should confound him ever so much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I answered and said:

I will answer you to no such thing, for I am none of your diocese; wherefore I will not answer to you.

**Bishop.** Thou art within my diocese, and thou hast offended within my diocese; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

**Wood.** Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your diocese, I have not offended in your diocese; if I have, shew me wherein.

**Bishop.** Why here is thy own hand-writing, which thou affirmedst in my diocese.

**Wood.** I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but that does not prove that I have offended in your diocese; for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the commissioners and me, with which you have nothing to do.

**Bishop.** No, hold him a book, and thou shalt swear whether thou holdest now or not, and whether thou didst not write it in my diocese, as I think thou didst; lay thy hand on the book.

**Wood.** I will not be sworn for you; for I am not of your diocese; and therefore you have nothing to do with me; and as for the writing of the same, I never wrote a word of it in your diocese.

**Lang.** No, did you not? my lord, let me see; I will find where he wrote it.

Then he took it and looked on it, and presently he found that I was sent for out of the King's Bench to come before the commissioners.

**Lang.** My lord, here you may see it was in the King's Bench, which is in your diocese.

**Wood.** Although I was fetched out of the King's Bench, that does not prove I wrote it there; nor did I, I assure you.

**The Fat Priest.** Where did you write it then?

**Wood.** Nay, I owe you not so much service as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: for I perceive you go about to shed my blood.

**Bishop.** It is no matter where it was written, it is here, and he does not deny writing it. You shall hear more of it. Here the commissioners asked you, whether Judas did eat any more than bare bread.

Whereupon they sent you away back to the King's Bench again, and asked you nothing more, for which cause (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conscience. For you had thought they would have sent a discharge to the King's Bench, and so let me go (said you) and register my name in their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the body of Christ, and so the gospel should have been slandered by me. For which cause I was in such case, I could scarcely eat, drink, or sleep for that space, as all my fellow-prisoners can testify. If all you, I say, that go to the church of Satan, and there hear the detestable doctrine that they spit and spew out in their churches and pulpits, to the great dishonour of God; if all you, I say, that come there, had such a hell burning in your conscience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my conscience more plainly, I dare say you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? What say you?

**Wood.** I do not deny but it was mine own deed.

**Bishop.** And I pray you where is there such spitting and spewing out false doctrine as you speak of?

**Wood.** In the synagogue of Satan, where God is dishonoured with false doctrine.

**Bishop.** And I pray you, where is one of them?

**Wood.** Nay, that judge yourself; I came not hither to be a judge.

**Bishop.** Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas (your master) eat more than bread, but yet he eat not the body of Christ, as you have declared by your words. For you had a hell burning in your conscience, because you were in doubt, that the commissioners understood by your words, that Judas had eaten the body of Christ, because you said, he eat more than bare bread. Therefore thou hadst a great many devils in thee: for in hell be many devils; and therefore the devil and Judas is thy master, by thine own words.

**Wood.** Nay, I defy Judas, the devil, and his servants; for they be your masters, and you serve them, for any thing that I can see, I tell you truth.

**Bishop.** Nay, they be thy masters. For the devil is master where hell is, and thou saidst thou hadst a burning hell in thee. I pray you tell me how you can avoid it, but that the devil was in thee by thine own saying?

**Wood.** The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God towards me, to call me to repentance, that I should not offend God and his people in leaving things so dark, as I left that. For which cause my conscience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the sting of it, when I have broken the commandments of God by any means, as all God's people do, I dare say; and it is the loving kindness of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your conscience is never troubled, how wickedly soever you do. For if it were, it should not be so strange to you as you make it, which plainly proves whose servant you be.

**Bishop.** What a naughty fellow is this? This is such a perverse villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him swear to answer directly to such things as I will demand of him; and if he will not answer, I will condemn him.

**Wood.** Call you me a fellow? I am such a fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to hell, if you consent to the shedding of my blood, and you shall have blood to drink, as St. John saith in his Revelation, chap. ix. and being in hell, you shall be compelled to say for pain of conscience, This is the man that we have had in derision,



derision, and thought his life madness, and his end to be without honour; but now we may see how he is counted among the faints of God, and we are punished. This shall you see in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you shall find in the fifth chapter of the Book of Wisdom; and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counsel.

Bishop. Wisdom! what speakest thou of wisdom? thou never hadst it; for thou art as great a fool as ever I heard speak.

Wood. Do you not know, that the foolish things of this world must confound the wise things? Wherefore it doth not grieve me that you call me a fool.

Bishop. Nay, thou art none of those fools; thou art an obstinate fool, and an heretic. Lay thy hand on the book, and answer to such things as I will lay against thee.

Wood. I will lay hold of the book for none of you all. You are not my bishop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Bishop. I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare say; for he will not obey their laws. Let me see the king's commission. I will see whether he will obey that, or not.

Wood. I would you loved the king and queen's majesty no worse than I do, if it pleased God: you would not do then as you do now.

Bishop. Hold him a book, he is a rank heretic. Thou shalt answer to such things as I will demand of thee.

Wood. I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to prison, no more than any man here can tell, and therewith I looked round about on the people, and said to the bishop, If you have any just cause against me worthy of death, lay it against me, and let me have it; for I refuse not to die (I praise God) for the truth's sake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cause, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to see them kept, and other poor people that I would set to work by the help of God. I have set to work an hundred persons before this, all the year together, and was unjustly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will.

Bishop. Do you not see how he looketh about for help? but I would not see any man shew thee a chearful countenance, and especially you that be of my diocese. If any of you bid God strengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or shew him a chearful countenance, you shall be excommunicated, and shall not be received in again, till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it.

Wood. I look for no help of men, for God is on my side, I praise him for it; and therefore I need not to care who be against me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the Marshalsea, where I am now merry (I praise God therefore) as a sheep appointed to be slain. But for want of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefest of it.

*The Sixth and last Examination of RICHARD WOODMAN, written with his own Hand.*

**B**E it known unto all men by this present writing, that I Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Suffex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, July 16, 1557, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, there sitting with him the same time the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Mr. Roper, with a fat-headed priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood, upon this occasion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the sacrament with a sop and the devil withal; and because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as

he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of consecration, and that the body of Christ could not be received of any but of the faithful: for these articles I was condemned, as hereafter shall follow more at large, by the help of God.

First, the bishop said when I came before him:

Bishop. You were before us on Monday last, and there you affirmed certain heresies. How say you now? Do you hold them still, or will you revoke them?

Wood. I held no heresies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Bishop. No? Did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? Which is an heresy, unless you tell what more than bread.

Wood. Is it heresy, to say Judas received no more than bread? I said he received more than bare bread, for he received the same sacrament that was prepared to shew forth the Lord's death, and because he presumed to eat without faith, he eat the devil withal, as the words of Christ declare; after he eat the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.

Bishop. Hold him a book. I would have you answer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Christ or no.

Wood. I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Bishop. No? You be in my diocese, and you are of my diocese, because you have offended in my diocese.

Wood. I am not of your diocese, although I am in your diocese; and I was brought into your diocese against my will: and I have not offended in your diocese; if I have, tell me wherein.

Bishop. Here is your own hand-writing, which is heresy. These be the words, "I cannot find (say you) that it is the body of Christ to any, before it is received in faith." How say you? Is not this your own hand-writing?

Wood. Yea, I do not deny, but it is my own hand-writing: but when, or where was it written, or where were the words spoken?

Bishop. Before the commissioners, and here is one of them; Master Roper, the words were spoken before you, were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed they were. Woodman, I am sure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you spake them.

Wood. No, sir, indeed I will not deny but that I spake them, and am glad that you have seen it. For you may see by that whether I lie, or not.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word for word as you spake them.

Bishop. Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How say you now? Will you be sorry for it, and become an honest man?

Wood. My lord, I trust no man can say, but that I am an honest man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my lord of London discharged me of all matters that were laid against me, when I was released by him.

Bishop. You were released, and it might happen, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you are suspected to be an heretic: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon suspicion.

Wood. Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render an account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented so to do, if it please my bishop to hear me.

Chich. Yes, I pray you let us hear it.

Wood. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour, very God and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered an account of my hope that I have of my salvation.

Bishop.



Bishop. And how believe you in the blessed sacrament of the altar? And with that they all put off their caps.

Wood. I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood.

Bishop. No, hold him a book. If he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated.

Wood. I will not swear for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to take an oath; for you laid heresies to my charge in yonder pulpit, which you are not able to prove; wherefore you are not meet to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your diocese, nor will have any thing to do with you.

Bishop. I will have to do with thee, and I say thou art a strong heretic.

Wood. Yea, all truth is heresy with you; but I am content to shew you my mind, how I believe on the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering. For that you look for, I am sure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myself of it. I will not meddle with any other man's belief on it.

Harpsfield. Why? I am sure all men's faith ought to be alike.

Wood. Yea, I grant you so, that all true christians' faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself.

Harpsfield. Well, let us hear what you have to say to it.

Wood. I do believe, that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it be truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I coming in faith, as I trust in God I will, whensoever I come to receive it, I believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I shall be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and Man, mystically by faith, this is my belief on the sacrament.

Then they spake all at once, saying, Mystically by faith!

Fat Priest. What a fool art thou, Mystically by faith! thou canst not tell what mystical is.

Wood. If I be a fool, so take me: but God hath chosen such fools of this world to confound such wise things as you are.

Fat Priest. I pray thee, what is mystically?

Wood. I take mystically to be the faith that is in us, that the world seeth not, but God only.

Bishop. He cannot tell what he saith. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it be the body of Christ before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Christ to whomsoever receiveth it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate thee.

Wood. I have said as much as I will say; excommunicate me if you will. I am not of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary. Let him do it if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.

Chich. I am not consecrated yet; I told you so when you was with me.

Wood. No indeed, your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it now happeneth; meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and said I was out of my wits, because I spake fervently to every man's question; all which I cannot remember, but I said:

So Festus said to Paul, when he spake the words of soberness and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourselves. You will go to hell all the sort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with speed.

Wood. Then my keeper, and the sheriff's deputy, Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharply to them. And I said, I pray you let me alone; I must answer for my life.

Then there was much ado that I should keep silence, and so I held my peace. Then spake the bishop of Winchester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, saying, We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled; and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To save my soul? nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already, I praise God. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that hath saved my soul before the foundation of the world was laid.

Fat Priest. What an heresy is that, my lord! here is an heresy. He saith his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was?

Wood. Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in the first of the Ephesians, and there you will find it, where Paul saith, chap. i. "Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, by Christ, according as he hath chosen us in himself, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him through love, and thereto were we predestinated." These are the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that saveth, and not you or any man else.

Fat Priest. What! Faith without works! St. James saith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Wood. I would not have you think that I disallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God, as saith St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. ii. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, even of his good pleasure."

Bishop. Make an end; answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you: and I pray you refuse it not; for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you to shew yourself a subject in this matter.

Then they all spoke, and said, Lo, my lord desireth you gently to answer unto him, and so we do all. For if you refuse to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my lord cardinal may put whom he will in the bishop's office, until he is consecrated.

Wood. I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you say) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me, without any flattering.

Priest. My lord and we all, tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him.

Wood. I will believe none of you all, for you are turn-coats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as St. James saith; you be neither hot nor cold, as St. John saith, therefore God will spew you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth.

Bishop. What, be we turn-coats and changelings? what meanest thou by that?

Wood. I mean, that in king Edward's time you taught the doctrine that was set forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turn-coats and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the most part of them to quake.

Bishop. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Wood. No? I pray where were you then?

Bishop. I was in the Tower, as the lieutenant will bear me record.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare say, it was for some other matter.

Then they all took heart of grace, and said, My lord, he comes to examine you, we think: if he will not answer to the articles, you had best excommunicate him.

Bishop.



*Bishop.* He is the naughtiest varlet of an heretic that ever I knew. I will read the sentence against him.

Then they spake all at once, and I answered them as fast as I could. But I cannot remember all, the words came out so thick, I spared them not, I praise God therefore; for I spake freely.

Then they that stood by rebuked me, and said; You cannot tell to whom you speak.

*Wood.* No? think you so? they are but men. I am sure I have spoken to as good as they are, and better than they will ever be, for any thing that I can see, if they repent not with speed.

*Bishop.* Give ear! for I will read sentence against you.

*Wood.* Will you so? Wherefore will you? You have no just cause to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had an hundred lives.

*Bishop.* For God's sake? Nay, for the devil's sake. Thou sayest thou art not afraid to die; no more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thyself wilfully, because thou wilt not be ruled.

*Wood.* Nay, I defy the devil, Judas and all their members. And Judas' flesh was not afraid, but his spirit and conscience was afraid, and there despaired and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no loathsomeness in my flesh to die, but a joyful conscience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my flesh is subdued to it, I praise God; and therefore I am not afraid of death.

*Chich.* Woodman, for God's sake be ruled. You know what you said to me at my house. I could say more, if I would.

*Wood.* Say what you can; the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the living God, and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord; which you ought to be ashamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written.

*Bishop.* Well, how say you? will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? Tell me plainly.

*Wood.* My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever eat the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of which matter I desire all this people to be witness.

*Priest.* Will you so? Then we shall agree well enough: St. Paul saith so.

*Wood.* I pray you where saith he so? Rehearse the words.

*Priest.* In 1 Cor. xi. St. Paul saith, "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he makes no difference of the Lord's body."

*Wood.* Do these words prove that Judas eat the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. They were contented. Then said I, these be the words even that you said: Good people hearken well to them, "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily:" he saith not, Who so eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily: but he saith, "Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, (which is the sacrament) eateth and drinketh his own damnation," because he maketh no difference between the sacrament which representeth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people, you may all see they are not able to prove their saying true. Therefore I cannot believe them in any thing they say.

*Bishop.* Thou art a rank heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence against thee.

*Wood.* Judge not lest you be judged. For as you have judged me, such be you yourself. Then he read the sentence. Why, said I, will you

read sentence against me, and cannot tell wherefore.

*Bishop.* Thou art an heretic, and therefore thou shalt be excommunicated.

*Wood.* I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness, I defy all heretics, and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you all grace to repent, if it be his will; and so he read forth the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away with him. So I was carried to the Marshalsea again, where I am, and shall be as long as it shall please God; and I praise God most heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predestinated me to come to such high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his name's sake; his name be praised therefore, for ever and ever, Amen.

And thus you have the examinations of this blessed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherein may appear as well the great grace and wisdom of God in that man, as also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Dr. White, bishop of Winchester. Now followeth the effect of his letter.

A godly Letter of RICHARD WOODMAN, written to Mrs. ROBERTS, of Hawkhurst.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son our only Saviour Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the cross of Christ that you are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our brethren and sisters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my most humble wise I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praise God, looking daily to be dissolved from our mortal bodies, according to the will of our heavenly Father, praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have shewed unto God's elect people. In this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God's good will and favour towards you, and to all other that hear thereof. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare always what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, bring forth good things.

Wherefore (dear sister) it is not as many affirm in these days, (the more to be lamented) that say, God asketh but a man's heart; which is the greatest injury that can be devised against God and his word. For St. James saith; shew me thy faith without deeds, and I will shew thee my faith by my deeds; saying, the devils believe and tremble for fear, and yet shall be but devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifest to the whole world by our deeds, and in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul saith, let our light shine as in a dark place.

O dear hearts, now is the gospel of God overwhelmed with many black and troublesome clouds of persecution, for which cause very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the gospel, for fear of losing their treasures of this world, which are but vain, and shall perish.

Let us not be like unto them who light their candle, and put it under a bushel; but let us set our candle upon a candlestick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the house: that is to say, let all the people of the household of God see our good works, in suffering all things patiently that shall be laid upon us for the gospel's sake, if it be death itself. For Christ died for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; and as he hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, to the comfort of our brethren.



How is it then that some will say, that their faith is good, and yet they do all the deeds of antichrist the devil, and be not ashamed to alledge certain scriptures to maintain their wickedness? St. Paul saith, To believe with the heart justifieth, and to confess with the mouth maketh a man safe. Oh good God, here may all men see, that no man or woman can have a true faith, unless they have deeds also; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the sea tossed about by the wind, and can look for no good at the Lord's hands. May not a man judge all such to be like those which St. John speaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (he saith) spue them out of his mouth? If we judge evil of such, have they not given us occasion? Had it not been better for them to have had a millstone tied about their necks, and to have been cast into the sea, than they should give such offences to God's elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the synagogues of Satan; and there to receive the mark of the beast, in that they see and hear God blasphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? And these do not only defile themselves, but also be an occasion to confirm the papists in their popery, and so be an occasion of our weak brother's falling, which will be all required at their hands, and will be too heavy a burthen for them to bear, if they repent it not with speed. For they that know their master's will, and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Oh, do we not perceive that now is the acceptable time that Christ speaketh of? Yea even now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit now, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire.

Now is the Lord come with his fan in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will he gather into his barn, and the chaff he will burn as aforesaid. Now is the time come that we must go to meet the bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are also bidden to the feast, let us make no excuses. Yea, our master hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with advantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to see if there be any fruit upon his trees; so that if he come and find none, he will serve us as he did the wild fig-tree, that is, never fruit shall grow on us more; also, if we go to meet the bridegroom without oil in our lamps, and should go to buy, we should be served as were the foolish virgins; that was, God said to them, depart, I know you not. Or if we would make excuses to come to the feast, others shall be bidden in our room; if we occupy not our talents well, they shall be taken from us, and given to others, and all such unprofitable servants shall be cast into prison in hell, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Oh good God! what a sort of fearful sayings is here contained? What christian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceive that this is the time that Christ speaketh of, that there should be father against son, and son against father, and brother against brother; that the brother shall deliver the brother to death? yea, and the wicked shall say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his name's sake? Which I have found by experience, and I praise God, who hath given me strength to bear it. For I think there is no evil, but it hath been imagined against me, and that by my familiar friends, as David saith: but I praise God, they cannot prove any of their sayings true, but go about to find fault in them that God hath chosen, because they themselves will not take up their cross and follow Christ; and therefore they speak evil of the thing that they know not, who shall give account of it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying: My sheep will hear my voice, strangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye should not believe them that go about to subvert the gospel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well before you believe

them, according to St. John's counsel in his epistle, saying: Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will speak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear sister) be of good cheer, and give no credit to such people, whatsoever you hear them say. For I have no mistrust by God's help, but that all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own sight, whensoever it shall please God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace, and will always, to bear this easy yoke and light burden; which I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

For when I have been in prison, wearing sometimes bolts, sometimes shackles, sometimes lying on the bare ground, sometimes sitting in the stocks, sometimes bound with cords, that all my body hath been swoln, much like to be overcome with the pain that hath been in my flesh, sometimes fain to lie abroad in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro, few I say, that durst keep my company for fear of the rulers, sometimes brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops, sometimes called dog, sometimes devil, heretic, whoremonger, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers others such like; yea, and even they that did eat of my bread, that should have been most my friends by nature, have betrayed me: yet for all this I praise my Lord God that hath separated me from my mother's womb, all this that happened unto me hath been easy, light, and most delectable and joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings true. But that way that they call heresy, I serve my Lord God, and at all times before whomsoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, which all my adversaries have not been able to resist, I praise God therefore.

Wherefore (dear sister) be of good comfort with all your brethren and sisters, and take no thought what you shall say, for it shall be given you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God's elect shall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped, that this persecution would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, that no man should rejoice in himself, but he that rejoiceth shall rejoice in God.

Wherefore if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but perfect love casteth out all fear: which love I have no mistrust but God hath poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I trust you shall enter into the new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen.

RICHARD WOODMAN.

After these examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the bishops, he was (as is aforesaid) judged by sentence of condemnation, and so deprived of his life; with whom also were burned nine others, to wit, five men and four women, which were taken about two or three days before their judgment. The names of which being also before expressed, here again follow in this order, Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Hofman, his servant, Thomasine Wood, his maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her son, Denis Burgis, Ashdowne's wife, Grove's wife.

These persons above-named were put to death at Lewes the 22d of June.



Of which number the eight last were apprehended (as is said) either the same day, or the second or third day before, and so with the same Woodman and Stevens, were committed together to the fire; in which space no writ could come down from London to the justices, for their burning. Wherefore what is to be said to such justices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found also of other justices, who without any lawful writ of discharge or order of law, have unlawfully and disorderly burnt the servants of Christ (whose blood the law both may and also ought to revenge); especially at Salisbury, Canterbury, and Guernsey. But concerning these matters, though man's law do wink, or rather sleep at them, yet they shall be sure God's law will find such murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

One Ambrose died in Maidstone prison, about the same time.

#### *An Account of the Condemnation of Mr. RICHARD LUSH.*

**I**N the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, of one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burned for the cause of heresy, whose affirmations in the said certificate are expressed in tenor and effect, as follows.

1. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.
2. Item, For denying auricular confession to be made to the priest.
3. Item, For affirming only to be three sacraments: to wit, of baptism, of the supper, and of matrimony.
4. Item, For refusing to call the Lord's supper by the name of the sacrament of the altar.
5. Item, For denying purgatory, and that prayers and alms profit not the dead body.
6. Item, That images are not to be suffered in the church, and that all that kneel to images of the church, be idolaters.
7. Item, That they which were burnt of late for religion, died God's servants and good martyrs.
8. Item, For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.
9. Item, For denying the universal and catholic church, meaning the church of Rome.

For these assertions as they are expressed, he was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, and also a certificate directed by the bishop aforesaid, to the king and queen.

#### *A Note concerning JOHN HULLIER, Minister and Martyr, who was burned at Cambridge.*

**C**ONCERNING the story of John Hullier, martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and martyrdom of that good man, because the story is before but rawly and imperfectly touched; for the more perfecting thereof I thought thereunto to add that which since hath come to my hand, as followeth.

First, John Hullier was brought up at Eaton college, and after, according to the foundation of that house, he was elected scholar in king's college, where also not tarrying full three years of probation, before he was fellow of the college, he after some time was one of the ten conduits in the king's college, which was Anno 1539. Then, in process of time, he came to be curate of Babram, three miles from Cambridge, and went afterwards to Lynn; where he, having divers conflicts with the papists, was from thence carried to Ely, to

Dr. Thurlby, then bishop there; who after divers examinations, sent him to Cambridge Castle, where he remained but a while.

From thence he was conveyed to the town prison, commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almost a quarter of a year, till at length he was cited to appear at great St. Mary's on Palm-Sunday eve, before divers doctors, both divines and lawyers, amongst whom was chief Dr. Shaxton, Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgewike, Dr. Scot, and others. Where after examination, because he would not recant, he was first condemned, the sentence being read by Dr. Fuller.

Then consequently he was degraded after their popish manner, with scraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he said cheerfully, This is the joyfulest day that ever I saw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry.

In the mean time whilst it was doing, one standing by, asked Hullier what book he had in his hand. Who answered, a Testament. Whereat this man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the secular powers; Brassey being mayor, who carrying him to prison again, took from him all his books, writings, and papers.

On Maundy Thursday coming to the stake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himself, one spake to him, saying, The Lord strengthen thee. Whereat a serjeant, named Briesly, stayed and bade him hold his tongue, or else he should repent it.

Nevertheless Hullier answered and said, Friend, I trust that as God hath hitherto begun, so also he will strengthen me, and finish his work upon me. I am bidden to a Maundy, whither I trust to go, and there to be shortly. God hath laid the foundation, as I by his aid will end it.

Then going to a stool (prepared for him to sit on) to have his hose plucked off, he desired the people to pray for him again, and also to bear witness that he died in the right faith, and that he would seal it with his blood, certifying them, that he died in a just cause, and for the testimony of the verity and truth, and that Christ was the only rock to build upon, under whose banner he fought, and whose soldier he was; and while speaking, he turned himself toward the east, and exhorted the people there likewise.

George Boyes, Henry Barley, and one Gray, all arch-priests of Trinity college, Cambridge, stood on a bank hard by. This Boyes was one of the proctors of the university that year. To whom Mr. Gray spake, saying, Hear you not, master proctor, what blasphemy this fellow uttereth? Surely it is ill done to suffer him.

At whose words, this Boyes spake with a loud voice, Mr. Mayor, what mean you? If you suffer him thus to take liberty, I tell you, the council shall hear of it, and we take you not to be the queen's friend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harm than you are aware of. Whereat simple Hullier, as meek as a lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no answer, but made himself ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himself to the stake, and with chains being bound, was beset with reed and wood, standing in a pitch barrel, and the fire being set to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earnestly to call upon God. Nevertheless his friends perceiving the fire to be ill kindled, caused the serjeants to turn it, and fire it in that place where the wind might blow it in his face.

That done, there was a parcel of books which were cast into the fire, and by chance a communion book fell between his hands, who receiving it joyfully, opened it, and read as long as the flame and smoak would permit him: and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the book betwixt his arms next his heart, thanking God for sending it: and at that time the day being very fair and hot, yet the wind was somewhat up, and it caused the fire to be fiercer, and when all the people thought he



he had been dead, he suddenly uttered these words; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, dying very meekly.

The place where he was burned, is called Jesus Green, not far from Jesus College. Seagar gave him certain gunpowder, but little to the purpose; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was shed for him. Which the papists seeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned man, it could profit him nothing: nevertheless they continued praying; whereat the papists fell into such a rage that they menaced them with terrible threatnings. His flesh being consumed, his bones stood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the people, some took what they could get of him, as pieces of bones. One had his heart, which was distributed so far as it would go: one took the scalp, and looked for the tongue, but it was consumed, except the very root.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of SIMON MILLER and ELIZABETH COOPER, who were burnt at NORWICH.*

**I**N the month of July next followed the martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling in the town of Lynn, a pious and zealous man in the knowledge of God and his truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary enforced religion then set forth, came from Lynn to Norwich, where he standing in the press and hearing of the people, began to ask them, as they came out of the church from their popish service, where he might go to have the communion. And the people marvelled at his boldness: one that was an evil disposed papist, hearing the same, said, that if he would needs go to a communion, he would bring him where he should be sped of his purpose. So he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich, (whose name was Dunning) who after a few words, and small talk passed with his examine, committed him to ward.

In the mean time as he was in examination, he had in his shoe his confession, written in a paper, whereof a piece appearing above his shoe, was spied and taken out. The chancellor asking if he would stand to the confession of the same faith therein contained, he constantly affirmed the same. Whereupon, as is said, he was committed. Thus the said Simon being in the bishop's house, under custody of the keeper there called master Felow, how it happened is not certain, whether by gentleness of the keeper, (who was somewhat gentle that way) or by leave given of the bishop, or else whether he had condescended on purpose to their articles, he was dismissed, and went home to his house at Lynn, where he continued a certain space, till he had disposed and set all things in order.

That done, he returned again to the bishop's house to his prison and keeper, till the time at length, he constantly abiding in his professed purpose, and defence of God's truth, was by the said bishop and his chancellor, condemned and committed to the fire about the 13th day of July.

With this Simon Miller also was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as aforesaid) a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's parish, in Norwich, where she had before recanted; and being unquiet for the same, and greatly troubled inwardly, she came into the said St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popish service, and there standing in the same, said she revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily sorry that ever she did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. These or such like words she spake in the church.

Then cried one Bacon of the said parish, laying his arms abroad, saying, Mr. Sheriff, will you suffer this? and repeating the same, urged him to go from the church to her house, at whose knocking she came down, and was taken and sent to prison.

The sheriff (named Mr. Thomas Sutton) and she

had before been servants together in one house; and for the friendship he bare unto her, and more for the gospel's sake, he was very loth to do it, but he was enforced by those other persons before mentioned, much against his own conscience, which he now earnestly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned with Simon Miller, to be burnt at the stake, when the fire came to her, she shrunk a little thereat, crying ah! When Simon Miller heard the same, he put his hand behind him towards her, and desired her to be strong and of good cheer; for, good sister, (said he) we shall have a joyful and sweet supper. At which she being, as it seemed, thereby strengthened, stood as still and quiet as one most glad to finish that good work, which she before had so happily begun. And thus she and her companion joyfully ended their lives, committing their souls into the hands of Almighty God.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of Five Men and Five Women, at Colchester, Five in the Forenoon, and Five in the Afternoon.*

**A**S it is no new thing in those we call prelates and priests of the church, to be raisers up of persecution against Christ and his poor flock; so it is much to be marvelled, or rather lamented, that noble persons, and men of honour and worship, should be made such ministers, to serve the desires of these tyrants, as is now common, as well in the sorrowful reign of the late queen Mary, as likewise in this present story is to be remarked.

And first thou rememberest, gentle reader, how mention was made a little before of twenty-two, which were sent up prisoners together from Colchester to London, by the earl of Oxford, the lord Darcy, Mr. Tyrrel, of St. Osithes, and other commissioners and justices, &c. which twenty-two, as aforesaid, through a gentle submission put to them, were afterwards released and set at liberty.

In the number of these aforesaid twenty-two, was one William Munt, of Muchbentley in Essex, husbandman, with Alice his wife, and Rose Allin, maid, daughter to the said Alice Munt; who coming home again to their house at Muchbentley aforesaid, refrained themselves from the unfavoury service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women, who gave themselves diligently to reading and calling upon the name of God, through Christ: whereby they so fretted the wicked priest of the town, called sir Thomas Tye, and others like unto him, that laying their heads together, they made a supplication to the lord Darcy, in the name of the whole parish: the substance whereof is as followeth.

*A Supplication to the LORD DARCY, and by him delivered to SIR JOHN KINGSTON, Priest and Commissary.*

**P**LEASETH your honourable lordship to be advertised, that we confess whilst your good lordship lay here in the country, the people were stayed in good order, to our great comfort: but since your lordship's departure, they have made digression from good order in some places, and namely in the parish of Muchbentley, by reason of three seditious persons, William Munt and his wife, and Rose her daughter, who by their feigned submission (as doth appear) were dismissed and sent down from the bishop of London; and since their coming home they have not only in their own persons made manifest their disobedience, in not coming to the church, nor yet observing other good orders, but also most maliciously and seditiously have seduced many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking also those that frequent the church, and calling them church-owls, and blasphemously calling the blessed sacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers such like blasphemies. In consideration whereof, may it please your honour,

(for



(for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good lordship beareth to justice, and the common peace and quietness of the king and queen's majesty's loving subjects) to award out your warrant for the said William Munt, his wife, and Rose her daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good lordship, we trust the rest will fear to offend (their ringleaders of sedition being apprehended) the quietness of their obedient subjects,

Your daily orators, the parishioners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye, priest; John Carter, Thomas Chandler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, Will. Harris, John Richard, and others.

This being done, the said sir Thomas Tye bethought with himself where the persecuted did resort: for in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, for a twelvemonth and more, he came not to the church, but frequented the company of godly men and women, who abstained from the same, and, as they thought, he laboured to keep a good conscience, but the sequel shewed him to be a false brother.

Now (as I said) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honest men, did further inquire of other men about the same: and being thereof sufficiently (as he thought) instructed to his purpose, immediately about the time the supplication above specified was exhibited to the said lord Darcy, wrote a letter secretly to bishop Bonner, wherein he maketh his account how he had bestowed his time, and complained of divers honest men, among which was the said William Munt and his company: the tenor of which letter here followeth.

*A Letter from Sir THOMAS TYE, Priest, to Bishop BONNER.*

**R**IGHT honourable lord, after my bounden duty done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify unto your lordship the state of our parts concerning religion. And first, since the coming down of the twenty-two rank heretics dismissed from you, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen's majesty's reign, as they are now at this present. In Muchbentley, where your lordship is patron of the church, since William Munt, and Alice his wife, with Rose Allin her daughter, came home, they do not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but do daily allure many others away from the same, which before did outwardly shew signs and tokens of obedience.

They assemble together upon the sabbath-day in the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, and there keep their private conventicles and schools of heresy. The jurates say, the lords' commission is out, and they are discharged of their oath. The quest-men in your archdeacon's visitation alledged, that forasmuch as they were once presented and now sent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your officers say, namely, Mr. Boswel, that the council sent them not home without a great consideration. I pray God some of your officers prove not favourers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

The ministers of the church are hem'd at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife both in town and country, in as ample and large a manner, as though no honourable lords and commissioners had been sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of John Love of Colchester Heath (a perverse place), which John Love was twice indicted of heresy, and thereupon fled with his wife and household, and his goods seized within the town of Colchester, to the king and queen's majesty's use. Nevertheless the said John is come home again, and nothing said or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the great discomfort of good and catholic people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his church again; which thing shall come the sooner to pass,

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through the travail and pains of such honourable lords and reverend fathers as your lordship is, unto whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honour. From Colchester, December 18.

Your humble beadsman,

THOMAS TYE, Priest.

When this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, within a while after the storms began to arise against those poor persecuted William Munt and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themselves from the heat thereof. And continuing so a little space, at last, the seventh day of March, 1557, being the first Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one Mr. Edmund Tyrrel (who came of the house of the Tyrrels which murdered king Edward V. and his brother) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, called William Samuel, dwelling in Colchester, and the two constables of Muchbentley aforesaid, named John Baker and William Harris, with many others; and besetting the house of the said William Munt round about, called to them at length to open the door; which being done, Mr. Tyrrel, with some of the company, went into the chamber where the said father Munt and his wife lay, willing them to rise: for, said he, you must go with us to Colchester-castle. Mother Munt hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might fetch her some drink; for she was (she said) very ill.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Rose Allin, maid, took a stone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother; and as she came back again through the house, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counsel, and advertise them to be good catholic people.

*Rose.* Sir, they have a better instructor than me. For the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err.

*Tyrr.* Why, said Mr. Tyrrel, art thou still in that mind, thou naughty housewife? marry, it is time to look upon such heretics indeed.

*Rose.* Sir, with what you call heresy, do I worship my Lord God, I tell you truth.

*Tyrr.* Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake.

*Rose.* No, sir, not for company's sake, but for Christ's sake; if so I be compelled, and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

*Tyrr.* So he turning to his company, said, Sirs, this gossip will burn: what do you think of her? Why truly, sir, faith one, prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by.

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-ways over the back thereof, so long that the very sinews cracked asunder. Witness hereof, William Chandler, then living at Muchbentley, who was there present and saw it. Also Mrs. Bright of Rumford, with Ann Starkey, her maid, to whom Rose Allin also declared the same, and the said Mrs. Bright also ministered salve for the curing thereof, as she lay in her house at Rumford, going up towards London with other prisoners.

In which time of his tyranny, he said often to her, Why, whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore, wilt thou not cry? To which she always answered, that she thanked God she had no cause, but rather to rejoice. But, she said, he had more cause to weep than she, if he considered the matter well. In the end, when the sinews (as I said) brake, that all the house heard them, he then thrust her violently from him, saying, A strong whore, thou shameless beast; thou beastly whore, &c. with such like vile words. But she quietly suffering his rage for the time, at last said, Sir, have you done what you will do? He said, yea, and if thou think not well of it, then mend it.

*Rose.* Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head also: for he that set you on work, shall pay you your wages one day,



day, I warrant you: and so went and carried her mother drunk as she was commanded. Likewife, after searching of the house for more company, at last they found one John Thurston and Margaret his wife, whom they also carried to Colchester castle immediately.

And this said Rose Allin, being prisoner, told a friend of her's this cruel act of the said Tyrrel; and shewing him the manner thereof, she said, while my own hand was a burning, I having a pot in my other hand, might have struck him on the face with it, if I had had a mind, for no man held my hand to hinder me therefrom. But I thank God, said she, with all my heart, I did it not.

Also being asked of another, how she could abide the painful burning of her hand, she said, at first it was some grief to her: but afterwards, the longer she burned, the less she felt, or well near none at all.

And because Mr. Tyrrel shall not go alone in this kind of cruelty, you shall hear another like example of a blind harper's hand, burnt by bishop Bonner, as is testified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, sometime gentleman to the said bishop, who declared before credible witnesses, as followeth: How the said bishop Bonner, having this blind harper before him, spake thus unto him, That such blind objects, which follow a sort of heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the first that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man answered, that if every joint of him were to be burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord, he should not fly. Then Bonner signifying privily to certain of his men about him what they should do, they brought to him a burning coal; which coal being put into the poor man's hand, they closed it fast again, which burned his hand most piteously. Among the doers thereof was the said Mr. Valentine Dingley, witness and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in Titus Livius, of the story of king Porfenna, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus Scevola, who came purposely to kill him, being only contented therewith, sent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hands of poor men and women, who never meant any harm to them, and not contented with that, but also to consume their whole bodies without any just cause, we find no example of such barbarous tyranny, neither in Titus Livius, nor in any other story among the heathen.

But to return to our Colchester martyrs again. With the said William Munt and his family, was joined also in the same prison at Colchester, another faithful brother, named John Johnson, alias Alier, of Thorp, in the county of Essex, labourer, thirty-four years of age, having no wife alive, but three young children, who was also indicted with them of heresy, and so all these four lay together in Colchester castle.

The other six prisoners lay in Mote-hall in the said town of Colchester, whose names were,

1. William Bongeor, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester, glazier, of the age of sixty years.
2. Thomas Benold, of Colchester, tallow-chandler.
3. W. Purcas, of Bocking, in Essex, fuller, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silver-side, alias Smith, dwelling in Colchester, widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the wife of John Ewring, miller, dwelling in Colchester, of the age of forty-five years, or thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned before, sent up in bands from Colchester to London, and after being delivered with the rest, repaired home to Colchester again to her husband, where notwithstanding she enjoyed her liberty not very long: for shortly after her return, one Robert Maynard, then bailiff of Colchester, met with her, who espying her, came to her, and kissed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom she considerately answered again, and said, That it was but a Judas's kiss: for in the end, quoth she, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to pass: for immediately after that discourse she was apprehended by him, and was lodged with the rest in the town prison (as is aforesaid), called the Mote-hall.

6. The sixth of this company was Elizabeth Folks, a young maid, and servant in Colchester, of the age of twenty years. These six were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote-hall, as the other four before-mentioned were in the castle.

Divers examinations these good men had at sundry times before divers justices, priests, and officers, as Mr. Roper, John Kingston, commissary, John Boswell, priest, and Bonner's scribe, and several others, in the presence of the two bailiffs of Colchester, Robert Brown and Robert Maynard, with divers other justices both of the town and country, and a great many other gentlemen: at which time and place, and before the said persons, they had sentence of condemnation read against them, chiefly for not affirming the real presence of the sacrament in their altar. The effect of their words therein, was as follows:

First, *The Prisoners in Mote-Hall.*

**WILLIAM BONGEOR**, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester, glazier, said, that the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and so remaineth bread; and that the consecration made it not more holy, but rather worse. To this he did stand, as also against all the rest of their popish doctrine: and so had sentence read against him.

Thomas Benold, of Colchester, tallow-chandler, affirmed to the like effect as William Bongeor did: and so had sentence also read against him.

W. Purcas, of Bocking, said, that when he received the sacrament, he received bread in an holy use, that preacheth the remembrance of Christ dying for him. To this he stood, and against other their popish matters: and so also had sentence read against him.

Agnes Silver-side, alias Smith, said, that she loved no consecration; for the bread and wine, she said, was made rather worse thereby than better. This good old woman answered them with such sound judgment and boldness, to every thing they asked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read against her in like manner.

Helen Ewring answered to the like effect as the others did, utterly denying all the laws set forth by the pope, with her whole heart. This good woman was somewhat thick of hearing, but yet in the Lord's matters was quick of understanding, whose name therefore be praised. Against her also was sentence read.

Elizabeth Folks, the young maiden, being examined whether she believed the presence of Christ's body to be in the sacrament substantially and really, or no; answered, that she believed that it was a substantial lie, and a real lie. At which words, the priests and others were very angry, and asked her again, whether after the consecration there remained not the body of Christ in the sacrament. To which she answered, that before consecration and after, it is but bread; and the man that blest without God's word, is cursed and abominable by the word, &c. Then they examined her about confession to the priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, &c. To all which she answered, that by the grace of God, she would neither use nor frequent any of them at all, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

Then they read the sentence of condemnation against her; at which Dr. Chadsey wept, that the tear trickled down his cheeks. So the sentence being read she kneeled down on her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer and audible voice praising God, that ever she was born to see that most blessed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ: and Lord, said she, if it be thy will, forgive them that have done this against me, for they know not what they do. Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the bench to repentance, especially those who brought her to prison, as Robert Maynard the bailiff, and such like; which Maynard commonly,



monly, when he sat in judgment upon life and death, would sit sleeping on the bench oftentimes, so careful was his mind on his office.

Further, she desired halting gospellers to beware of blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, that if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very bar would be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had that day shed innocent blood.

This Elizabeth Folks, the day before she was condemned, was examined only upon this article, whether she believed there was a catholic church of Christ, or not. To which she answered, Yea. Then was she immediately (by Boswell's means, the scribe) delivered unto her uncle Holt, of the same town of Colchester, to keep, who carried her home to his house; and she being there might have departed thence many times, if she had pleased; for there was means offered to convey her away. But she hearing that some doubted that she had yielded to the pope (although it was untrue), would in no wise content herself, but wept, and was in such anguish of mind and terror of conscience, that by no means she would yield to the papists for any persuasions that could be. And coming before them at Cofin's house at the White Hart in Colchester, she was at utter defiance with them and their doctrine: and so had, as you have heard, in the end a papistical reward, as the rest of her brethren had.

#### *The Prisoners in Colchester Castle.*

**WILLIAM MUNT**, of Muchbentley in Essex, of the age of 61 years, said, that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol, and that if he should observe any part of their popish proceedings, he should displease God, and bring his curse upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durst not do it. This good father was examined of many things, but God be thanked he stood to the truth, and in the end thereof had sentence of condemnation read against him. John Johnson, of Thorp in Essex, widower, thirty-four years of age, was examined as the rest, and made answer in such sort, as the papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him in their bloody sentence, as they had done the rest before. This John Johnson affirmed, that in the receiving of the sacrament according to Christ's institution, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually, &c.

Alice Munt, the wife of the said William Munt, forty-one years of age, being also examined as the rest, said and confirmed the same in effect as her husband did, and was therefore also condemned.

Rose Allin, maid, daughter of the said Alice Munt, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular confession, going to the church to hear mass, of the popish seven sacraments, &c. answered stoutly, that they stank in the face of God, and she durst not have to do with them for her life, neither was she (she said) any member of theirs; for they were the members of Antichrist, and so should have, if they repented not, the reward of Antichrist. Being asked further what she could say of the see of the bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his authority or no; she answered boldly that she was none of his. As for his see (said she) it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to swim in, such as you be: for by the grace of God I shall not swim in that see while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then they read the sentence of condemnation against her, and sent her to prison again unto the rest, where she sung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were all sent to the prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading and invoking the name of God), ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution. In which time the cruel papists left not their mischievous attempts against them, although they would seem now to have no

more to do with them. For bloody Bonner, whose throat never cried ho, shortly after got a writ for the burning of the afore said persons; and to shew the more diligence in his cause, he sent a trusty man of his, named Edward Cofin, down with it, and also with his letter, for the furtherance of the matter, the next month after the condemnation.

The writ being thus received by the said bailiffs, and they having then no leisure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the second day of August next following. And because the faithful souls were in two several prisons, as the castle was for the county, and Mote-Hall for the town; therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote-Hall should be burnt in the forenoon, and those at the castle, by the sheriff of the shire, in the afternoon.

The second day of August, 1557, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the morning, were brought from Mote-Hall unto a plat of ground, hard by the town-wall of Colchester on the out-side, William Bongcor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silver-side, alias Smith, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folks before-mentioned, who being there, and all things prepared for their martyrdom, they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in such a manner as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not suffer them: especially one Mr. Clere among the rest (who sometime had been a gospeller) shewed himself very extreme unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if it be his good will) and grace to be a better man. When they made their prayers, they rose, and made themselves ready for the fire: and Elizabeth Folks, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who came and kissed her at the stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, would not suffer her to give it. Therefore taking the said petticoat in her hand, she threw it away from her, saying, farewell all the world, farewell faith, farewell hope; and so taking the stake in her hand, said, welcome love, &c. Now she being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the striking of the staple, he missed the place, and gave her a great stroke with the hammer on the shoulder bone: at which, she turning her head, lifted up her eyes to the Lord, and smilingly praying, gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When they were all nailed to the stakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the standers by, (which were by estimation thousands) almost all cried, The Lord strengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them, with such like words, as were wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their souls and bodies into the Lord's hand, for the testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like quarrel, for his mercy's sake. Amen.

In like manner, the said day in the afternoon, were brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed for the same, William Munt, John Johnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allin afore said: who after they had made their prayers, were joyfully tied to the stakes, calling upon the same name of God, and earnestly exhorting the people to flee from idolatry, suffered martyrdom with such triumph and joy, that the people did no less shout thereat to see it, than at the others that were burnt the same day in the morning.

Thus these ten persons happily ended their lives for the testimony of the gospel. God grant we may well spend our years and days likewise to his glory. Amen.

You have heard before of the taking of John Thurston at Muchbentley, in the house of William Munt of the same town; which said John Thurston, about the month of May, 1557, died in Colchester-castle; a constant confessor of Jesus Christ.



*The History of GEORGE EAGLES, otherwife called Trudge-over.*

**A**MONG other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserveth much to be commended, for that he having little or no learning, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christ's church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is to beautify and adorn his kingdom with the weak and simple instruments of this world; such as Amos was in the Old Testament, who with many others of obscure and unknown names, were called from the herds and folds to the honour of prophets; as likewise we read of the apostles, who were called from the fisherman's craft, and put into churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be despised for his base occupation, whom Christ hath called thence to set forth and declare abroad his gospel. We ought rather to glorify God the more, who by his grace, in so blind a time, inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancy of suffering: who, after he had used the occupation of a taylor, for some time, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himself to the service of Christ's church.

Which man, as before in those most bright and clear days of king Edward the Sixth, he had not fruitfully shewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, so afterwards in the tempestuous time and fall of the church (at which time the confessors of Christ and his gospel were troubled, divers of them murdered, some of them banished, and others through fear constrained from appearing publicly), he expressed and uttered his mind with courage. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries, where he could find any of his brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and sometimes abiding in that certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometimes in the country, and sometimes for fear living in fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreasonable going abroad, was called 'Trudge-over'. Oftentimes did he lie abroad in the night without cover, spending the most part in devout and earnest prayer.

His diet was so spare and slender above measure, that he used, almost for the space of three years, to drink nothing but water, whereunto he was compelled through necessity in the time of persecution: but when he perceived that by God's providence his body proved well enough with this diet, he thought best to inure himself to it against all necessities.

Now when he had profited Christ's church in this sort, by going about and preaching the gospel a year or two, especially in Colchester and the places thereabout, that privy enemy which envieth always the salvation and blessed estate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means possible for him, so that there were divers spies sent out, who had in commandment wheresoever they found him, to bring him either alive or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but was all in vain, (the said Eagles with his brethren keeping in close, and hiding themselves in secret places, as in barns, thickets, holes, &c.) his adversaries went about another way to compass this their enterprise of taking him.

For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four shires, Essex, Suffex, Kent, and Norfolk, promising the person that took him twenty pounds for his pains; doubtless a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the money, they devised and invented all ways possible to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this poor man.

At length it came to pass, that he being seen at Colchester, upon Mary Magdalen's day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, would have been taken by his adversaries, if he had not speedily conveyed himself away, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him. Who first hid himself in a grove,

and afterwards in a corn-field hard by, and so lay secretly couched from the violence of his enemies, insomuch that they were all, except one, past hope of taking him, and therefore were ready to depart their way.

This one, having more subtlety and wicked craft in his head than the rest, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, there to view and spy if he might see Eagles any where stir or move. The poor man thinking all sure enough, by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head were above the corn, or because his voice was heard, the lurker perceiving his desired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and suddenly laying hands on him, brought him as a prisoner to Colchester. Notwithstanding the greedy and Judas knave, which had so much promised him, was fain to be contented with a very small reward, and glad to take that too, lest he should have had nothing at all.

George Eagles being thus taken, was committed to prison at Colchester, and from thence within four days after conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not sleep, neither would eat nor drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London, to the bishop or the council, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions, and there was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm in that case provided. For it was ordained a little before, to avoid sedition, that if men should assemble secretly together, above the number of six, they should be attached of treason.

And although it was well known, that George Eagles did never any thing seditiously against the queen, yet to cloak an honest matter withal, and to cause him to be the more hated of the people, they turned religion into a civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or faith, before the judges; yet could he not bring it to pass by any means, but that he must needs be indicted (as is said) of treason; whose indictment did run much after this fashion.

"George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of George Eagles, otherwife Trudge-over the Word, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer, that God should turn queen Mary's heart, or else take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed, he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding, he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This being done, he was carried to the sign of the Crown, in Chelmsford; and being there, one Richard Potto, the elder, an inn-holder, dwelling at the sign of the Cock, in the same town, did much trouble him, in persuading him to confess he had offended the queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to ask her forgiveness.

To whom he said, he had not offended her grace in that behalf. So in process of time he was laid upon a sledge, with a hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being fast bound, having in his hand a psalm book, of which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there: and being on the ladder, the said Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforesaid; but the sheriff commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confession, and stood very constant still; then he was turned off the ladder. With him were cast certain thieves also, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much set forth and declare the innocency and piety of this man. For being led between two thieves to the place where he should suffer, when as he exhorted both them and all others to stand stedfastly to the truth, one of them turned the counsel



counsel he gave into a jesting matter, and made but a flout at it.

Why should we doubt to obtain heaven, said he, soasmuch as this holy man shall go before us, as captain and leader unto us in the way. We shall flee thither straight, as soon as he hath once made us the entry.

In this, George Eagles and the other did greatly reprove him, who on the other side gave good heed to George's exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and calling to Christ for mercy. But the more that the first was bid to be still, and to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he continued in his foolishness, and his wicked behaviour. At length they came to the gallows, where they should be hanged, but George was carried to another place hard by to suffer. Between the two he went foremost who was most serious, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themselves, how they did transgress the commandments of God, and then having committed his soul into God's hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

The mocker's turn came next, who would have likewise said somewhat, but his tongue faltered in his head, that he was not able to speak a word. He would fain have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then the under-sheriff bade him say the Lord's prayer, which he could not say neither but flutteringly, as a man would say, one word to-day and another to-morrow. Then one did begin to say it, and desired him to say after.

Such as were there and saw it, were much astonished, especially those that beheld the just punishment of God against him that had mocked so earnest a matter. George Eagles in the mean time, after he had hanged a small space, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the bailiffs cut it asunder, and he fell to the ground being still alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the ladder.

Then one William Swallow, of Chelmsford, a bailiff, drew him to the sledge that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a cleaver, such as is occupied in many men's kitchens, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and sometimes hit his neck, and sometimes his chin, and did sadly mangle him, and so opened him. Notwithstanding, this blessed martyr of Christ abode stedfast and constant in the very midst of his torments, till such time as his tormentor, William Swallow, did pluck the heart out of his body. The body being divided into four parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the aforesaid Swallow's door, and there laid upon the fish-stalls before his door, till they had made ready a carriage to carry his quarters, one to Colchester, and the rest to Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Rouse's.

His head was set up at Chelmsford, on the market-cross on a long pole, and there stood, till the wind blew it down, and lying certain days in the street tumbled about, one caused it to be buried in the church-yard in the night. Also a wonderful work of God was in that he shewed on this wicked bailiff Swallow, who within a short space after this was so punished, that all the hair went well near off his head, his eyes were as it were closed up, and could scarcely see, the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in such case of his body as though he had been a leper, and now in his old age almost a very beggar, and his wife, which he a little after married, God hath punished with the falling sickness, or a disease like unto that: which may be a warning or glass for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to God's true servants.

No less a token of his marvellous judgment did God shew upon the aforesaid Richard Potto, who did so much trouble this George Eagles in the inn, and at the place of execution, as is above specified. He lived till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, all which time he little joyed, and being on a time in a great chafe with one or two of his neighbours in his own house, feeling himself not well, he said to one of his servants, go with me into the chamber; and when he

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came there, he fell down on a low bed, as heavy as it had been lead, and lay there foaming at the mouth, and could never speak after, neither understood what was said to him, but lay as senseless as if he had been a dumb beast, and within three or four days died. God grant that this token sent of God, with many more such, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we live unto the world's end.

Besides this, God hath wonderfully shewed his work. For on a time when they laid great wait for George Eagles, that it was thought impossible but that he should be taken, being so beset; his friends put him into apprentice's apparel, viz. watchet-hose, as their manner is, and an old cloak, and set him on a pack of wool, as though he had ridden to carry wool to the spinners, so he rode through the midst of his adversaries, and escaped them all for that time. Another chief troubler of the said George Eagles, was also one justice Brown, who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after.

Also when he was at the sessions at Chelmsford, there was a rumour raised, that he had accused divers honest men that did keep him in their houses, and were conversant with him, and all to discredit him; which rumour was very false and utterly untrue. Witness one Raynold, with divers others dwelling in Chelmsford.

*An Account of the Examination of RICHARD CRASHFIELD, of Wymundham, condemned to Death for the Testimony of Jesus Christ.*

**A**BOUT this time suffered at Norwich, a godly man, named Richard Crashfield, whose examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, as he penned them with his own hand, so have we faithfully recorded the same.

How say you, sirrah, said the chancellor, to the ceremonies of the church?

Then said I, What ceremonies?

He said unto me, Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?

My answer was, I do believe so many as are grounded in the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Tush, said he, do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?

I said, I knew not what it was.

Then, said he, Do you not believe that Christ took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

Yes verily, said I, and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.

Tush, said he, do you not believe this, that after the words spoken by the priest, there is the substance of Christ's body, flesh, and blood? How say you, do you not believe this? Speak, man.

I do believe that Christ's body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, whereof the bread and wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the faithful unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into prison until the next day.

*Another Examination of RICHARD CRASHFIELD.*

**T**HE day following I was brought forth. Then the chancellor said unto me, Richard, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday? He rehearsing all the words that we had before, said, Are not these your words? Whereunto I answered, Yes.

Then said he, How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the rood, and make your prayer?

I answered and said, No, rehearsing the commandment of God forbidding the same.

He said, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?



I answered, What image?  
 He said, The brazen serpent.  
 I said, Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.  
 Then doctor Bridges said, Wherefore did God command the seraphims and cherubims to be made?  
 I said, I could not tell; I would fain learn.  
 Then said the chancellor, But how say you to this? Can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the rood?  
 I answered, No, I fear the curse of God: for it is written, that God cursed his hands that make them, yea, and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.  
 Then doctor Bridges raged, and said, Listen now what a piece of scripture he hath here gotten to serve his purpose, for he will not allow but where he listeth.  
 Then said the chancellor, How say you to confession to the priest? When were you confessed?  
 I said, I confess myself daily unto the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.  
 Then the chancellor said, Do you not take confession to the priest to be good?  
 I answered, No, but rather wicked.  
 Then the chancellor said, How say you by yonder gear, yonder singing, and yonder playing on the organs? Is it not good and godly?  
 I said, I could perceive no godliness in it.  
 Then he said, Why, is it not written in the Psalms, that we should praise God with hymns and spiritual songs?  
 I said, Yes, spiritual songs must be had: but yonder is of the flesh, and of the spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.  
 Then said the chancellor, Why, is it not written, my house is an house of prayer?  
 I said, Yes. It is written also, that you have made my house a den of thieves.  
 With that the chancellor looked and said, Have we?  
 I answered and said, Christ said so. Then was I commanded to ward.  
 The Thursday next following, doctor Bridges was sent to me to examine me of my faith. And he said, Country-man, my lord bishop (for love he would have you saved) hath sent me unto you, because to-morrow is your day appointed: therefore my lord hath thought it proper, that you should declare your faith unto me. For to-morrow my lord will not have much ado with you.  
 I answered and said, Hath my lord sent you?  
 It is not you, to whom I am disposed to shew my mind.  
 Then he said to me, I pray you let me know your mind concerning the sacrament of the altar.  
 I answered, Are you ignorant of what I have said?  
 He said, No, for it was well written, except you believe, faith he, as the church hath taught, you are damned both soul and body.  
 I answered and said, Judge not, lest you be judged: condemn not, lest you be condemned.  
 And he said, Lo, we shall have a traitor as well as an heretic: for he will disallow the king's judgment.  
 I said, No, I do not disallow the king's judgment, but your's I do disallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this judgment?  
 He answered and said, By the church: for the church hath power to save and condemn: for if you be condemned by the church, be you sure, that you be damned both body and soul.  
 Then I said, If you have this power, I am fore deceived. For I believe that Christ shall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.  
 Then he said, Stand nearer, country-man, why stand you so far off?  
 I answered, I am near enough, and a little too near.  
 Then he said, Did not Christ say, is not my flesh meat, and my blood drink indeed?

I asked, To whom spake Christ those words?  
 He answered, To his disciples.  
 I (intending to rehearse the text) said, Whereat did Christ's disciples murmur inwardly?  
 He said, No, they did not murmur, but they were the Infidels, (saith he) for the disciples were satisfied with these words.  
 I said, Did not Christ say thus, as he taught at Capernaum, whereat his disciples murmured, saying, This is an hard saying, who can abide the hearing of it? Jesus perceiving their thoughts, said, Doth this offend you?  
 Then he raged and said, Oh, thou wrestest the text for thine own purpose: for the disciples did never murmur, but the unbelievers as thou art.  
 I answered, Yes, but I perceive you know not the text.  
 Then he said with much rage, I will lay my head thereon it is not so.  
 Then I said, I have done with you.  
 To which he answered, What shall I tell my lord of you?  
 If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be sooner done, said I. And so he departed.  
 Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive judgment, when the chancellor said unto me, Are you a new man, or are you not?  
 I answered, I trust I am a new man born of God.  
 God give you grace so to be, said he. So he rehearsed all my examination and said, How say you, are not these your words?  
 I answered, Yes, I will not deny them.  
 Then he said to Dr. Pere, standing by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledging to me many fair flattering words, said, "Take, eat, this is my body." How say you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christ's body? Speak.  
 I answered, Have you not my mind, why do you trouble me?  
 He said, What did Christ give you? Was it bread, or was it not?  
 I said, Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread, and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he saith, "So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death until he come." St. Paul saith not here as you say: for he saith, "So oft as ye shall eat of this bread." He doth not say, Body.  
 So they intending that I should go no further in the text, said, Tush, you go about the bush. Answer to the first question. Let us make an end of that.  
 What say you to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind in that.  
 I answered, I have said my mind in it.  
 Then the chancellor said, No, we will have your mind in that.  
 I answered, I have said my mind in it.  
 Then said the chancellor, No, we will have your mind more plainly: for we intend not to have many words with you.  
 I said, My faith is fully grounded and established, that Christ Jesus the Easter Lamb hath offered his blessed body a sacrifice to God the Father, the priest of my redemption. For by that only sacrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.  
 Then Dr. Bridges started up and said, Truth, your words are true indeed: you take well the literal sense: but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice; so likewise we daily offer the self-same body that was offered upon the cross, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father.  
 Do you offer Christ's body, I said? Why then Christ's sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men shall be liars.

Then



Then he said, Thou shalt not fear him that hath power to kill the body: but thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul.

I answered and said, It is not so. But the text is thus, "Thou shalt not fear them that have power to kill the body, and then have done what they can. But thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul, and cast them both into hell-fire," and not them.

He said, Yes: for it is the church.

I answered, Why, Christ saith, "I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me (saith he), but I give it of my own power, and so I have power to take it again." Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer his body once for all. And if you will presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ's power. With that he was angry, and said, What shall we have doctrine? You are not hereto appointed.

Then the chancellor stood up and said, Will you turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodness, as you have been an example of evil? (for by your wicked reading you have persuaded some simple women to be in this error) and you shall have mercy.

And I said, It is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then the chancellor said, When were you at your parish church? You have stood excommunicate these two years and more: wherefore you are condemned. And so I was condemned.

Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the examinations of this pious young man, set forth in writing with his own hand, who, soon after his condemnation, was brought to the stake by the sheriffs and officers, where with much patience and constancy he endured his martyrdom. At whose burning, one Thomas Carman was apprehended, whose story hereafter followeth in its order and place.

About the same time one named Fryer, with a woman accompanying him, who was the sister of George Eagles, suffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous papists, whose tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

*An Account of the Apprehension and Death of Mrs. JOYCE LEWES, the Wife of Mr. THOMAS LEWES, of Manceter.*

**M**ISTRESS Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, was first married to one Appleby, and afterwards to Thomas Lewes, of Manceter. In the beginning of queen Mary's time she went to church and heard mass as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr Laurence Saunders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and inquired earnestly of such as she knew feared God, the cause of his death: and when she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience, and waxed very unquiet. And because her house was even hard by Mr. John Glover's house, of whom mention was made before, a man of blessed memory, and a singular example of his unfeigned godliness, and manifold troubles which he suffered for the gospel, she did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet mind, and the desire she had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the way of the Lord, proving unto her out of God's holy word, that the mass, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in God's sight; and besides this, reproved her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By which godly

counsel, she began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed with the love of God, and desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things which displeased him. And because she had learned the mass to be evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and shewed herself to be displeased with their blasphemous holy water, injurious to the blood of Christ. Whereupon she was accused before the bishop for despising of their sacramentals.

Immediately a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop. The sumner that brought the citation delivered it to her husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving that it was moved with anger, desired the sumner to take the citation with him again, or else he would make him eat it. The sumner refused to take it again, for he thought no man durst have been so bold to him. But in the end Lewes compelled the said sumner to eat the citation indeed, by setting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he caused him to drink, and so sent him away. But immediately after, the said Lewes with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where the said Lewes by and by submitted himself, and desiring the bishop to be good to him, excusing himself after the best fashion he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his wife should submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop, that by refusing of the holy water she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At which words the bishop being grievously offended, yet because she was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worst (as he said), but gave her one month's respite, binding her husband in an hundred pound to bring her again unto him at the month's end, and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, the said Mrs. Joyce Lewes gave herself to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, resorting continually to the abovenamed man of God, Mr. John Glover, who did most diligently instruct her with God's word, willing her in any case not to meddle with that matter in respect of vain glory, or to get herself a name, shewing her the great danger she was like to cast herself in, if she should meddle in God's matter otherwise than Christ doth teach.

When the month was now almost expired, and the time at hand that she should be brought before the said bishop, her husband being advertised by the said Mr. John Glover and others, not to carry her to the bishop, but to seek some way to save her, or if the worst should come, to be content to forfeit so much money, rather than to cast his own wife into the fire; he answered, he would not lose or forfeit any thing for her sake; and so, like a murderer of his own wife, he carried her to the bloody bishop, where she was examined, and found more stout, than she was before death was threatened. And to begin withal, she was sent to such a stinking prison, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did swoon in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and oftentimes examined, at length she was brought to judgment, and pronounced an heretic worthy to be burned. When the bishop reasoned with her, why she would not come to the mass, and receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Ghost; she answered, Because I find not these things in God's word, which you so urge and magnify, as things most needful for men's salvation. If these things were in the word of God commanded, I would, with all my heart, receive, esteem, and believe them. The bishop answered, If thou wilt believe no more than is in the scripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case. At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the bishop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After



After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelve-month in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff, that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed; for which things, after her death, he was sore troubled, and in danger of his life. All that time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any spark of godliness and honesty, did greatly lament her case, that she should be put to death.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ *De comburendo* (as they term it) being brought down from London, she desired some of her friends to come to her, with whom, when they came, she consulted how she might behave herself, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable to the enemies of God. As for death (saith she), I do not greatly heed it: when I behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening before her suffering, two of the priests of the clove of Litchfield, came to the under sheriff's house, where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff, that they were come to her confession; for they would be sorry she should die without. She sent them word again, she had made a confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give most humble praise to God, that he had made her worthy to suffer death for his word: and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did defy the same, even from the bottom of her heart.

Which when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, Well, to-morrow her stoutness will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her: and so they went their ways, with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought set by.

All that night she was wonderfully chearful and merry, with a certain gravity, insomuch that the majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart, spending the time in prayer, reading and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan (who never sleepeth, especially when death is at hand) began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart, which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, by questioning her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her. I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how canst thou tell: whilst she was troubled with this suggestion, they that were about her counselled her to follow the example of Paul, Gal. ii. where he saith, "Which hath loved me, and given himself for me." Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifest token of God's love and desire towards God working in her heart, that love and desire towards God to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Sheriff came into her chamber, saying these words, Mrs. Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, which is, that you shall live but one hour longer in this world: therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourself for it. At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly, by such an officer as he was, made her somewhat cast down. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words: Mrs. Lewes, you have great cause to praise God, who has vouchsafed so

soon to take you out of this world, and made you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Saviour.

After which words, she said, Mr. Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he has made me worthy to offer my life for his service. At which words the sheriff departed: but in the space of an hour he came back again, with swords and clubs; and when he came up into her chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, which the sheriff granted at that time; but afterwards, when she was dead, he was sore troubled for the same.

Now when she was brought through the town by a number of bill-men, a great number of people being present, she was led by two of her friends, namely, Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Augustine Bernher, and so brought to the place of execution: and because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and she not acquainted with the fresh air, (being so long in prison) one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink: and after she had prayed three several times, in which prayers she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from popery (at the end of which prayers most part of the people cried Amen; yea, even the sheriff that stood hard by her, ready to cast her into the fire for not allowing the mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of her people, Amen); when she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of popery. When she had drank, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, especially the women of that town, drank with her; who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was chained to the stake, she shewed such chearfulness, that it passed man's reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that most of them that had honest hearts were moved, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set to her, she made no other resistance than by lifting up her hands towards heaven, being dead very soon: for the under sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such stuff, that she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This, amongst other things, is not to be forgotten, that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, as also when she was at the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, who had a pair of writing tables, wherein he set down the names of those women that drank of the cup, (as before mentioned), and also described her friends by their apparel, for he could not presently learn their names, and afterwards inquired for them: and so immediately after process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

*The Martyrdom of RALPH ALLERTON, JAMES AUSTOO, MARGERY AUSTOO, and RICHARD ROTH, at Islington.*

ABOUT the seventeenth day of September, were burned at Islington, near London, these four professors of Christ, Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo his wife, and Richard Roth. Among which it first appeareth, that this Ralph Allerton was, more than a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the lord Darcy, of Colchester, and was there accused, as well for that he would not consent to come unto the idolatry and superstition which then was used, as also that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being examined thereupon, he confessed that he com-  
ing



ing into his parish of Bentley, and seeing the people sitting there, either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of God's most holy word, and not sit so idly: to which they willingly consented. Then after prayer ended, he read to them a chapter out of the New Testament, and so departed.

In which exercise he continued until Candlemas, and then being informed that he might not do so by the law, (for that he was no priest or minister) he left off, and kept himself close in his house till after Easter. At which time, certain men sworn for inquiry of such matters came unto his house, and attached him for reading in the parish of Welley.

But when they understood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earnestly moved the people) they let him for that time depart. Notwithstanding for fear of their cruelty, he was not long after constrained to forsake his own house, and keep himself in woods, barns, and other solitary places, until the time of his apprehension.

After his examination, the lord Darcy sent him up to the council; but they (not minding to trouble themselves with him) sent him unto Bonner, who by threatnings and other subtle means, so abused the simple and fearful heart of this man, that within a short time he won his most wicked will, and made him revoke and recant his former profession, and thereupon set him at liberty of body: which yet brought such a bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and so cast him down, that except God (whose mercies are immeasurable) had supported and lifted him up again, he had perished for ever.

But God, who never suffereth his children utterly to fall, casting his pitiful eyes on his lost sheep, with his merciful and fatherly chastisements, did, with Peter, raise him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again, even unto death, his most holy name and glorious gospel. Wherefore at the procurement of Thomas Tye, priest, sometime an earnest professor of Christ, but now a fierce persecutor of the same (as appeareth more at large before in the history of William Munt and his wife), he was again apprehended, and sent to bishop Bonner, before whom he was the eighth day of April, and sundry other times else examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand with blood, for lack of other ink, here followeth.

*The Examination of RALPH ALLERTON, at his second Apprehension, before the Bishop of London, at Fulham, April 8, 1557.*

*Bonner.* **A**H, sirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say thou art accused wrongfully.

*Ralph.* Yea, my lord, so I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, then I would be very sorry.

*Bonner.* By St. Mary, that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honest man? For if I can proye no heresy by thee, then shall thine accusers do thee no harm at all. Go on, let me hear thee; for I did not believe the tale to be true.

*Ralph.* My lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answer thereunto.

*Bonner.* Ah, wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not be afraid, nor ashamed to answer for thyself. But tell me in faith, hast thou not dissembled?

*Ralph.* If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my conscience doth constrain me to accuse myself before you: for I confess, that I have grievously offended God in my dissimulation, at my last being before your lordship, for which I am very sorry, as God knoweth.

*Bonner.* Wherein, I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?

*Ralph.* Forsooth, my lord, if your lordship remem-

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ber, I did set my hand to a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I believe in all things as the catholic church teacheth, &c. In which I did not disclose my mind, but shamefully dissembled, because I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church.

*Bonner.* Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this trash. For I fear me thou wilt smell of an heretic anon. Which is the true church as thou sayest? Dost thou not call the heretics' church the true church, or the catholic church of Christ? Now which of these two are the true church, sayest thou? Speak, for in faith, I will know of thee, before I leave thee.

*Ralph.* As concerning the church of heretics, I utterly abhor the same, as detestable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and heresies; and the church catholic is it that I only embrace, whose doctrine is sincere, pure, and true.

*Bonner.* By St. Augustine, but that is well said of thee. For, by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Then said one Morton, a priest, My lord, you know not yet what church it is that he calleth catholic. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

*Bonner.* Think you so? Now by our blessed lady, if it be so, he might have deceived me. How say you, sirrah, which is the catholic church?

*Ralph.* Even that which hath received the wholesome sound, spoken of by Isaiah, David, Malachi, and Paul, with many other more. Which sound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

*Bonner.* Yea, thou sayest true before God. For this is the sound that hath gone throughout all Christendom, and he that believeth not the sound of the holy church, as St. Cyprian saith, doth err. For he saith, that whosoever is out of the church, is like unto them that were out of Noah's ship, when the flood came upon all the whole world; so the ark of Noah is likened unto the church; and therefore thou hast well said in thy confession. For the church is not alone in Germany, nor was here in England in the time of the late schisms, as the heretics do affirm. For if the church should be there alone, then were Christ a liar: for he promised that the Holy Ghost should come to us, and lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us, unto the end of the world. So now, if we will take Christ for a true sayer, then must we needs affirm, that the way which is taught in France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Denmark, Scotland, and all Christendom over, must needs be the true catholic church.

*Ralph.* My lord, if you remember, I spake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Christendom only, as methinks your lordship takes it, which kind of speaking you do not find in all the bible. For I am sure, that the gospel hath been both preached and persecuted in all lands. First, In Jewry, by the scribes and pharisees, and since that time, by Nero, Dioclesian, and such like, and now here in these our days, by your lordship knoweth whom. For true it is that the church which you call catholic, is not otherwise catholic than was figured in Cain, observed of by Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezebel, Nebuchodonosor, Antiochus, and Herod, with innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniel and Esdras make mention of these last days, by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Christ and his apostles, saying, There shall come grievous wolves to devour the flock.

*Bonner.* Now, by the blessed sacrament of the altar, Mr. Morton, he is the rankest heretic that ever came before me. How say you? Have you heard the like?

*Morton.* I thought what he was, my lord, at the first.

*Bonner.* Now, by All-hallows, thou shalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whorson, varlet, and prick-louse thou. Dost thou find a prophecy in David of us? Nay, you knave, it is you that he speaketh of, and of your false pretended holiness. Speak, let me hear what is the saying of Esdras, and take heed you make not a lie, I advise you.

7 M

*Ralph.*



*Ralph.* The saying of Esdras is this: "The heat of great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed the idols with you, and he that consenteth unto them shall be had in derision, laughed to scorn, and trodden under foot; yea, they shall be like madmen, for they spare no man: they shall spoil and waste such as fear the Lord," &c.

*Bonner.* And have you taken this thing, to make your matter good? Ah, firrah, wilt thou so? By my faith, a pretty instruction, and a necessary thing to be taught among the people. By my troth, I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: is there any that understandeth this scripture on this fashion? Before God, I think there are none in all England, but thou.

*Ralph.* Yes, my lord, there are in England three religions.

*Bonner.* Sayest thou so? Which be these three?

*Ralph.* The first is that which you hold, the second is clean contrary to the same; and the third is a neuter, being indifferent: that is to say, observing all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being set wholly against the same.

*Bonner.* And of these three which art thou? For now thou must needs be one of them.

*Ralph.* Yea, my lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of death.

*Bonner.* Ah, fir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheer, yea, and money in your purse when you went away, and by my faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I see thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why wilt thou take upon thee to read the scripture, and canst understand never a word? for thou hast brought a text of scripture which maketh clean against thee. For Esdras speaketh of the multitude of you heretics, declaring your hate against the catholic church, making the simple or idle people believe, that all is idolatry that we do, and so intice them away till you have overcome them.

*Ralph.* Nay, not so, my lord. For he maketh it more plain, and saith on this wise; "They shall take away their goods, and put them out of their houses, and then shall it be known who are my chosen (saith the Lord), for they shall be tried, as the silver or gold in the fire." And we see it so come to pass, even as he hath said. For who is not now driven from house and home, yea, and his goods taken up for other men that never sweat for them, if he do not observe as you command and set forth? Or else, if he be taken, then must he either deny the truth, as I did, in dissembling, or else he shall be sure to be tried, as Esdras saith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know that you are the bloody church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither are you yet able to avoid it.

*Morton.* I promise you, my lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but dissemble, as I perceived well enough; but now methinks he speaketh plainly.

*Bonner.* Marry, fir, as you say indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain heretic, and shall be burned. Have the knave away. Let him be carried to Little-ease, at London, until I come.

*Ralph.* And so I was carried to London unto Little-ease, and there I remained that night, and on the next morning I appeared before him again, the dean of St. Paul's and the chancellor of London being present. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had set my hand unto.

*Bonner.* Come on your ways, firrah. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

*Ralph.* Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confess the same, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have set my hand unto. But if I have set my hand to any thing that is not lawful, therefore am I sorry. Nevertheless, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

*Bonner.* Well said, now you must tell me; were you never at the church since you went from me, at mass, mattins? &c.

*Ralph.* No, my lord, not at mass, mattins, nor any other strange worshipping of God.

*Bonner.* Yea, sayest thou so? Wast thou neither at thine own parish church, nor at any other? And dost thou also say, that it is a strange worshipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the scripture to be true?

*Ralph.* Yea, my lord, I believe the scripture to be true, and in defence of the same I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

*Dean.* My lord, this fellow will be an honest man, I hear by him. He will not stand in his opinion; for he sheweth himself gentle and patient in his talk.

*Bonner.* Oh, he is a glorious knave. His painted terms shall no more deceive me. Ah, whose-son prick-louse, doth not Christ say, This is my body? And how darest thou deny these words, thou knave? I have a writing to shew, and thine own hand to the same. Let me see, pray wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?

*Ralph.* Yes, my lord, it is mine own hand, neither am I ashamed thereof, because my confession is agreeable to God's word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge, that I should deny the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ; oh, good Lord, from whence cometh this rash, hasty, and untrue judgment? Forsooth not from the Spirit of truth; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of liars. Whereupon should your lordship gather or say of me so defamously; wherefore, I beseech you, if I deny the scriptures canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die.

*Tye, the Priest.* My lord, he is a very seditious fellow, and persuadeth other men to do as he himself doth, contrary to the order appointed by the queen's highness and the clergy of this realm. For a great many of the parish will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place to hear him, so that very few come to church to hear divine service: and this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the council, but also since his return home again, he hath done much harm. For where both men and women were honestly disposed before, by St. Anne now they are almost as bad as he. And furthermore, he was not ashamed to withstand me before all the parish, saying, that we were of the malignant church of Antichrist, and not of the true church of Christ, alledging a great many scriptures to serve his purpose, saying, Good people, take heed, and beware of these blood-thirsty dogs, &c. And then I commanded the constable to apprehend him, and so he did. Nevertheless, after this apprehension, the constable let him go about his business all the next day, so that without putting in of surcutes, he let him go into Suffolk and other places, for no goodness, I warrant you, my lord: it were alms to teach such officers their duty, how they should let such rebels go at their own liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to keep them fast in the stocks until they bring them before a justice.

*Ralph.* As I said before, so say I now again; thou art not of the church of Christ, and that I will prove, if I may be suffered. And where you said, that you commanded the constable to apprehend me, you did so indeed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither treason, felony, nor murder to lay to my charge: no, neither had you precept, process, nor warrant to serve on me; and therefore I say without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you seek to trouble the constable, because he kept me not in the stocks three days and three nights, it doth shew in part what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only to buy half a bushel of corn for bread for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would surely have laid somewhat to his charge.

*Bonner.* Go to, thou art a merchant indeed. Ah, firrah, before God thou shalt be burnt with fire. Thou knowest



knowest Richard Roth, dost thou not? Is he of the same mind that thou art of, or no? canst thou tell?

*Ralph.* He is of age to answer, let him speak for himself; for I hear that he is in your house.

*Bonner.* Lo, what a knave here is. Go, Cluny, fetch me Roth hither. By my troth he is a false knave; but yet thou art worse than he. Ah, firrah, did you not set your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if you should at any time say or do heretically, then it should be lawful for me to take thee with a relapse, and to proceed in sentence against thee?

*Ralph.* Yea, that is so. But here is to be asked, whether it is sufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give authority to you or to any other to kill me? For if I by writing can do so much, then must my authority be greater than your's. Nevertheless, I have neither said nor done heretically, but like a true christian man have I behaved myself. And so I was committed unto prison again, and the 24th day of the same month I was brought before the bishop, the lord North, Dr. Story, and others, and after a long story in Latin amongst themselves (unto which I gave no answer, because they spake not to me, although they spoke of me), at last the bishop said—

How say you, firrah? Tell me briefly at one word, wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneel down at mass, shewing thyself outwardly as though thou didst it with a good will? come, speak.

*Ralph.* I will not say so.

*Bonner.* Away with him, away with him.

The second day of May I was brought before the bishop, and three noblemen of the council, whose names I do not remember.

*Bonner.* Lo, my lords, this same is the fellow that was sent unto me from the council, and did submit himself, so that I had half a hope of him: but by St. Anne I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheless, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purse. How sayest thou? Was it not so as I tell my lords here?

*Ralph.* Indeed, my lord, I had meat and drink enough; but I never was in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve pence, although I asked none, nor would have any.

*A Lord.* Be good to him, my lord, he will be an honest man.

*Bonner.* Before God, how should I trust him? He hath deceived me once already. But ye shall hear what he will say to the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, firrah? After the words of consecration be spoke by the priest, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and none other substance, under the form of bread.

*Ralph.* Where find you that written, my lord?

*Bonner.* Lo, fir. Why, doth not Christ say, "This is my body?" How sayest thou? Wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ? Or else was he a dissembler, speaking one thing, and meaning another? Go to, now I have taken you.

*Ralph.* Yea, my lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. However, my lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the institution of the supper of our Lord? For Christ said, "Take ye, and eat ye, this is my body." And if it will please ye to add the former words to the latter, then shall I make you an answer. For sure I am, that Christ was no dissembler, neither did he say one thing and mean another.

*Bonner.* Why, then must thou needs say, that it is his body; for he saith it himself, and thou confessest that he will not lie.

*Ralph.* No, my lord: he is true, and all men are liars. Notwithstanding, I utterly refuse to take the words of our Saviour so fantastically as you teach us to take them: for then should we conspire with certain heretics called the Nestorians; for they deny that Christ had a true natural body, and so methinks you do, my lord. If you will affirm his body to be there, as you say he is, then must you needs also affirm, that it is a

fantastical body; and therefore look to it for God's sake, and let these words go before; "Take ye, and eat ye," without which words the rest are not sufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that so receiveth.

*Bonner.* Ah, I feel well thou canst not understand these words; I will shew thee a parable. If I should set a piece of beef before thee, and say, Eat, it is beef: and then take part of it away, and send it to my cook, and he shall change the fashion thereof, and make it look like bread; what, wouldst thou say that it were no beef, because it hath not the fashion of beef?

*Ralph.* Let me understand a little further, my lord, shall the cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

*Bonner.* What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the shape is changed into another likeness?

*Ralph.* Ah, will you so, my lord? your sophistry will not serve; the truth will have the victory nevertheless, as Isaiah saith, He that restraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. And Amos hath such like words also: For the wise must be fain to hold their peace; so wicked a time it is, saith he: nevertheless, he that can speak the truth, and will not, shall give a strait account for the same.

*A Doctor.* By my lord's leave, here methinks thou speakest like a fool. Wilt thou be a judge of the scripture? Nay, thou must stand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long ago.

*A Priest.* No, by your leave, we have a church, and not a congregation. You mistake that word, Mr. Doctor.

*Ralph.* Then I said to my fellow-prisoners standing by, My brethren, do ye not hear how these men help one another? Let us do so also. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19th day of May I was brought before the bishops of Rochester and Chichester, with others.

*Roch.* Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwise called Trudge-over? My lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

*Ralph.* I know him very well, my lord.

*Roch.* By my faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an ape, for he stunk so of drink, that I could not abide him, and so sent him away.

*Ralph.* My lord, I dare say you took your mark amiss. It was either yourself, or some of your own company, for he did neither drink ale, wine, nor beer, for a quarter of a year before that time; and therefore it was not he forsooth.

The rest of mine examinations you shall have after I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into Newgate, which I trust shall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well, good friends all. Yea, I say, farewell for ever in this present world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the rest of the congregation in Barfold, and Dedham, and Colchester.

This promise of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or else if he did write, the same not coming to my hands; I am fain in the rest of his examinations to follow the only report of the register, who witnesseth, that the 15th day of May, 1557, in the bishop's palace at London, he was examined upon certain interrogatories, the contents whereof be these.

First, That he was of the parish of Muchbentley, and so of the diocese of London.

Secondly, That the 10th day of January, then last past, Mr. John Morant preaching at St. Paul's, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly subscribe himself unto the church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

That he did consent and subscribe himself as well unto the same submission, as also to one other bill, in which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again



again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.

Fourthly, That he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.

Fifthly, That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth article above specified.

Sixthly, That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and see of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

Seventhly, That he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late that were burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

Ninthly, That he had affirmed, that the book of common prayer, set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. was in all parts good and godly; and that the said Ralph and his fellow prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the book.

Tenthly, That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison he would not come to mass, mattins, nor even-song, nor bear taper, candle, nor palm, nor go in procession, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, aches, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

Eleventhly, That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution of him: nor yet would receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

Twelfthly, That he had affirmed, that praying to saints, and praying for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament, or to worship it.

Thirteenthly, That the said Allerton hath, according to these his affirmations, abstained and refused to come to his parish church ever since the tenth day of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church.

To all these articles he answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; saving to this clause contained in the twelfth article, that a man is not bound to fast and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so oft as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this sort.

Except it be proved otherwise by the holy scripture, I do affirm these articles to be true. By me,

RALPH ALLERTON.

The next examination was the fourth day of July; the act whereof, because they do appear more amply in his other examination, on the tenth of September, I here omit, giving you farther to understand, that on the seventh day of July, he was brought before Dr. Darbshire in the bishop's palace, who examined him again on the former articles, and after persuading him to recant, threatening him that otherwise he should be burned. To whom he boldly answered, I would I might be condemned even to-morrow; for I perceive my lord (meaning Bonner) doth nothing but seek men's blood. Upon which saying Dr. Darbshire committed him again to prison, and the tenth of September, the bishop caused him (with the other three above-named) to be brought unto Fulham, and there in his private chapel within his

house, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new articles; of which, the tenor of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh are already mentioned in the second, third, and fourth former objections: as for the rest, their contents here follow.

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary, Edmund bishop of London, was and is a true information."

This information was given by Thomas Tye, curate of Bentley (of whom you have already heard), and certain others of the same parish and affinity; as namely, John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffery Bestwood, John Richard, Richard Meer.

The effect whereof was, that one Laurence Edwards, of Bentley aforesaid, had a child that was unchristened, and being demanded by the said Tye, why the child was not baptized, he made answer it should be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true professor of Christ's gospel). Whereat the curate said, Ah, you have had some instructor that hath schooled you of late. Yea, (quoth Edwards) that I have, and if your doctrine be better than his, then I will believe you; and thereupon fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the constable going with him, they brought before the said curate the said Ralph Allerton; of whom in this information they make this report, that he was a seditious person, who since his coming down from the bishop, had set upon the constables doors seditious letters, moving and persuading thereby the people to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these his persuasions had taken effect in many: and farther, that the said Ralph Allerton (the curate asking him whether he had instructed this Laurence Edwards, that it was against God's commandment to enter into the church) casting his hands abroad, should say, Oh, good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the godly priest and prophet Esdras, who saith, Esdras iv. 16. "The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few; they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods," &c. Which of you hath not seen this, this day? who is here amongst you, that seeth not all these things done upon us this day? The church which they call us to, is the church of Antichrist, a persecuting church, and the church malignant. With these, and many more words (said they, most maliciously and falsely alledged out of the scriptures) he thus persuaded great multitudes there present (as much as in him lay) unto disobedience. For which cause the constables did then apprehend him.

3. Item, thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but the letter sent unto me by my lord Darcy, beginning with these words, [Pleaseth it your lordship, &c.] was thine own letter, and was subscribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the letter mentioned in this article, and written by Allerton unto the lord Darcy, was a confession of his demeanour before his first apprehension, the effect and purport whereof, because it appeareth in the beginning of this history, I do here omit.

4. Item, thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the other letter, sent also to me from my said lord Darcy, beginning thus, [Pleaseth it your lordship, &c.] and ending with these words, [whensoever it be] is thine own letter, and subscribed with thine own hand.

This was also another letter written by him unto the lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that where the said lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever since Whitsuntide last before his first apprehension, this was to certify his lordship, that he was not able so to do, otherwise than as he had already shewed him by his former letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, saving once when he was in the company of George Eagles, and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his bosom, and desired the said Ralph to read



read it, which request he then accomplished; and demanding of him whose doing the same was, the said Roth told that it was Mr. Cranmer's, late archbishop of Canterbury; and farther he could not shew him. Nevertheless, he was ready and willing to suffer such punishment as his lordship should think meet, desiring yet that the same might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither punishment nor death: praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whensoever it should be.

8. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the letters written with blood, beginning with these words, [Grace, mercy, and peace] and ending thus, [Farewel in God,] remaining now registered in the acts of this court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand.

He wrote this letter in the prison with blood for lack of other ink, and did mean to send the same unto Agnes Smith, alias Silver-side, at that time imprisoned, and afterwards burned at Colchester for the testimony of the gospel of Christ, as before mentioned. The copy of which letter here ensueth.

## L E T T E R I.

From RALPH ALLERTON unto AGNES SMITH, Widow.

**G**RACE, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, with the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of soul and body, I wish unto you, as to my own soul, as God knoweth, who is the searcher of all secrets.

Forasmuch as it pleaseth almighty God of his infinite mercy, to call me to the state of grace, to suffer martyrdom for Jesus Christ's sake, although heretofore I have most negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of such an high benefit, to be crowned with the most joyful crown of martyrdom: nevertheless, it hath pleased God not so to leave me, but hath raised me according to his promise, which saith, "Although he fall, yet shall he not be hurt: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand, Psal. xxxvii." Wherefore we perceive God's election to be most sure, for undoubtedly he will preserve all those that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even so do I believe that he will finish the same, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jesus Christ, so be it.

Dearly beloved sister (I am constrained so to call you, because of your constant faith and love unfeigned), consider, that if we be the true servants of Christ, then may not we in any wise make agreement with his enemy Antichrist. For there is no concord and agreement between them, saith the scriptures, and a man cannot serve two masters, saith Christ. And also it is prefigured unto us in the old law, where the people of God were most straitly commanded that they should not mingle themselves with the ungodly heathen, and were also forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their sons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their sons, even so often came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own people, to overthrow both them and all their cities, with the holy sanctuary of God; and brought in strange princes to reign over them, and wicked rulers to govern them, so that they were sure of hunger, sword, pestilence, and wild beasts to devour them. Which plagues never ceased, until the good people of God were clean separated from the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh, dearly beloved, this was written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope. And is it not in like case happened now in this realm of England? For now are the people of God had in derision, and trodden under foot, and the cities, towns, and houses where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are spoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy sanctuary of God's most blessed word is laid desolate and waste, so that the very foxes run over it, &c. yet is

it the food of our souls; the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the people perish. But the prophet saith, "He that refraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled, Isai. lix." Why should men then be ashamed to be spoiled, seeing that it is told us before, that it must so happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

RALPH ALLERTON.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the letter written with blood, beginning with these words in the over part thereof, [The angel of God, &c.] and ended thus, [Be with you, Amen,] and having also this postscript [Do ye suppose that our brethren, &c.] remaining now registered in the acts of this court, is thine own hand writing.

9. For the better understanding of this article, I have also inserted the copy of the letter mentioned in the same; which letter he wrote (by his own confession) unto Richard Roth, then in danger of the subtle snares of that bloody wolf Bonner.

## L E T T E R II.

From RALPH ALLERTON unto RICHARD ROTH, his Fellow Martyr.

**T**HE angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us all in our ways, Amen, Amen.

O dear brother, I pray for you: for I hear say, that you have been divers times before my lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's sake what the wise man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confess an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whosoever confesseth Christ before men, him will Christ also confess before his Father. But he that is ashamed to confess him before men, shall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear brother, go forward: you have a ready way, so fair as ever had any of the prophets or apostles, or the rest of our brethren, the holy martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Also (dear brother) understand that I have seen your letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of paper, until my lord be gone from hence, and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing without delay. Thus fare you well in God. Our dear brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allin, saluteth you, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you, Amen.

RALPH ALLERTON.

P. S. Do you suppose that our brethren and sisters are not yet dispatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days.

And for the other objection yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more somewhat to shew the folly of these bloody tyrants (which of so small trifles take occasion to quarrel with the saints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained, I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet myself with writing. But that you may judge of them as their actions do give occasion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but confesseth, that the writing of letters in a little piece of paper on both sides of it, with this sentence following on the one side, "Look at the foot of the stocks for a knife," and the following sentence on the other side, "Look between the post and the wall for two books and two epistles, leave them here when you go," remaining now in the register and acts of this court, is voluntarily written by thee, Ralph Allerton, with thine own hand.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that



that thou art privy to a certain writing, remaining now in the register and acts of this court, the beginning whereof is with these words, "I would have men wife," &c. and ending thus, "From house to house."

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that thou art privy, and by consent and maintenance, to a certain great wood-knife, a long sword, a hook, a stone, and a trencher written upon with chalk, having this sentence, "All is gone and lost, because of your folly:" also of two boards written upon with chalk, the one having this sentence, "Under the stone look:" and the other having this sentence, "Whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I trust in God that I shall be at peace with him shortly:" remaining now registered in the acts of this court.

For answer unto all these articles, he granted that the first nine were true, as the register recordeth. Howbeit, I find noted in the backside of the information, specified in the second article (although crossed out again), that he denied such things as were there on information against him. Therefore it is not likely that he did simply grant the contents of the second article, but that he only affirmed, that such an information was given against him, and not that the same was true.

Thus much I thought to acquaint the reader of, lest in mistaking his answers, it might seem that he granted himself to be a seditious and a rebellious person; of which fact he was both clear and innocent. And being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth article, where he had the blood he wrote that letter withal? He said, that Richard Roth, sometime fellow-prisoner with him, did make his nose bleed, and thereby he got the blood wherewith he did then write. The bishop again asked him, to whom he would have sent the same. He answered, Unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silverfide, of Colchester. Why (says the bishop) Agnes Smith was an heretic, and burnt for heresy. Nay, said Allerton, she is in better case than I myself, or any of us all. And being again demanded, upon the ninth objection, to whom he would have sent the letter mentioned in the same: he answered, that he intended to have sent it unto Richard Roth, at that time separated from him. Whereupon the bishop farther inquired, what he meant by these words, "Brethren and sisters," specified in the said letter? He answered, that he meant thereby, such as were lately condemned at Colchester, and were like (at the writing thereof) shortly to be burned. As for the contents of the tenth and eleventh articles, he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth, he confessed, that he wrote upon the said trencher and other boards, the words mentioned in the said article, and that he did leave the same in the prison-house, to the intent that Richard Roth should read them. Bonner also bringing out the wooden sword, mentioned in the said articles, asked him who made it, and for what purpose. Whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpose. But being idle in the prison, and finding there an old board, he thought the time better spent in making thereof, than to sit and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now spent, the rest of this tragedy was deferred till the afternoon. Wherein was ministered unto him yet certain other objections, the tenor whereof was,

First, that he had misliked the mass, calling upon saints, and carrying the cross in procession, with other ceremonies, calling them idolatry, and also had dissuaded them therefrom.

2. Item, That he was much desirous to have the people believe as he did; and therefore being in prison with his fellows, did sing psalms and other songs against the sacrament of the altar, and other ordinances of the church, so loud that the people abroad might hear them and delight in them.

3. Item, That he had divers times conspired against his keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and so to break the prison and escape away.

4. That he had railed against the bishop, being his ordinary, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant, and ra-

vening wolf, and also against his officers, especially Cluny, his sumner, calling him butcher's cur, with other such names.

5. Item, That he had murmured, grudged, disdained, and misliked, that the bishop had proceeded against some of his diocese, and had condemned them as heretics, or that he should proceed now against him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithstanding that he and his chaplains had charitably admonished and exhorted them from the same.

6. Item, That he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one catholic church, without which there is no salvation; of which church Jesus Christ is the very priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood is really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the divine power transubstantiated into his body and blood.

7. Item, That he had kept himself, and also distributed to others, certain heretical and corrupt books, condemned and reproved by the laws of this realm.

8. Item, That he had, contrary to the orders and statutes of this realm, kept company with that seditious heretic and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudge-over, and had heard him read in woods and other places, yet not accusing, but allowing and praising him.

Unto which articles, because they were for the most part foolish and full of lies, he would in a manner make no answer, saving he granted, that he misliked their mass and other ceremonies, because they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the bishop, that he and his accomplices did nothing but seek how to kill innocents.

The bishop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the sacrament of the altar, as is contained in the general council holden and kept under Innocent the Third, and therewithal he did read the decree of the said council concerning the sacrament.

Whereupon Allerton again made answer and said, I believe nothing contained in the same council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were also very necessary, that no man else should have to do therewith.

Then (quoth Bonner) thou art of the opinion that the heretics lately burnt at Colchester were of.

Yea, said he, I am of their opinion, and I believe that they are saints in heaven.

This done, the bishop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him. To whom he answered, You ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good christian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: for I see right well, that right and truth is suppressed and cannot appear upon the earth.

These words ended, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and so delivered him to the temporal officers: who kept him in their custody till the 17th of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as you have already heard. Of which other three, because as yet little is said, I will therefore now proceed to declare such cause of their cruel deaths, as in the register is recorded.

#### *An Account of JAMES AUSTOO, and MARGERY his Wife:*

I Cannot find why these two persons were first apprehended; howbeit, as the days then served, it was no hard or strange matter to fall into the hands of such, as with cruelty persecuted the true professors of God's gospel, especially having so many promoters, and unkind neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of people, it is not unlike these two godly yoke-fellows were accused and taken: and being once delivered into the merciless hands of Bonner, their examinations (ye may be sure) were not long deferred. For the 16th of July, 1557, they were brought before him at London; where



where first he demanded of the said James Austoo (amongst other questions) where he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he received the sacrament of the altar at Easter, or not?

To whom he answered, that indeed he had been confessed of the curate of Allhallows Barking, nigh to the Tower of London, but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

Why (quoth the bishop) dost thou not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is the true body and blood of Christ?

No, said Austoo, not in the sacrament of the altar, but in the supper of the Lord, to the faithful receiver is the very body and blood of Christ by faith.

Bonner, not well pleased with this talk, asked then the wife, how she liked the religion then used in the church of England?

She answered, that she believed, that the same was not according to God's word, but false and corrupted, and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the law, than otherwise.

Then he again asked her, if she would go to the church and hear mass, and pray for the prosperous estate of the king, being then abroad on his affairs.

Whereunto she said, that she defied the mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any church wherein were idols.

After this the bishop objected unto them certain articles, to the number of eighteen. The tenor whereof (because they touch only such common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers places before) I do here for brevity's sake omit and pass over; giving you yet thus much to understand, that in the matters of faith they were as sound, and answered as truly as ever any did, especially the woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more fervency of spirit. Notwithstanding, according to the measure of grace that God gave them, they both stood most firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the 10th day of September they were (with Ralph Allerton) brought again before the bishop within his chapel at Fulham, where he speaking unto them, said first on this wife; Austoo, dost thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou hast to do?

Yea, quoth Austoo, I know where I am; for I am in an idol's temple.

After which words, their articles being again read, and their constancy in faith perceived, Bonner pronounced against either of them severally the sentence of condemnation, and delivering them unto the sheriff there present, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I refer his cause.

#### *An Account of RICHARD ROTH.*

**I**N the godly fellowship of the forenamed three martyrs, was also this Richard Roth, as is already specified; who being apprehended and brought up unto the bishop of London, was by him examined the fourth day July, at which time the bishop earnestly persuaded him to believe that there were seven sacraments in Christ's church, and that in the sacraments of the altar (after the words of consecration duly spoken) there remained the very substance of Christ's body and blood, and none other. Whereunto (at that present) he made only this answer; that if the scripture did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so persuaded, he would so believe, otherwise not. But at another examination (which was the 9th of September) he declared plainly, that in the said sacrament of the altar, as it was then used, there was not the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead god, and that the mass was detestable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth of the said month, the bishop, at his house at Fulham (by way of an article),

laid and objected against him, That he was a comforter and supporter of heretics; and therefore had written a letter to that effect unto several that were burned at Colchester; the copy whereof followeth.

#### A LETTER

*From RICHARD ROTH to his Friends at Colchester.*

**O** Dear brethren and sisters, how much reason have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you such faith to overcome this blood-thirsty tyrant thus far? And no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the kingdom of God? O that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my lord's Little-chase in the day, and in the night I lie in the Coal-house, from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said, that I should be burned within ten days before Easter; but I lie still at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me; but we abide patiently the Lord's leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks; by which we have received great joy of God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters, in this world, but I trust to see you in the heavens face to face.

Oh, brother Munt, with your wife and my sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake! with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters known and unknown. O be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, faith Christ, for I have overcome death. Oh dear hearts, seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, oh tarry you the Lord's leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he seeth best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

O dear hearts, you shall be clothed in long white garments upon the mount of Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, which will never forsake us. O blessed virgins, ye have played the wise virgins' part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his cross. Oh dear hearts, how precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord! For dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

Written by me, with my own blood,

RICHARD ROTH.

This letter he confessed indeed (upon the said examination) that he had written with his blood, and that he meant to have sent the same unto such as were condemned at Colchester for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burned there, as you have already heard.

The bishop then farther asked him, what he thought his fellow-prisoner, Ralph Allerton, to be.

He answered, that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God; and that if at any time hereafter he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, he thought he should die a true martyr. And moreover, finding himself grieved with the bishop's privy and secret condemning of God's people, he said unto him in this sort: My lord, because the people should not see and behold your doings, you cause me and others to be brought to our examinations by night, being afraid to do it by day.

The bishop not much minding his talk, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongst which this high and weighty thing was one, How he did like the order and rites of the church then used here in England.



To whom he said, That he ever had, and yet then did abhor the same with all his heart.

Then divers of the bishop's accomplices intreated and persuaded him to recant, and crave mercy of the bishop.

No (quoth Ralph), I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the rest before-mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the sheriff, and the 17th day of September they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Islington, for the testimony of Christ.

*The Martyrdom of AGNES BONGEOR, and MARGARET THURSTON, two pious Women, burnt at Colchester, for the sincere Profession of Christ's Gospel.*

A Little before (gentle reader) mention was made of ten that suffered martyrdom at Colchester; at which time there were also two other women, one called Margaret Thurston, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that should have suffered with them, and were likewise condemned at the same time and place, for the like cause with the other ten before-mentioned, and answered also in their examinations to the same effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurston, the morning she should suffer with those that went from the castle, was for that time deferred. What the cause was, the testimony of Joan Cook shall declare unto us. Which Joan Cook, now the wife of John Spark, being then in the castle of Colchester for religion, did demand of this Margaret Thurston, whose husband died in prison, being imprisoned for religion, wherefore the said Margaret, being a condemned woman, should be reserved when the others suffered in the castle Bailly? She answered, That it was not for any fear of death; but being prepared, as the rest were that suffered the same day, she was taken with a great shivering and trembling of the flesh: whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray; and whilst she was a praying, she thought she was lifted up by a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilst she turned herself to fetch her psalter, they took the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after she was moved out of the castle, and put into the town-prison, where she continued until Friday seven-night after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she declared thus much to the aforefaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered in like manner with the six that went out of Mote-hall, was also kept back at that time, but not in like sort, because her name was wrong written within the writ.

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Mote-hall were called out to go to their martyrdom, Agnes Bongeor was also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, understanding her to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the said Agnes Bongeor to prison again, as you have heard in the letter before-mentioned, and so that day sent her from Mote-hall to the castle, where she remained till her death.

But when she saw herself separated from her fellow-prisoners in such a manner, oh! what piteous complaints that good woman made; how bitterly she wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and to what a plunge of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was both sad and moving to behold; and all because she went not with them to give up her life for the cause of Christ; for of all things in the world, life was the least thing that she expected. For the morning, on which she was kept back from burning, she had put on a smock that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a child, a little young infant suckling on her, whom she kept with her tenderly all the time she was in

prison, that day likewise did she send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed much better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time as she thought it would; and therefore (as I said) she was greatly troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of her's came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which she answered thus:

I know, said she, that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him: but I (said she) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abraham's case and mine is not alike.

Why then, said her friend, would you not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it?

Yes, said she, that I would with all my heart, and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief.

Then, said her friend, my dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas, said she, there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but so am not I; and therefore our cases are not alike.

Good sister, said her friend, weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant, would have offered his son: and have not you done the like in your little sucking babe? But consider further than this, my good sister (said he), where Abraham was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goeth somewhat more near you than Abraham's obedience did; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence; which further the preparing of your shroud also doth argue full well, &c. After which talk between them, she began a little to stay herself; and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found a great deal of comfort.

During the time that these aforefaid two good women were prisoners, one in the castle, and the other in Mote-hall, God by a secret means called the said Margaret Thurston unto his truth again; who having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the adversaries of the cross of Christ. After which promise made, came in a short time a writ from London for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th day of September, in the year aforefaid.

Now when these aforefaid women were brought to the place at Colchester, where they should suffer, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble prayers to God, which being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto, and after the fire had compassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore, Amen.

#### *An Account of JOHN KURDE, Martyr.*

IN the story before, something was mentioned of a certain shoemaker suffering at Northampton, being un-named; yet, because we understand by a letter sent from



from the said parties, that he suffered in this year, 1557, and in the month of September, we therefore thought to place him there. His name was John Kurde, a shoemaker, late of the parish of Syrfam, in Northamptonshire, who was imprisoned in Northampton castle for denying the popish transubstantiation, for which cause William Binsley, bachelor of law, and chancellor unto the bishop of Peterborough, and now archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce sentence of death against the said Kurde, in the church of All-Saints, in Northampton, in August 1557, and in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Tresham, sheriff then of the shire, he was led by his officers without the North-gate of Northampton, and in the stone pits was burned. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles's, in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authorised to give him his pardon. His answer was, that he had his pardon by Jesus Christ, &c.

*An Account of the apprehending of JOHN NOYES, of Laxefield, in the County of Suffolk, Shoemaker, April 19, 1557.*

**I**N the month of September this present year, or (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed martyr, John Noyes, whose story here followeth.

First, Mr. Thomas Lovel, being then chief constable of Hoxton Hundred, in the county aforesaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard, then being under-constables of the aforesaid town of Laxefield, and Wolfren Dowling, and Nicholas Stannard, of the same town, being then accounted faithful and catholic christians, though undoubtedly they proved most cruel hinderers of the true professors of Christ and his gospel, with others, were commanded to be that present day before the justices, whose names were Mr. Thurston, sir John Tyrrel, and Mr. Kene, and sir Jo. Silliard being high sheriff.

These sitting at Hoxton, in the county of Suffolk, aforesaid, and there the said townsmen aforesaid, having commandment of the said justices to inquire in their town if there were any that would neglect to come to their service and mass, further to examine the cause why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the said justices within fourteen days then next ensuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred against the truth, and desirous to get promotion, without any such commandment of the justices (as far as we can learn), took counsel one with another how to attach the said John Noyes without any more delay.

This devilish enterprize agreed upon, chiefly through the counsel of Mr. Thomas Lovel, Wolfren Dowling, and Nicholas Stannard, aforesaid, with expedition his house was beset on both sides. This done, they found the said John Noyes, in the backside of the said house, going out, and Nicholas Stannard called to the said John, and said, Whither goest thou? and he said, To see some of my neighbours. And the said Nicholas Stannard said, Your master hath deceived you; you must go with us now. But the said John Noyes answered, No, but take you heed your master deceive not you. And so they took him and carried him to the justices the next day. After his appearance and sundry causes alledged, the justices and the sheriff together cast him into Eye-dungeon, and there he lay a certain time; and then was carried from thence to Norwich, and so came before the bishop, where were ministered unto him these positions following:

First, Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly, to stir up men's minds to devotion.

2. Item, Whether he believed the pope to be supreme head of the church here on earth.

3. Item, Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar under

the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration.

Whereunto he answered, That he thought the natural body of Christ to be only in heaven, and not in the sacrament, &c.

For which, sentence at last was read by the bishop against him, in the presence of these there sitting the same time, Dr. Dunning, chancellor, sir W. Woodhouse, sir Thomas Woodhouse, Mr. George Heyden, Mr. Spencer, W. Farrar, alderman of Norwich, Mr. Thurston, Mr. Winefsden, with divers others.

No more of his examination than this came to our hands.

In the mean time his brother-in-law, Nicholas Fisk, of Dinnington, going to comfort him at such time as he remained in the Guildhall of Norwich, after christian exhortation, asked him if he did fear death when the bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the same; and the said Noyes answered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the said Nicholas required of him to shew the cause of his condemnation. Upon which request the said John Noyes wrote with his own hands as follows.

I said, That I could not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ, that same body that was born of the virgin Mary. But I said, that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by christian people in the remembrance of Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution.

But they said, That I could not tell what spiritual meant.

The bishop said, That the sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the chancellor also.

Then answered I, and said, My lord, I cannot so believe.

Then said the bishop, Why? Then say thou dost believe. Notwithstanding, these collusions could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was sent again from Norwich to Eye-prison, and about the 21st day of September, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxefield, to be burned; and on the next morning was brought to the stake, where were waiting for his coming, the aforesaid justice, Mr. Thurston, one Mr. Waller, being then under-sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovell, high constable, as is before expressed; who commanded men to make ready all things meet for this sinful purpose. Now the fires in most houses of the street were put out, saving that a smoak was espied by the said Thomas Lovell, proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which house the sheriff and Grannow his man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he should be burned, he kneeled down and said the 50th Psalm, with other prayers, and then they making haste bound him to the stake, and being bound, the said John Noyes said, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and soul, and cast it into everlasting fire."

When he saw his sister weeping and making moan for him, he told her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman brought a faggot and set against him; and the said John Noyes took up the faggot and kissed it, and said, Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that same book; and the sheriff promised him that he would, notwithstanding he never performed his promise. Then the said John Noyes said to the people, They say they can make God of a piece of bread, believe them not.

Then said he, Good people, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds; and so the fire was kindled, and burning about him, he then said, Lord,



have mercy upon me. Christ have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me.

And so he yielded up his life, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the ankle with the hose on, and that they buried with the rest.

Now while he was burning, there stood by one John Jarvis, a servant in the same town, a plain fellow, who said, Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up. And there stood behind him Grannow and Benet, the sheriff's men, and they told their master, that John Jarvis said, What villainous wretches are these? And their master ordered them to apprehend him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the justice that same day, and the justice did examine him of the words afore said, but he denied them, and answered that he said nothing but this, Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up. But for all this the justice did bind his father and his master in 5l. a piece, that he should be forthcoming at all times. And on the Wednesday following, he was brought again before the justices, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Kene, sitting at Fressingfield, Hoxton Hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the said John Jarvis should be set in the stocks the next market-day, and whipt about the market naked. But his master, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendship of the constables, and they did not set him in the stocks till Sunday morning, and in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords, and so they let him go.

#### A L E T T E R

*From JOHN NOYES to his Wife, to comfort her at such Time as he lay in Prison.*

**W**IFE, you desired me that I would send you some tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. iv. "Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory appeareth ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God resteth upon you."

"It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing."

"See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters; but if any man suffer as a christian man, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God. If it first begin with us, what shall the end of them be, that believe not the gospel of God? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls unto him in well doing."

St. Paul saith, 2 Tim. iii. "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."

St. John saith, 1 John ii. "See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vanisheth away and the lust thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever."

St. Paul saith, Col. iii. "If ye be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth."

Our Saviour Christ saith, Matt. xviii. "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea."

The prophet David saith, Psal. xxxiv. "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all."

"Fear the Lord, ye faints: for they that fear him lack nothing."

"When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles: but misfortune shall slay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous shall perish."

"Hear, O my people. I assure thee, O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall no strange god be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any other God. Oh that my people would obey me: for if Israel would walk in my ways, I should soon put down their enemies, and turn mine hand against thine adversaries."

Our Saviour Christ saith, "The disciple is not above the master, nor yet the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master is, and that the servant be as his lord is. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household so? fear not them therefore."

St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. iv. "Set yourselves there at large, and bear not a stranger's yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? &c. wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves now (saith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing; so will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

"For neither eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him." 1 Cor. ii.

"Ye are bought neither with silver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Christ," 1 Pet. i.

"There is none other name given to men wherein we must be saved," Acts iv.

So fare ye well, wife and children; and leave worldly care, and see you be diligent to pray.

"Take no thought, (saith Christ, Matt. vi.) saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? (for after all these things seek the Gentiles) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things, but seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you."

#### *The Martyrdom of CICELY ORMES, at Norwich.*

**A**BOUT the 23d day of the said month of September, next after the others above-mentioned, suffered at Norwich, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence parish in Norwich: she being of the age of twenty-two, or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above-mentioned, in a place called Lollard's Pit, without Bishopsgate, at the said Norwich, for that she said that she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank of. For so saying, one Mr. Corbet, of Sprowson, by Norwich, took her and sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said unto the sacrament of Christ's body? And she said, she did believe that it was the sacrament of the body of Christ. Yea, said the chancellor, but what is that that the priest holdeth over his head? she answered him and said, It is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse. At which words the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatenings and hot words, as a man being in great rage.

The 23d of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Mr. Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go



to the church and keep her tongue, she should be at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would; for if she should, she said, God would surely plague her. Then the chancellor told her, he had shewed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman. But she, not weighing his words, told him, if he did, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she would (by God's grace) be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then he rose and read the bloody sentence of condemnation against her, and so delivered her to the secular care of the sheriffs of the city, Mr. Thomas Sutherton, and Mr. Leonard Sutherton, brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very simple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cause, being born in East Deram, and was the daughter of one Thomas Haund, taylor. She was taken the 5th day of July, and did for a twelve-month before she was taken recant, but never after was she quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted, and that she was taken, she had got a letter written to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived. But before she exhibited her bill, she was taken and sent to prison as is before said. She was burnt the 23d of September, between seven and eight in the morning, the said two sheriffs being there, and to the number of two hundred people. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said, Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests I utterly refuse, and never will have to do with them again, by God's grace. And, good people, I would you should not think of me, that I believe to be saved in that I offer myself here unto the death of the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto all here present. Good people, as many of you that believe as I believe, pray for me.

Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ." Which being done, she looked on her hand, and seeing it blacked with the stake, she wiped it upon her smock, for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper were. Then after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ," and so gave herself to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour:" and in saying so she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward, and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinews of her arms did break asunder, and then they fell; but she yielded her life unto God, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; so wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his name therefore be praised evermore. Amen.

After the death and martyrdom of Mrs. Joyce Lewes, a little above specified, divers good men and women in the same town of Litchfield, were had up before the bishop and his chancellor, for kissing the said Joyce Lewes and drinking with her about the time of her death; the names of which persons were these; John Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddle, Helen Boring, Margaret Cotesfore, Nicholas Bird, John Haristone and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penifather, &c. These with others were produced to their examination before the bishop and his chancellor for the cause above-named, and therefore adjudged for heretics, because they did pray and drink with the said

Mrs. Lewes, but especially Agnes Penifather sustained the most trouble, for that she accompanied the said Joyce Lewes going to her death. Which Agnes being examined further of the said bishop, what words she had spoken to two priests of the church of Litchfield, called John Ady and James Fox, concerning the said Joyce Lewes after her burning, said as followeth, That she being asked by the said two priests being at her father's house in the city of Litchfield, at such time as she came from the burning of the said Joyce Lewes, why she the said Agnes did weep for such an heretic, meaning Joyce Lewes, whose soul they said was in hell; the said Agnes Penifather to their demand made this answer, That she thought the said blessed martyr to be in better case than the said two priests were.

With which words being charged, and desired to submit herself as the others had done above, rehearsed to such penance as they should enjoin unto her, she refused so to do, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the sheriffs being charged with her under pain of an hundred pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Litchfield.

And now from Litchfield we come to Chichester, although we have but little to report thereof, for want of certain relation and records of that county, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution have there raged also, as in other countries. For what place was there almost in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not bestir them, murdering some or other, as in the acts of this ecclesiastical history may sufficiently appear? Wherefore as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all other people and counties of England, so likewise in the diocese of Chichester, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness within the compass of queen Mary's reign. In the number of whom were these: John Foreman, of Estgrenested; John Warner, of Berne; Christian Grover, of the archdeaconry of Lewes; Thomas Athoth, priest; Thomas Avington, of Erdingly; Dennis Burgis, of Buxsted; Thomas Ravensdale, of Rye; John Milles, of Hellinginglegh; Nicholas Holden, of Withiam; John Hart, of Withiam; Margery Morice, of Hethfield; Anne Try, of Estgrenested; John Oseward, of Woodman-cote; Thomas Harland, of Woodman-cote; James Morice of Hethfield; Thomas Dougate, of Estgrenested; John Ashedon, of Katherfield.

The greatest actors against these faithful martyrs were these: Christopheron, the bishop of Chichester, Richard Briefly, doctor of law, and chancellor of Chichester, Robert Taylor, bachelor of the law, his deputy, Thomas Piccard, civilian, Anthony Clarke, Albane Longdale, bachelor of divinity, &c.

*The Examination of THOMAS SPURDANCE, one of Queen Mary's Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.*

THE bishop's chancellor asked me, if I had been before the priest, and confessed my sins unto him?

And I said, No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God saith, in what hour soever a sinner repenteth and is sorry for his sins, and asketh forgiveness, willing no more so to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him; and that is sufficient for me.

Then said the chancellor, Thou deniest the sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I should shew my sins to the priest.

Then said the chancellor, That is denying of the sacrament of penance.

Write this article.

Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar (said he) at this time of Easter?

And I said, No.

And why have you not? said he.

I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.

Why,



Why, do we not use it truly? said he.

I said, No: for the holy supper of the Lord serveth for the Christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Christ's members? said the chancellor.

I said, Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.

What laws are those? said he.

I said, These three articles, that you swear the people unto here, be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.

Then said he, Good people, take no heed unto his words; for he is an heretic, and teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speak of that matter.

Then said he, How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar: dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?

I said, No, not the same body in substance; for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice, and this is a dry sacrifice.

And I said, Is the mass a sacrifice?

Unto which a doctor answered that sat by him, It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.

Then said I, No, it is no sacrifice; for St. Paul saith, that Christ made one sacrifice once for all; and I do believe in none other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.

Then said the doctor, That sacrifice that Christ made was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.

Then said I, That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, and it is your sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Then said the chancellor, He is an heretic, he denieth the sacrament of the altar.

Then said I, Will ye know how I believe in the holy supper of the Lord?

And he said, Yes.

Then said I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, as by believing in him. But the bread being received is not God, and the bread that is yonder in the pyx is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will he be worshipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such use.

Then said the chancellor, He denieth the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.

The said I, The servant is not greater than his master. For your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men, and now you also kill the servant of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well, said the chancellor, have him away.

*Another Examination of SPURDANCE, before the Bishop in his House.*

**Bishop.** SIRRAH, dost thou not believe in the catholic faith of the holy church?

**Spurd.** I believe Christ's catholic church.

**Bishop.** Yea, in Christ's church, of which the pope is head? Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?

**Spurd.** No. I believe not that he should be above the apostles, if he takes them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, "The kings of the earth bear dominion above each other, but ye shall not do so, for he that will be greatest among you shall become servant unto you all. How is it then

(said I) that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my master king Henry's time, that we should, to the utmost of our power, never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither hath he in his own country more than a bishop hath in his diocese.

**Bishop.** Yea, what of that? We were then in error and sin, now we are in the right way again, and therefore thou must come again with us, and acknowledge thy fault, and become a christian man, and be sworn unto the pope as our supreme head. Wilt thou be sworn unto the pope? How sayest thou?

**Spurd.** No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the scripture that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what he listeth.

**Bishop.** No? yes I trow; for as the bell-wether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of sheep, even so is the pope the head of the church of Christ. And as the bees in the hive have a master bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home to the hive; even so the pope, when we be gone astray, and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordered our head by succession of Peter, to bring us home again to the true church; as thou now, my good fellow, hast long wandered out of the way, like a scattered sheep, &c. Hear therefore that bell-wether, the master bee, &c. and come home with us again to thy mother the church.

**Spurd.** My lord, all this is but natural reason, and no scripture: but since you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by scripture, you answer me not as I thought you would.

**Bishop.** Ha, I see well you will be stout, and will not be answered: therefore you shall be compelled by law, whether you will or no.

**Spurd.** My lord, so did your forefathers treat Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and so likewise you have a law which is tyranny, and by that you would enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord, I trust, will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world.

**Bishop.** When were you at church, or joined in the procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?

**Spurd.** Never since I was born.

**Bishop.** No? How old are you?

**Spurd.** I think about forty.

**Bishop.** Why, how did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?

**Spurd.** As you do now.

**Bishop.** And even now, you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born.

**Spurd.** No more I did, since I was born anew; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, "Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Then said a doctor that sat by, He is a very anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain.

**Spurd.** No, sir, you say falsely, for I am no anabaptist: for they deny children to be baptized, which I do not.

**Bishop.** Well, why dost thou not go to church, and do the ceremonies?

**Spurd.** Because they are contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught: but now you say it is good again: and I think if there were a return to-morrow, you would say that was false again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say, there is no truth in you.

**Bishop.** Then thou art a stubborn fellow, and an heretic, and a traitor.

**Spurd.** No, I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better service for the crown imperial of England than you.

**Bishop.** If you had done such good service, you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.

**Spurd.** So I am. There is no man alive, I thank God, that can accuse me justly that ever I was disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my lord, that I have a soul and body, and my soul is none of the queen's,



queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I must give God my soul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I must do the laws and commandments of God; and whosoever commandeth laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for fear of losing my soul, but rather obey God than man.

*Bishop.* Why dost thou not these laws then? Are they not agreeable to God's law?

*Spurd.* No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.

*Bishop.* Yes, that I can.

*Spurd.* Then if you can prove by the word of God, that you should have any graven images made to set in your churches for laymen's books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have the ceremonies in your church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.

*Bishop.* Then it is a good and decent order to furnish the church: as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table to furnish the table before the meat shall come upon it; so are these ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the church among christian people.

*Spurd.* These are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God saith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight. And these ceremonies are against God's laws. For St. Paul saith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.

*Bishop.* Well, if you will not do them, seeing they be the laws of the realm, you are an heretic and disobedient: and therefore come home again and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do so?

*Spurd.* No, I have been in no error: for the spiritual laws were never more truly set forth than in my master king Edward's time, and I trust unto God I shall never leave them while I live.

Then came a gentleman to me and said, Are you wiser than all men? and have you more knowledge than all men? Will you cast away your soul willingly? My lord and other men also would fain you would save yourself: therefore chuse some man where you will, either spiritual or temporal, and take a day, my lord will give it you.

*Spurd.* If I save my life, I shall lose it; and if I lose my life for Christ's sake, I shall find it in life everlasting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I must say then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, said the bishop.

This above-named Thomas Spurdance was one of queen Mary's servants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the said queen's servants, named John Haman, otherwise called Barker, and George Loofon, both dwelling in Codman, in the county of Suffolk, who carried him to one Mr. Gosnal, dwelling in the said Codman, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison, and was afterwards burned in the month of November.

#### An Account of the Martyrdom of JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW, and RICHARD GIBSON.

SOON after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester, the three above-mentioned persons were put to death in Smithfield, at London, the 18th of November.

Being brought before Bonner, bishop of London, the 5th day of November, 1557, the following articles were exhibited unto them.

#### Articles ministred unto JOHN HALLINGDALE.

FIRST, That the said John Hallingdale is of the diocese of London, and so subjea to the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

No. 53.

Secondly, That the said John, before the reign of king Edward the Sixth, late king of England, was of the same faith and religion that was then observed, believed, taught and set forth in this realm of England.

Thirdly, That during the reign of the said king Edward the Sixth, the said John Hallingdale, upon occasion of the said preaching of certain ministers in that time, did not abide by his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he saith) till his life's end.

Fourthly, That the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken divers times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service received, observed, and used now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but against God's commandment and word, especially concerning the mass, and the seven sacraments; and that he the said John, will not in any wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

Fifthly, That the said John absenteth himself continually from his own parish church of St. Leonard's, neither hearing mass, mattins, nor even-song, nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, nor receiving the sacrament of the altar at his hands, or using other ceremonies as they are now used in this church and realm of England: and as he remembereth, he never came but once to the parish church of St. Leonard, and careth not if he never comes there any more, the service being as it is there, and so many abuses being there, especially the mass, the sacraments, and the ceremonies and service being set forth in Latin.

Sixthly, That the said John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a male child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth, as aforesaid, and caused it to be called Josue, and would not have the said child christened in Latin, after the form and manner as it is now used in the church and realm of England, nor will have it by his will to be confirmed by the bishop.

Unto all which articles the said John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all, and every part of them to be true, and saying that he would not revoke his said answers, but stand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

Furthermore, the said John Hallingdale being demanded by the said Bonner, whether he firmly believed, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, or no; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said king Edward the Sixth, nor at that present did believe, that in the said sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had and then did believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven and no where else. And furthermore the said John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that have of late been burned for heretics, were no heretics at all, because they did truly preach the gospel; upon whose preaching he grounded his faith and conscience, as he said, according to the saying of St. John, Rev. xviii. where he saith, That the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all them that were slain upon earth, was found in the Babylonical church, by which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head.

After which examination, the said John was sent unto prison again. And the next day, being the sixth of the said month, he was called before the bishop again, who persuading him with some wrested sentences of the scripture, the said John Hallingdale answered, Because I will not, saith he, come to your Babylonical church, therefore (speaking unto Bonner), you go about to condemn me. And being further demanded by bishop Bonner, whether he would persevere and stand in his opinions or no: he made answer, that he



would continue and persist in them unto his death. Then Bonner read the sentence of condemnation. At which time the said John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church since the abomination came into it, and so he was sent to prison again.

Upon the same forenoon, William Sparrow was brought before the bishop, and had the following articles laid to him.

*Articles ministred to WILLIAM SPARROW.*

**F**IRST, That thou, William Sparrow, wast in times detested and presented lawfully unto thy ordinary, the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary of the said diocese, and thou wast presented and detested unto him for heresy, error, and unlawful opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

Secondly, That thou before the said ordinary didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appears plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the said ordinary.

Thirdly, That thou, after the premises, didst make thy submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed, to thy said ordinary; openly confessing and recognizing thy heresies, errors, unlawful opinions, and thine offences and transgressions in that behalf.

Fourthly, That thou, after the premises, didst promise unto thy said ordinary, voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the said submission, thou wouldst in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the catholic church observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wise fall again to heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

Fifthly, That thou, since thy said submission, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hast holden and set forth divers unlawful opinions, to the great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of several others, especially against the sacrament of the altar, against auricular confession, with the other sacraments of the catholic church.

Sixthly, That thou, since the said commission, hast wilfully gone about divers places within the diocese of London, and sold divers heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballads about, and wast apprehended and taken with the said ballads about thee, and committed to prison.

Unto the first, second, third, and fourth articles, he answered affirmatively.

To the fifth article he answered, That if he had spoke against them, he had spoke but the truth: for they are naught, meaning the contents of the said article.

To the sixth, he granted to the article, adding, that he did sell the said ballads, and that the same did contain God's word.

After which answers, the said William Sparrow was sent unto prison. And the same day in the afternoon, being brought before the bishop again, and there charged with his said submission made the year before unto the bishop, he answered thus: I am sorry, said he, that ever I made it, and it was the worst deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your abomination as long as you can. Also being laid unto him, and charged by the bishop that he went to church, and there was confessed and heard mass; he made answer and confessed, that he did so, but with a troubled conscience, he said, God knoweth.

And being further demanded of Bonner, whether he would persist and continue in the same; he made answer, That he would not go from his opinions: and adding thereunto, he said, That which you call heresy, speaking to the bishop, is good and godly, and if every hair of my head were a man, said he, I would burn them all rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded, What ground of learning he had to cleave to his opinions: he made answer and said, That all the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical

laws) are naught and abominable. Which words being spoken, the bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation against him, and so delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was sent to prison again.

*An Account of Mr. RICHARD GIBSON, Martyr.*

**W**ITH the other two above named, suffered also in the same fire, Richard Gibson, who first was cast into the Compter, in the Poultry (where he had been prisoner for the space of two years for a surety in a matter of debt, and then stood upon his deliverance), then upon suspicion and evil will was accused to bishop Bonner, because he was never confessed in the prison, nor received at the popish altar: by reason whereof he was called for, and sustained divers conflicts and examinations in the cause of his faith and religion. But first he seemed to make a certain submission which he also exhibited with the other twenty-eight before-mentioned: but because it seemed in words to differ something from the other, it appeareth not to be received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his submission was recorded in the bishop's register, yet he was not delivered from imprisonment till the day of his burning.

The greatest matter which he was charged with, was for not coming to confession, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the sacrament of the popish making, and for that he would not swear to answer to their interrogatories laid against him.

Notwithstanding after these his first examinations he continued in the prison of the Compter, from the month of May to November, when he was again produced against the final judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Mr. Gibson being a very big and tall man, of a personable and heroical stature, was sent for by Bonner by a little man, a promoter, like Robin Papist, called Robin Caley.

This Robin Caley having the conducting of the said gentleman from the Poultry, would needs haul him through Cheapside, the gentleman desiring him to turn some other way. But the more the gentleman intreated, the more fierce was he upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arm, would needs haul him through the High-street, that all the world might see what he could do in his office. Mr. Gibson, desirous to go without holding, intreated him to let his arm loose, and he would go quietly with him whither he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without being noticed by the people.

But he saucily answered him, Nay, thou shalt not escape me so, come on thy ways. Thou shalt not chuse but come; and so reaching at his arm, would needs drag him unto the bishop. The gentleman content to go, yet loth to be noted in the streets, gently requested again and again, that refraining his hold, he would suffer him to go of his own free will, he should not need to fear him, for he would not start from him. To which he replied, Come on thy way, I will hold thee fast, spite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. Gibson beholding his intolerable bragging, and being greatly moved therewith, could bear no longer; but said, Wilt thou? adding moreover, That if he did not immediately pluck away his hand, he would wring his head from his body. Whereupon he let go his hold, and so they proceeded unto the bishop to be examined again before him.

After this, another day being assigned him to appear again, much talk passed between him and Darbyshire, then chancellor. But in fine, being required to swear that he should answer unto all they would demand, he denied to answer unto all things the bishop should command him as ordinary: For he is not, faith he, mine ordinary, and so bade him go tell the bishop. Before which bishop, he being then commanded to appear the Friday following, was brought into the Justice-hall, without Newgate, where he had the like conflicts with the aforesaid bishop and divers other justices. At length he was assigned the Saturday following, to be present at the bishop's consistory court, to hear his final sentence.



sentence. At which day and place, the said examine appearing as he was commanded, the bishop, after other matter of communication, asked him if he knew any cause why the sentence should not be read against him. To whom Mr. Gibson answered, that the bishop had nothing whereof justly to condemn him. The bishop's reason was again objected to him, that men said he was an evil man. To whom Gibson replying again; Yea, faith he, and so may I say of you also. To be short, after this and such other talk, the bishop hastened unto the sentence. Which being read, Bonner yet again admonished him to remember himself, and to save his soul: he said, that he would not hear the bishop's babbling; and said moreover, boldly protesting and affirming that he was contrary, and an enemy to them all in his mind and opinion, although he had before kept it secret in mind, for fear of the law. And speaking to the bishop, Blessed, said he, am I, that am cursed at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: for as the bishop faith, so must it be. And no heresy it is to turn the truth of God's word into lies, and that do you, meaning the bishop and his fellows.

Thus this valiant soldier, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ's truth and religion, against falsehood and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the secular power.

And so these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Mr. Gibson, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were, the 12th day after their condemnation (which was the 18th day of November), burnt in Smithfield. And being brought thither to the stake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chains, and wood set unto them, and after wood, fire, in which being encompassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend thee, good reader. Amen.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of JOHN ROUGH, Minister, and MARGARET MEARING, burned at London, December 22.*

**J**OHAN ROUGH was born in Scotland, who, (as himself confesseth in his answers to Bonner's articles) because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of seventeen years, in despite (and rather to displease his friends), profess himself into the order of the black friars at Sterling, in Scotland; where he remained the space of sixteen years, until such time as the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland (as a favour unto him) did apply unto the archbishop of St. Andrew's, to have him out of his professed order, that as a secular priest he might serve him for his chaplain. At which request the archbishop caused the provincial of that house, having thereto authority, to dispense with him for his habit and order.

This suit being thus obtained by the earl, the said Rough remained in his service one whole year: during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth, and was thereupon sent by the said governor to preach in the freedom of Ayre, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from Henry the Eighth, king of England. However, at last weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of the country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel within this realm of England, he determined with himself not to tarry any longer there: and therefore, soon after the battle of Muffelborough, he came first unto Carlisle, and from thence unto the duke of Somerset, then lord protector of England, and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the king's treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent (as a preacher) to serve at Carlisle,

Berwick, and Newcastle, where he married. From whence he was called by the archbishop of York that then was, unto a benefice in the town of Hull, where he continued till the death of good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the persecution that would thereupon arise, and feeling his own weakness) he fled with his wife into Friezeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of caps, hose, and such like things, till about the end of the month of October, before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the secret society, and holy congregation of God's children there assembled, he joined himself unto them, and afterwards being elected their minister and preacher, did continue most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end (such was the providence of God, who disposes all things to the best) the 12th day of December, he with Cutbert Simson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, named Roger Serjeant, a taylor, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's Head in Islington; where the congregation had then purposed to assemble themselves to their accustomed exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the safeguard of all the rest, they yet at their examinations covered and excused, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simson unto the council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord, and therefore after sundry examinations they sent unto the bishop of London, with a letter signed with their hands: the copy whereof here follows.

#### A L E T T E R

*From the Queen's Council to BONNER, Bishop of London, concerning the Examination of JOHN ROUGH, Minister.*

**A**FTER our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send you here inclosed the examination of a Scottish man, named John Rough, who, by the queen's command, is just sent to Newgate, being of the chief of them that upon Sunday last, under the colour of coming to see a play at the Saracen's Head, at Islington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there among other certain seditious and heretical persons. And forasmuch as by the said Rough's examination, containing the story and progress of his former life, it well appeareth of what sort he is; the queen's highness hath willed us to remit him unto your lordship, to the end that being called before you out of prison, as oft as your lordship shall think good, you may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwise ordering of him according to the laws, as the case shall require. And thus we bid your lordship heartily well to fare. From St. James's, December 15, 1557. Your lordship's loving friends, Nicholas Ebor, F. Shrewsbury, Edward Hastings, Anthony Montague, John Bourne, Henry Iernegam.

Bonner, now minding to make quick dispatch, did, within three days after the receipt of the letter, send for Rough out of Newgate, to be examined before him and others; who, when they perceived his constancy, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the consistory, there to adjudge and condemn him as an heretic. Which purpose they accomplished: for the twentieth day in the afternoon, in the presence of the bishop of London, and St. David's, with Fécknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, he was there produced. Where, after many persuasions, Bonner read unto him the articles and answers, in



in which they charged him to have received the orders of the church, and therefore might not marry: and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church. Whereunto he then answered and said, That their orders were nothing at all, and that he being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that the children which he had by his wife were lawful. And concerning the service then used, he utterly detested it, saying, That if he should live as long as did Methuselah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass and other service being as it was then. Upon which words the bishop proceeded to the degradation of the said Rough; and after condemning him as an heretic, committed his body to the secular power, who taking him into their custody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching the said Mr. Rough, this is further to be noted, that he being in the north country in the days of king Edward VI. was the cause of saving Dr. Watson's life (who in queen Mary's days was bishop of London), for a sermon that he had preached there. The said Watson after that, being with Bonner at the examination of the said Mr. Rough, to requite him in saving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretic, who did hurt more in the north parts than an hundred besides of his opinion. Unto whom Mr. Rough said, Why, sir, is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the days of king Edward VI.? This Mr. Rough said, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal: and being before Bonner, among other talk he affirmed, that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very Antichrist; for there he saw him carried on men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him. Yet there was more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garment, Hast thou, said he, been at Rome, and seen our holy father the pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort: and with flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard, and after making speedy haste to his death, he burnt him half an hour before six o'clock in the morning, because the day belike should not be far spent before he had done a mischievous deed.

#### LETTER I.

*From JOHN ROUGH, to some of his Friends, confirming and strengthening them in the Truth, which he had before taught.*

**T**HE comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the chaff. I have not leisure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I speak to God's glory; my care was to have the senses of my soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to save the life corporal, is to lose the life eternal. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore, most tender ones, I have by God's Spirit given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the spirit hath the victory. The flesh shall now before it be long, leave off to sin, the spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen death to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Consider with yourselves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greatest part of the assault is past, I praise my God. I have in all my assaults felt the present aid of my God, I give him most hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christ's gospel, nor of the bonds I have suffered for the same, thereby you may be assured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts, down with the daubed walls of heresy. Let one take the banner,

and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal resistance, but pray, and ye shall have Elias's defence, and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord's. Now, my brethren, I can write no more, time will not suffer, and my heart with pangs of death is assaulted; but I am at home with my God, yet alive. Pray for me, and salute one another with the holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all, Amen. From Newgate prison in haste, the day of my condemnation.

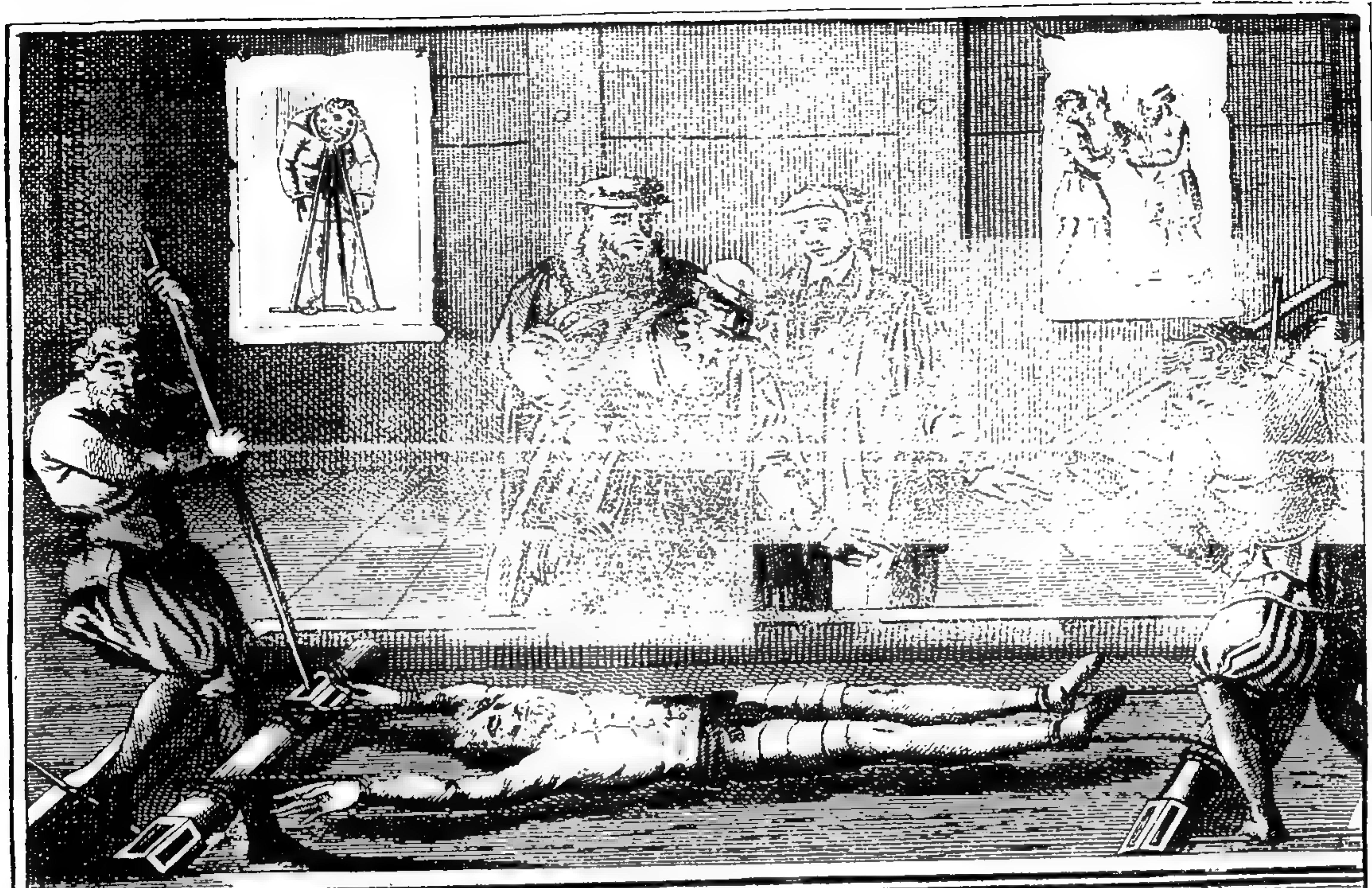
JOHN ROUGH.

#### LETTER II.

*From JOHN ROUGH, written unto the Congregation two Days before he suffered.*

**T**HE Spirit of consolation be with you, aid you, and make you strong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himself, by coupling to their head Jesus Christ; in whom, whoso desireth to live godly, the same must needs suffer persecution. For it is given unto them, not only to believe, but also to suffer. And the servant or scholar cannot be greater than his lord and master: but by the same way the head is entered, the members must follow: no life is in the members which are cut from the body: likewise we have no life but in Christ; for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear sons, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like unto the corn cast into the ground, which except it die first, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage: for thereby the body ceaseth from sin, and after turneth into the first original; but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon. What shall I write of this corporal death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men shall once die? Happy are they which die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Christ, professing and confessing the same before many witnesses. I praise God I have passed the same journey by many temptations, the devil is very busy to persuade, the world to entice with promises and fair words: which I omit to write lest some might think I did hunt after vain-glory, which is farthest from my heart. Lastly, the danger of some false brethren, who before the bishop of London purposed to confess an untruth to my face: yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts; where they thought to speak to my accusation, he made them speak to my purgation. What a journey (by God's power) I have made these eight days before this day, it is above flesh and blood to bear: but as St. Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight, the crown of righteousness is laid up for me, my day to receive it is at hand. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end, then shall you possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the gospel of the cross, by me preached, nor yet of my suffering; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before, I suffer first the baiting of the butcher's dogs; yet I have not done what I should have done; but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ; and your wisdom and learning will accept the small talent, which I have distributed unto you, (as I trust) as a faithful steward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart bursteth for the love of you. Ye are not without the great pastor of your soul, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, (as God be praised there is no want of men) he would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that rock, the wind of temptation shall not prevail: fast and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedness hath deserved that I shall not see it). And also that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which shall also be





*Representation of St. Gilbert Simpson on the Rack— in an Engine of Iron —  
and having an Arrow thrust through his Fingers.*



*MR THOMAS HENSHAW scourged by BISHOP BONNER in his  
Orchard at Fulham*



be laid under the altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will not now suffer me to write long letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, rising and sitting, cover you with the shadow of his wings, defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb.

JOHN ROUGH.

*An Account of MARGARET MEARING, Martyr.*

IT is before related, that in the company of John Rough, was burned one Margaret Mearing, who, as the register maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the said Rough forth to examination: where the bishop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the 18th day of December object against her those common and accustomed articles mentioned before; to which she answered as follows.

1. That there is here on earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2. Item, That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

3. Item, That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works, &c.

4. Item, That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5. Item, That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but she said that the mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true christian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also she said, that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same Antichrist's church.

6. Item, She answered to the 6th article, as to the first, before specified.

7. Item, That she hath refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same; and further said, that she had not come unto the church for the space of one year and three quarters then last past, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the same in these idolatrous days.

8. Item, As touching the manner of her apprehension, she said, That Cluney, the bishop's sumner, did fetch her to the bishop.

These answers being then registered, they were again (with the said articles) propounded against her the 20th day of December, and there being demanded if she would stand unto those her answers, she said, I will stand to them unto death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church. After which words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her; and then delivering her unto the sheriffs, she was, with the before-mentioned John Rough carried unto Newgate. From whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the 22d of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

## C H A P. II.

*Continuation of the Persecution of PROTESTANTS during the Reign of QUEEN MARY I. with the providential Deliverances of many from their cruel Enemies the PAPISTS.*

*An Account of the Sufferings and cruel Torments of CUTBERT SYMSON, Deacon of the Christian Congregation in London.*

CUTBERT SYMSON was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, insomuch that he never ceased labouring, and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption of the popish religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without danger or peril of persecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not easily to be expressed; so it is wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faithful minister and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday night before Mr. Rough, minister of the congregation (of whom mention was made before), was taken, being in his bed he dreamed, that he saw two of the guards leading Cutbert Symson, deacon of the said congregation, and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon, being fore troubled he awaked, and called his wife, saying, Kate, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night. When she had so done, he began to read in his book a while, and there feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he said, Oh, Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candle again, and rose. And as the said Mr. Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert to see how he did, in the mean

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time the said Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation. Whom when Mr. Rough had seen, said he, Brother Cutbert, you are welcome; for I have been fore troubled with you this night, and so told him his dream. After he had so done, he desired him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert answered, he would not so do; for dreams, he said, were but fancies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. Rough straitly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the said Cutbert took such notes out of the book as he had desired him to do, and immediately left the book with Mr. Rough's wife.

The next night following, the said Mr. Rough had another dream in his sleep, concerning his own trouble. The matter whereof was this: he thought in his dream that he was carried himself forcibly to the bishop, and that the bishop pluckt off his beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, Now I may say I have had a piece of an heretic burned in my house, and so accordingly it came to pass.

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched something concerning these visions, so now remaineth to mention his pains and sufferings upon the rack, and otherwise, like a good Laurence for the congregation's sake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

*A true Account how he was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the Council, the 13th Day of December.*

ON the Thursday after, I was called into the Warehouse, before the constable of the Tower, and the recorder



recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, the space of three hours, as I judged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I loosed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again, before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had said, I answered. Then the lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore fingers together, and put a small arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant asked me if I would not confess that which they had before asked me. I answered, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks after he sent me unto the high priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the name of Jesus, desiring God of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shewed upon us. Sing Hosanna unto the highest with me Cutbert Symson. God forgive me my sins. I ask all the world forgiveness, and I do forgive all the world; and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection.

#### A Note of CUTBERT SYMSON's Patience.

NOW as touching this Cutbert Symson, this is further to be noticed, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cutbert Symson, gave this testimony of him there to the people, saying, You see this man, saith he, what a personable man he is; and after he had thus commended his person, added moreover, And furthermore concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that ever yet came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken, &c.

It is thought and said by some, that that arrow which was grated between his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the bishop's house.

The day before this blessed deacon and martyr of God, Cutbert Symson, after his painful racking, should go to his condemnation before Bonner to be burned, being in the stocks in the bishop's Coal-house, he had a very strange vision or apparition, which he himself with his own mouth declared to that learned man Mr. Austen, to his own wife, and Thomas Symson, and to others besides, in the prison of Newgate a little before his death. The relation whereof I stand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, considering with myself the great diversity of men's judgments, by the reading of histories, and variety of affections. Some I see will not believe it, some will deride the same, some also will be offended with setting forth such uncertain things of that sort, esteeming all things to be uncertain and incredible which appear any way strange from the common order of nature.

Others will be perhaps grieved, thinking with themselves, or else thus reasoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet, forasmuch as the common error of believing those rash miracles, fancies, visions, dreams, and apparitions, thereby may be confirmed, it is thought more expedient for the same to be omitted.

These, and such like, will be, I know, the sayings of many. Whereunto I briefly answer, granting first, and admitting with the words of Basil, Not every dream is straightway a prophecy. Again, neither am I ignorant that the papists in their books and legends of saints

have their prodigious visions and apparitions of angels, of our lady, of Christ, and other saints: which as I will not admit to be believed as true; so will they ask me, why should I require more to be credited by them, than their's by us.

First, I write not this, to oblige any man precisely to believe the same, as they do their's, but only report it as it hath been heard of persons known, naming also the parties who were the hearers hereof, leaving the judgment thereof notwithstanding free unto the arbitrament of the reader. Although it is no good argument, proceeding from the singular or particular, to the universal, to say that visions be not true in some: Ergo, they be true in none. And if any shall muse, or object again, Why should such visions be given to him, or a few other singular persons, more than to all the rest, seeing the others were in the same cause and quarrel, and died also martyrs as well as he? To this, I say, concerning the Lord's times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaseth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the others with singular consolation to respect him, who is chiefly above the other, and singularly did suffer most exquisite torments for his sake? What great marvel herein? But, as I said, of the Lord's secret times I have not to reason. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, so as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge thereof as God shall rule his mind. The matter is this.

The day before Symson was condemned, he being in the stocks, Cluney, his keeper, cometh in with the keys about nine o'clock at night (after his usual manner) to view his prison, and see whether all were present, who when he espied the said Cutbert to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven o'clock toward midnight, the said Cutbert (whether being in a slumber, or being awake I cannot say) heard one coming in, first opening the outward door, then the second, after the third door, and so looking in to the said Cutbert, having no candle or torch that he could see, but giving a brightness and light most comfortable and joyful to his heart, saying unto him, Ha, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither dare I define. This that he saw he himself declared four or five times to the said Mr. Austen, and to others. At the sight whereof he received such joyful comfort, that he also expressed no little solace in telling and declaring the same.

#### A LETTER

From CUTBERT SYMSON to his Wife, written in the Coal-House.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, I cannot write as I do wish unto you.

I beseech you with my soul, commit yourself under the mighty hand of our God, trusting in his mercy, and he will surely help us, as shall be most unto his glory and our everlasting comfort, being sure of this, that he will suffer nothing to come unto us, but that which shall be profitable for us.

For it is either a correction for our sins, or a trial of our faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore must needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by fortune or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence. And therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to consider it. Let us give him most hearty thanks for these his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loveth he correcteth. And I beseech you now be of good cheer, and count the cross of Christ greater riches, than all the vain pleasures of England. I do not doubt (I praise God for it), but that you have supped with Christ at his Maundy; I mean, believe in him: for that is the effect, and then must you drink of his cup, I mean his cross (for that doth the cross signify unto us). Take the cup with a good stomach, in the name of God, and then shall you be sure to have the good wine, Christ's blood, to thy poor thirsty soul. And when you have the



the wine, you must drink it out of this cup. Learn this when you come to the Lord's supper. In all things give thanks.

In the name of Jesus shall every knee bow,  
CUTBERT SYMSON.

*The Martyrdom of HUGH FOXE and JOHN DEVENISH.*

WITH Cutbert Symson likewise were apprehended and also suffered Hugh Foxe and John Devenish; who being brought unto their examinations with the said Cutbert, before Bonner, bishop of London, March 19, had articles and interrogatories ministered unto them by the said officer.

*The general Answers of CUTBERT SYMSON, HUGH FOXE, and JOHN DEVENISH, to the Articles proposed to them by the Bishop.*

TO the first article they all answered affirmatively: but John Devenish added; That that church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone, and how in that church there is the true faith and religion of Christ.

To the second article they all confessed and believed, That in Christ's catholic church, there are but two sacraments, namely, baptism, and the supper of the Lord; otherwise they do not believe the contents of this article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third, fourth, and fifth articles they all answered affirmatively.

To the sixth article they all answered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the see of Rome to be lawful and good, or yet his religion.

To the seventh article they all answered affirmatively, that they have and will do still while they live; and John Devenish adding thereto, said that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now used, is no sacrament at all.

To the eighth article they all confessed, and believed all things above by them acknowledged and declared to be true, and that they are of the diocese of London, and jurisdiction of the same.

These three above-named persons, Symson, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were altogether apprehended at Islington, so they all three suffered together in Smithfield, about the 28th day of March, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord (in whose cause and quarrel they suffered) giver of all grace, and governor of all things, be exalted for ever. Amen.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of WILLIAM NICHOL, of Haverford-West, in Wales.*

WE find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceased at all times to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith, but yet never so apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his saints to the shedding of their blood, and perverting of their religion; for then sleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the same, unless they will fall down with Ahab and Jezabel to worship him, and so kill and poison their own souls eternally; as in these miserable latter days of queen Mary we have felt, heard, and seen practised upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded an honest poor man, named William Nichol, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of Antichrist, and on the 9th day of April, 1558, was burnt in Wales, ending his life in a most happy and blessed state, gloriously giving his soul into the hands of that God, whose goodness be praised for ever. Amen.

This William Nichol (as we are informed) was so simple a good soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was in that respect we know not, but this

we are sure, that he died a good man, and, in a good cause, whatsoever they judge of him. And the more simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched doth it declare their cruel tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them repentance, if it be his blessed will. Amen, Amen.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, and THOMAS HUDSON, at Norwich, in the County of Norfolk.*

IMMEDIATELY after William Nichol, succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom three constant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk, who were cruelly put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, the 19th of May, 1558, whose names are these: William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

William Seaman was an husbandman, of the age of 26 years, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk, who was divers times sought after at the command of sir John Tyrrel, knight, and at last he himself searched his house and other places for him; notwithstanding he somewhat missed of his purpose, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his servants, Robert Baulding and James Clarke, with others, to seek for him. They, having no officer, went in the evening to his house, he being at home, took him and carried him to their master, sir John Tyrrel. This Baulding being Seaman's near neighbour, and one whom Seaman trusted as an extraordinary friend, notwithstanding, to do his master a pleasure, now became an enemy to his chief friend, and was one of the busiest in the taking of him. And as they were going to carry him to their master, sir John Tyrrel, in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the elements, and parted them, this Baulding being in company with the rest when the light fell; and although he was then in the prime of his age, yet after that time never enjoyed a good day, but pined away even unto death.

Well, for all that strange sight (as I said), they carried him to their master. Who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and so worship it? To which William Seaman answered (denying it to be a sacrament) and said, It was an idol, and that he would not receive it. After which words sir John Tyrrel sent him to Norwich, to Hopton, then bishop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him; and afterwards delivered him to the secular power, who kept him till the day of martyrdom.

The said William Seaman left behind him, when he died, a wife and three children very young; and with the said young children his wife was persecuted out of the said town of Mendlesham, because she would not go to hear mass, and all her corn and goods seized and taken away, by Mr. Christopher Cole's officers, he being lord of the said town.

Thomas Carman, (who, as is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended), being prisoner in Norwich, was one time with the rest examined and brought before the said bishop, who answered no less in his Master's cause than the others; and therefore had the like reward that the others had, which was the bishop's bloody blessing of condemnation, and delivered to the secular power, who kept him with the others until the day of slaughter, which was not long after.

Thomas Hudson was of Ailesham, in Norfolk, by his occupation a glover, a very honest poor man, having a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being thirty years of age, and bearing so good a will to the gospel, that he in the days of king Edward the Sixth, two years before queen Mary's reign learned to read English of Antony and Thomas Norgate, of the same town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of the alteration of religion:

for



for when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service of the church, putting in for wheat, chaff and darnel, and for good preaching, blasphemous crying out against truth and godliness; he then avoiding all their ceremonies of superstition, absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occasion offered. At last he returned back to his house at Ailesham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavy and troublesome with his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his faggots to hide himself in, where he remained all the day reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year, and his wife, like an honest woman, being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town (who was one of the bishop's commissaries, a very wicked man) and inquired of Thomas Hudson's wife for her husband. Unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was. Then the said Berry waxed angry, and threatened to burn her, because she would not tell where her husband was. After that when Hudson understood it, he grew every day more zealous than before, and continually read and sung psalms, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and prayers.

At last he walked abroad for certain days openly in the town, crying out continually against the mass and all their trumpery, and in the end coming home to his house, he sat him down, having his book by him, reading and singing psalms continually without ceasing, for three days and three nights together, to the great wonder of many.

Then one John Crouch, his next neighbour, went to the constables, Robert Marsham and Robert Lawes, in the night, to certify them thereof: for Berry commanded openly to watch for him, and the constables understanding the same, went to catch him at break of day, the 22d of April, 1558.

And when Hudson saw them come in, he said, Now mine hour is come: welcome friends, welcome. You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God for it, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercy's sake. Then they took him and led him to Berry, the commissary, who was vicar of the town, and the said Berry asked him, first, Where he kept his church for four years before? To which the said Hudson answered thus, Wheresoever he was, there was the church.

Dost thou not believe, said Berry, in the sacrament of the altar? What is it?

Hudson. It is worms meat: my belief is in Christ crucified.

Berry. Dost thou not believe the mass to put away sins?

Hudson. No, God forbid; it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet, more tedious a piecing than ever was Solomon's temple.

At which words Berry stamped, fumed, and shewed himself as a madman, and said, Well, thou villain, thou: I will write to the bishop, my good lord, and trust unto it, thou shalt be handled according to thy deserts. O, sir, said Hudson, there is no Lord but God, though there be many lords and many gods. With that Berry thrust him back with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar, standing by, said, I pray you, sir, be good to the poor man. At which words Berry was more mad than before, and would have had Cliffar bound in a recognizance of forty pounds for his good behaviour both in word and deed; but his desire took no effect. Then he asked Hudson whether he would recant, or not: to which Hudson answered, The Lord forbid! I had rather die many deaths than do so.

Then after long talk, the said Berry, seeing it to no purpose to persuade him, took his pen and ink, and wrote letters to the bishop thereof, and sent this Hudson to Norwich, bound like a thief, to him, which was eight miles from thence, who went thither singing with joy, as merry as ever he was in his life before. He was a

month in prison, where he spent his time in reading and invoking the name of God.

These three christians and constant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, after they were, (as you have heard) condemned the 19th day of May, 1558, were carried out of prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without Bishopsgate, at Norwich, called Lollard's Pit. And being all there, they made their humble petitions to the Lord. That being done, they arose and went to the stake, and standing all there with their chains about them, immediately Thomas Hudson came forth from them under the chain, to the great surprise of all the spectators; many doubted his constancy, fearing he should recant; others thought he wanted a reprieve for further conference; and some imagined he came forth to ask his parents blessing. In the midst of this confusion his two companions at the stake did all they could to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But alas! he felt more in his conscience than they could conceive, for he was encompassed with intolerable grief of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of an inward sensible feeling of the love of his Saviour: and therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell upon his knees, and vehemently prayed to God, who at last (according to his old mercies) sent him comfort; and then he arose in extacy of joy, as a new man changed even from death to life, and said, Now I thank God I am strong, and care not what man can do unto me. So going again to his companions at the stake, they all suffered death most joyfully, constantly, and manfully together, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of good people, and the glory of God, whose name be praised for ever. Amen.

After this, the aforesaid commissary Berry made a great stir about others who were suspected in the town of Ailesham, and caused two hundred to creep to the crosses at Pentecost, besides other punishments which they sustained.

On a time this Berry gave a poor man of his parish of Marsham a blow with a flail, for a word's speaking, that presently thereon he died; and it is reported that the said Berry held up his hand at the bar for the same.

At another time one Alice Oxes, of the same parish, came to his house, and going into the hall he met her, and, being in an ill humour, struck her with his fist, whereupon she was fain to be carried home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

The number of whores and concubines he had is incredible to all, but those who lived near him. He was rich, and of great authority, and as great a reprobate, persecuting the gospel, and compelling men to idolatry; he burnt all the good books he could lay hands on, and divorced many men and women for religion.

When he heard that queen Mary was dead, and the glory of her triumph quelled, the Sunday after (being the 19th of November, 1558) he made a great feast, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after dinner until even-song. Then went to church, where he had ministered baptism, and in his return from even-song, between the church-yard and his house, being but a little space (about the breadth of a church-yard) he fell down suddenly to the ground with a groan, and never stirred after, neither shewed any one token of repentance. And those that had his great riches since his death have so consumed them, that they be poorer now than they were before they had them.

Now let the reader observe the difference between the end of a martyr, and the end of a persecutor.

About this time Joan Seaman, mother to the aforesaid William Seaman, being of the age of 66 years, was persecuted by the said sir John Tyrrel also, because she would not go to mass and receive against her conscience: which good old woman being from her house, was glad sometime to lie in bushes, groves, and fields, and sometimes in her neighbour's house when she could. And her husband being at home, about 80 years old, fell sick; and she hearing thereof, with speed returned home to her house



house again, not regarding her life, but considering her duty, and shewed her diligence to her husband most faithfully, till God took him away by death. Then by God's providence she fell sick also, and died in her own house soon after. When one Mr. Symonds, the commissary, heard of it, he (dwelling in a town hard by, called Thorndon) commanded that she should not have christian burial (as they termed it), and her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a moat's side. Her husband and she kept a good house, and had a good report amongst their neighbours, willing always to receive strangers, and to comfort the poor and sick, and lived together in the holy estate of matrimony very honestly above forty years; and she departed this life willingly and joyfully, with a stedfast faith and a good remembrance of God's promise in Jesus Christ.

A woman, called Mother Bennet, a widow, who lived in the town of Wetherset, near Mendlesham, was persecuted out of the town for not going to mass, but at last she returned home again secretly to her house, and there departed this life joyfully. But sir John Tyrrel, and Mr. Symonds, the commissary, would not let her be buried in the church-yard. So she was laid in a grave by the highway side.

This good old woman met one of mother Seaman's neighbours, and asked her how mother Seaman did; and the neighbour answered, that she did very well, God be thanked. O, said mother Bennet, mother Seaman hath stepped a great step before me; for she was never covetous, that I could perceive.

Her husband in his mirth would say unto her, O woman, if thou wert sparing, thou mightest have saved me an hundred marks more than thou hast. To which she would gently answer, O man, be content, and let us be thankful, for God hath given us enough, if we can see it. Alas, good husband, would she say, I tell you truth, I cannot firkin up my butter, and keep my cheese in the chamber, waiting for a great price, and let the poor want, and so displease God. But, husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c.

In the month of May likewise, William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George, suffered at Colchester, and there joyfully and fervently made their prayers to God.

And being settled at the stake, and chained to the posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they, like constant christians, triumphantly praised God within the same, and offered up their bodies a lively sacrifice unto his holy Majesty, in whose habitation they have now their everlasting tabernacles: his name be therefore praised for evermore. Amen.

The said Christian George's husband had another wife burnt before this Christian, whose name was Agnes George, who suffered as you have heard, at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the said Christian, he married an honest godly woman again, and so they both (I mean the said Richard George and his last wife) in the end were taken also, and laid in prison, where they remained till the death of queen Mary, and at last were delivered by our most gracious sovereign lady queen Elizabeth.

In the month of June came out a proclamation from the king and queen, against wholesome and godly books, which under the false title of heresy and sedition were wrongfully condemned in the said proclamation, which here follows.

*By the King and Queen.*

**W**HEREAS divers books, filled both with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's majesties, for redress hereof, do by this their present proclamation declare and publish to all their loving subjects, that whosoever

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shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken as a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

Given at our manor of St. James's, June the sixth.

JOHN CAWOOD, Printer.

*The Apprehension of certain godly Men and Women, praying together in the Fields about Islington.*

**S**ECRETLY in a back close in a field by Islington, were gathered together a company of innocent persons, to the number of forty men and women. Who there sitting together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, first cometh a certain man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, stayed and saluted them, saying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the said company asked the man if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold to sit there. Yea, said he, because ye seem to be such persons as intend no harm; and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, came the constable of Islington, named King, with six or seven more, one with a bow, another with a bill, and the rest with weapons. Six or seven of this company were left behind in a private place, to be ready in case they were wanted, while the constable, and one with him went before to view them; they both went amongst them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had: and so going a little forward, and returning back again, ordered them to deliver their books. They understanding that he was a constable, refused not so to do. Then came up the rest of their fellows before-mentioned, who bade them stand and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whithersoever they would have them, and they were first carried to a brewhouse at a small distance, while some of the company went to the nearest justice; but he being not at home, they were carried before sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time some of the women escaped away from them, some in the close where they sat, and others before they came to the brewhouse. For so they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another, with some more, with others less, in such a manner as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to sir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-seven, and sir Roger and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their names he sent to Newgate, which were twenty-two out of twenty-seven. They continued in prison seven weeks; and before they were examined, word was sent by Alexander, the keeper, that if they would hear a mass, they should all be delivered, but thirteen of them were burnt, seven in Smithfield, and six at Brentford; two died in prison, and the other seven, with much trouble (through God's providence) escaped death. Their names were these:

John Willes,	Hudleys,
Thomas Hinshaw,	T. Coast, haberdasher,
R. Baily, woolpacker,	Roger Sandy.
Robert Willes,	

The names of the seven martyrs that were apprehended amongst others, in the close at Islington, and afterwards burnt in Smithfield, were as follows:

Henry Pond,	John Floyd,
Rainol Eastland,	John Holiday,
Robert Southam,	Roger Holland.
Matthew Ricarby,	

These seven godly men had several articles administered to them by bishop Bonner, in the usual form; to which they returned their answers, and absolutely refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church,



church, were altogether condemned, the sentence being read against them, and so all seven by secular magistrates being sent to Newgate the 17th of June, not long after, about the 27th of the said month were brought to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel. Their particular examinations never came to our hands, except only those of Roger Holland, which here follow in the order and manner as we have received them by the information of some that were present at the same.

*The Examination and Condemnation of ROGER HOLLAND.*

**T**HIS Roger Holland, a merchant-taylor of London, was first an apprentice with one Mr. Kempton, at the Black Boy in Watling-street, where he served his apprenticeship with much trouble to his master, in breaking him of the licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banquetting, and wanton company; and besides all this, being a stubborn and an obstinate papist, far unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto.

His master, notwithstanding his lewdness, trusted him with his accompts; and on a time he received the sum of thirty pounds for his master, and falling into ill company, lost every groat at dice, being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to convey himself beyond the seas, either into France or Flanders.

Having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the morning on a servant in the house, an ancient and discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, who professed the gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obstinate papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he said, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this night I have lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him and to make up mine accounts I am not able. But this much, I pray you, desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this note of my hand, that I am thus much indebted to him; and if I am ever able, I will see him paid, desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my kindred and friends may ever understand this my lewd part: for if it should come to my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave; and so was he departing.

The maid considering that it might be his utter ruin, Stay, said she; and having a sum of money by her, which was left her by a kinsman at his death, who was thought to be Dr. Redman, she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, Roger, here is thus much money, I will let thee have it, and I will keep this note. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelvepence at either dice or cards, then will I shew this thy note unto my master. And furthermore thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at St. Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of popery and vain ballads, and get thee the Testament and book of service, and read the scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray fervently to God, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy heart's desire.

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all popery and ill company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him, and seen his former life and wickedness.

Then he repaired to his father in Lancashire, and brought divers good books with him, and bestowed them among his friends, so that his father and others began to taste the sweetness of the gospel, and to detest the mass, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him fifty pounds to begin the world withal.

Then he came to London again, and went to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master withal, and said unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendship, good will, and good council I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwise than by making thee my wife; and soon after they were married, which was in the first year of queen Mary. And having a child by her, he caused Mr. Rose to baptize it in his own house. Notwithstanding he was betrayed to the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papists should not have it in their anointing hands, Bonner caused his goods to be seized on, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained closely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the last year of queen Mary. Then he with the six others before-named, were taken in, or not far from St. John's Wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May-day in the morning, 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. Chedsey, to allure him to their Babylonical church; thus the bishop began with him.

Holland, I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy friend's sake. And as Dr. Standish telleth me, you and he were both born in one parish, and he knoweth your father to be a very honest catholic gentleman: and Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have shewed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations; but since you be now in the danger of the law, I would wish you to act a wise man's part: so shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for our own sake, and also for your friends, who are men of worship and credit, and wish you well, and by my troth, Roger, so do I.

Then said Mr. Eglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and near kinsman to Roger, being there present, I thank your good lordship; your honour meaneth good unto my cousin, I beseech God he have the grace to follow your counsel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his word.

Eglestone. Roger, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my lord's hands.

Holland. No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God, for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the bishop and the doctors, with Johnson, the register, casting their heads together, in the end said Johnson, Roger, how sayest thou? wilt thou submit thyself unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to submit myself unto the magistrates, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii. and so he recited the text.

Chedsey. Then I see you are no anabaptist.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a papist; for they and the anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chedsey. Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeness of wit hath brought you into these errors.

Holland. Mr. Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me.

Then



Then they whispered together again, and at last Bonner said, Roger, I perceive thou wilt not be ruled by good counsel, for any thing that either I or your friends can say.

*Holland.* I may say to you, my lord, as St. Paul said to Felix and to the Jews, as doth appear in the 22d of the Acts, and in the 15th of the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown unto my master to whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of your blind religion that now is taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of king Edward, in manner, having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, he for money doing also some penance for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he minded after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me, or no: so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices, I accounted no offence of danger, so long as I could for money have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash Wednesday, though I had used ever so much wickedness at night. And albeit I could not of conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus I was brought up, and herein I have continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life; for in Lancashire their blindness and whoredom is much more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these my friends, which are not clear in these notable crimes, think the priest with his mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep concubines besides their wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know some priests very devout, my lord, yet such as have six or seven children by four or five sundry women.

Mr. Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and universality, (for these Dr. Chedsey alledged as notes and tokens of their religion) I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head; and so to faithful Noah, to Abraham, to Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky; and so to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the church, though their number were oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias's days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass, and your god Maozim; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, while you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, of our church have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you shew? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and some of your masses are younger, as that of St. Thomas Becket, the traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof, the priests do so champ them and chew them, and post so fast, that they neither understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the

people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our lady's psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams (which you defend with faggot and fire), to quench the light of the word of God; which, as David saith, should be a lanthorn to our feet. And again, wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity?

The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand, neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving in one kind, your purgatory, your images, &c.

As for the unity that is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, and wickedness? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope? Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed.

The bishop then said, Roger, these thy words are downright blasphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away.

#### *The second Examination of ROGER HOLLAND.*

**T**HE day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedsey said, Roger, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before.

*Holland.* I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say.

*Bonner.* That is well said. Mr. Eglestone, I trust your kinsman will be a good catholic man. But, Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome.

*Holland.* I mean that church which hath Christ for her head; which also hath his word and his sacraments according to his word and institution.

Then Chedsey interrupted him, and said, Is that a Testament you have in your hand?

*Holland.* Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is a New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation (I think). It is your own translation; it is according to the great Bible.

*Bonner.* How say you? How do you know that it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions.

No (saith Roger), the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, "Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot," Psalm xci.

Then said the bishop, Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expositors of the scripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there are some here as well as I) should be taught of you?

*Holland.* Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But (my lord) I suppose some old doctors say, if a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, though they be ever such great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding, I am ready to be instructed by the church.

*Bonner.* That is very well said, Roger. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic



lic church. Roger, for thy friend's sake (I promise thee) I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, see he want nothing. Roger, if thou lackest any money to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want. This he spake unto him alone, his companions being apart, with many other fair promises, and so he was sent to prison again.

*The last Examination of ROGER HOLLAND.*

**T**HE last examination of Roger Holland was, when he with his fellow-prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there all excommunicated except Roger, and ready to have their sentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to affright them withal: the lord Strange, sir Thomas Jarret, M. Eglestone, &c.; and divers others of worship, both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that were Roger Holland's kinsmen and friends, being there present, who had been earnest suitors to the bishop in his favour, hoping for his safety of life. Now the bishop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

**Bonner.** Roger, I have divers times called thee before me at my own house, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me that thou hast a good memory, and very sensible in talk, but something over hasty, which is a natural impediment incident to some men. And surely they are not the worst natured men. For I myself am now and then too hasty, but mine anger is soon over. So, Roger, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these fellows cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good catholics (as it is reported unto me). And as I mean thee good, so, Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome; and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church that hath authority shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the satling to make thee good cheer withal, that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the mind, so shalt thou find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed before with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worse (putting his hand to his cap out of reverence) than hogs: for they know the church, and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turk, he would (I think) believe me. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you.

At these words his friends there present thanked the bishop for his good will, and for the pains he had taken in his and their behalf.

Then the bishop proceeded, saying, Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really and corporally, under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the self-same body as was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day.

**Holland.** Your lordship saith, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out, which ascended into heaven; and the scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c.

**Bonner.** Roger, I perceive my pains and good will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful (as all thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish conceit), that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not?

**Holland.** My lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us his faithful servants, notwithstanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ; and for all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.

**Bonner.** If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, as a frantic heretic.

Roger (said the lord Strange), I perceive my lord would have you tell him, whether you will submit yourself to him or no.

Yea, said Bonner, and confess this presence that I have spoken of.

With this Roger turned to the lord Strange and the rest of his kinsmen and friends, and very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees and said, God, by the mouth of his servant St. Paul, hath said, "Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers, and he that resisteth receiveth his own damnation;" and as you are a magistrate appointed by the will of God, so do I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for magistrates.

**Bonner.** That is well said, I see you are no anabaptist. How say you then to the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar?

**Holland.** I say and beseech you all to mark and bear witness with me (for so you shall do before the judgment-seat of God) what I speak; for here is the conclusion: and ye, my dear friends (turning to his kinsmen), I pray you shew my father what I do say, that he may understand I am a christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ in his human nature sit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith I say) his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.

I thought so much, said Bonner, (suffering him to speak no more) how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How irreverently doth he speak of the blessed mass! And so read his sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and when he should depart, he said, My lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words. The bishop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithstanding, being requested by one of his friends, he said, Speak, what hast thou to say?

**Holland.** Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his sufferance: and now I tell you God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted saints, whom you daily persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to say, (by whose Spirit I am moved) that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his church. And this you shall in a short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true. For after this day, in this place there shall not be any by him put to the trial of fire and faggot. And after that day there were none that suffered in Smithfield for the truth of the gospel.

Then said Bonner, Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Butcher. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the rest of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea and I will burn all the sort of you that come into my hands, that will not worship the blessed sacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling: and so he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repent, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony



testimony of the gospel, and with that the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without his licence, and if they did, they would be committed to prison. In the mean time Henry Pond and Roger spake still unto the people, exhorting them to stand firm in the truth: adding moreover, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

The day they suffered, a proclamation was made, that none should be so bold to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize; with other cruel threatening words contained in the same proclamation. Notwithstanding the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewise still prayed for the people, and the restoring of his word. At length Roger, embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

"Lord, I most humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me unto the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry." And so he ended his life, looking up unto heaven, praying to, and praising God, with the rest of his fellow-saints. For whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of Six Men, who suffered at Brentford, for the true Testimony of JESUS CHRIST.*

THESE six martyrs were of the company of those who were apprehended in a close, near Islington (as is before-mentioned), and sent to prison. Whose names here follow:

Robert Mills,	John Slade,
Stephen Cotton,	William Pikes, alias
Robert Dynes,	Pikes the tanner.
Stephen Wight,	

These six martyrs were burnt at Brentford, seven miles from London, on the 14th of July, 1558. They had their articles ministered to them by T. Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, at sundry times, to which they made their answers much after the same manner as others have done before.

When these good men came before Bonner's chancellor, Thomas Darbyshire, and had the articles ministered unto them, and they answered unto the same; in the end the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the 11th day of July, at St. Paul's. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their opinions to the holy mother church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all answered, That they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two o'clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time he sitting in judgment, talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said place, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of queen Mary's officers of her house, and being there, they sat them down over against the chancellor, in whose presence the chancellor condemned those poor innocent lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made a certificate unto the lord chancellor's

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office, from whence the next day after a writ was sent to burn them at Brentford; which accordingly was accomplished. Whereunto being brought, they made their humble prayer to the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent God, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend the gentle reader. Amen.

Among these six was one William Pikes, a tanner (as you have heard), who some time dwelt in Ipswich, a very godly man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good keeper of hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted in queen Mary's days. In the third year of queen Mary, a little after Midsummer, he (then being at liberty) went into his garden, and took with him a bible of Rogers's translation, where he, sitting with his face towards the South, reading in the said bible, suddenly there fell, between eleven and twelve o'clock, at mid-day, four drops of fresh blood upon the bible, and he knew not from whence it came. At which he was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and said, In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray, for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterwards he daily expected to be apprehended, and it came to pass accordingly, as you have heard. Thus much I thought good to write, in order to stir up our dull minds in considering the wonderful works of the Lord, and reverently to honour the same.

When he was so sick in Newgate that nobody expected him to live six hours, he expressed a great desire of martyrdom, saying, that he had been twice in persecution before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the stake; and so as he prayed it came to pass at Brentford.

*Verses upon BONNER's Effigy.*

MUSE not so much that nature's work  
Is thus deformed now:  
With belly blown, and head so swollen,  
For I shall tell you how:  
This cannibal in three years space  
Two hundred martyrs slew:  
They were his food, he so lov'd blood,  
He spared none he knew.  
It should appear that blood feeds fat,  
If men lie well and soft:  
For Bonner's belly waxt with blood,  
Though he seemed to fast oft.  
O bloody beast, bewail the death  
Of those that thou hast slain:  
In time repent, since thou canst not  
Their lives restore again.

*An Account of the scourging of THOMAS HINSHAW, by Bishop BONNER.*

WHEN bishop Bonner found that his examinations, persuasions, threats, and imprisonments, were to no purpose with Thomas Hinshaw, he (the said bishop) took him with him to Fulham, where immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night with bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding in his mind, he sent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the said Thomas Hinshaw peevish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no, &c. Unto which the said Thomas answered, That he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish



devilish kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the bishop thereof. Whereat the bishop fumed and fretted, that for anger being scarce able to speak, he said, Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured; so he sent for a couple of rods, and caused him to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the said Thomas, without any inforcement of his part, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said Bonner, so long as the fat paunched bishop could endure with breath, and through weariness was obliged to cease, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow rods, but he wasted but one, and so left off.

Now after this scourging, the said Thomas Hinshaw, notwithstanding, did sustain divers conflicts and examinations sundry times. At last being brought before the said bishop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any interrogatory there and then ministered, do what they could.

About a fortnight after he fell sick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered through much intreaty unto his master, Martin Pugson, in St. Paul's church-yard; for then the bishop thought verily he was more like to die than to live. Which sickness endured a twelve-month or more, so that in the mean time queen Mary died. Then he shortly after recovered health, and escaped death, being at the writing of this, both witness and reporter of the same; the Lord therefore be praised. Amen.

*An Account of the scourging of JOHN WILLES, by  
Bishop BONNER.*

**B**ESIDES the above-named, was scourged also by the hands of the said bishop, one John Willes, a capper, a right faithful and true honest man in all his dealings and conditions, who was brother to the aforesaid Richard Willes, burned at Brentford, as is before said. Who also was apprehended in the same number at Islington, as also is mentioned before: and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, but was commanded to the Coal-house, with the aforesaid Thomas Hinshaw, where they remained one night in the stocks. From whence he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the said Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks; during which time he sustained divers conflicts with the said Bonner, who had him often in examination, urging him, and with a stick which he had in his hand, often rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, saying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had assayed all manner of ways to make him recant, and could not, at length taking him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands beat him first with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the stumps, he called for a birch rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why he so beat him was this; Bonner asked him when he had crept to the cross. He answered, Not since he came to the years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn with wild horses. Then Bonner desired him to make a cross on his forehead, which he refused to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his orchard, and there calling for rods, shewed his cruelty upon him, as he had done upon Thomas Hinshaw.

This done, he had him immediately to the parish church of Fulham, with the said Thomas Hinshaw, and Robert Willes, to whom there being severally called before him, he ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same. To which he made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all except one article, which was concerning king Edward's service in English. Shortly after this beating, Bonner sent a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to him in prison, to conjure the evil spirit out from him, who

laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Willes marvelling at what the old man was about, said, I trust no evil spirit is in me, and laughed him to scorn.

As this John Willes was divers times called before Bonner, so much communication passed between them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the reader laugh to see the blind and unfavoury reasons with which that bishop endeavoured to delude the ignorant, some of which were in the following manner: Bonner going about to persuade Willes not to meddle with matters of scripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, who had more skill in the same, asked him first, if he did believe the scripture? Yea, said he, that I do. Then (quoth the bishop) St. Paul saith, If the man sleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert asleep, having a wife, wouldst thou be content that thy wife should take to another man? And yet this is the scripture.

Also, if thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right: but if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canst not err: and if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no danger, thy blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am (these were his words) and ask the way to the city, and he should say, this way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? So if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, thou shalt be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul.

As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true church.

Ofentimes speaking to the said John Willes, he would say, They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sew up your mouths and put you in sacks and drown you.

The same day that he was delivered, Bonner came to the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Well (said Willes), if it would please God, I might have a little straw to lie or sit upon.

Then (said Bonner) thou wilt shew no token of a christian man. And upon this his wife came in unknown to him, being very great with child, every hour expecting her labour, and intreated the bishop for her husband, saying, that she would not go from thence, but that she would there stay, and be delivered in the bishop's house, unless she had her husband with her. How sayest thou (quoth Bonner to Willes), if thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Robert Rouse) should bring the said Willes to his house at St. Paul's the next day.

To which Willes would not agree, but insisted upon going then. At length, his wife being importunate for her husband, and Bonner seeing she would not stir without him, fearing belike the rumour that might come upon his house thereby, and also probably fearing to be troubled with a lying-in woman, bade Willes make a cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti*, Amen.

Then Willes began to say, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. No, no (saith Bonner), say it me in Latin; Willes understanding the matter of that Latin to be good, said the same, and so went home with his wife, his aforesaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day to St. Paul's; else, said Bonner, if thou dost not bring him, thou art an heretic as well as he. Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him,



him, but he of his own accord came to the bishop within a few days after, where he put to him a certain writing in Latin to subscribe unto, containing, as it seemed to him, no great matter, that he needed greatly to stick at, although, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so he subscribed to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Ilington.

*The History of RICHARD YEOMAN, Dr. TAYLOR's Curate, at Hadley.*

**R**ICHARD YEOMAN, a devout old man, was Dr. Taylor's curate, at Hadley, and well versed in the scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people: with him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure. But as soon as Mr. Newall had gotten the benefice, he put out Mr. Yeoman, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion, which now they thought fully established. Then he wandered from place to place, exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the cross now laid upon them for their trial; with boldness to confess the truth before their adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins and points, and such like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things, and by that shift subsisted himself, his wife and children.

At last justice Moyle, of Kent, took Mr. Yeoman and set him in the stocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year. All which time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the scriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did spin. His wife did also go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means they sustained themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were costily pampered at Jezabel's table.

At last parson Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and broke open five doors to get at Yeoman, whom he found in bed with his wife and children: whom when he had so found, he angrily cried, I thought I should find an harlot and a rogue together. And he would have plucked the cloaths off from them: but Yeoman held fast the cloaths, and said unto his wife, Wife, arise, and put on thy cloaths. And unto the parson he said, Nay, parson, no harlot, nor rogue, but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance, and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for his great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery. Then they led Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sat there three or four days, because when the said parson Newall with his curate used the Romish service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your stony stomachs? O obdurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto.

These, or the like words, he spake in fervency of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached,

and set in the stocks in a cage, so was he kept there till sir Henry Doile, a justice, came to Hadley.

When poor Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon sir Henry Doile to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doile earnestly intreated the parson to consider the age of the men and their mean condition; they were neither persons of note nor preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go, at least John Dale, who was no priest: and therefore seeing he had so long sat in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of christians. Wherefore I beseech you, sir, (quoth he) according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppress these heretics, &c. which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious proceedings. Sir Henry Doile seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also the danger of meddling too much in it, made out the writ, and caused the constables to carry them to Bury gaol. For now all the justices, though ever so many, were afraid of a shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did of Annas and Caiaphas, and the pharisaical brood, who cried, "Crucify him, crucify him; if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend."

Wherefore whatsoever their consciences were, yet (if they would escape danger) they must needs be the popish slaves and vassals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale pinioned, and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses bellies, and so carried them to Bury goal, where they were laid in irons; and because they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, stedfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in king Edward's time; for which he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blessed paradise of eternal felicity.

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by king Edward VI. and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope; I defy him (quoth he) and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage and the mass sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued stedfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints.

#### *The Story of JOHN ALCOCK.*

**T**HIS young man was by occupation a sheerman, and came to Hadley to seek work; he being in church one Sunday, and parson Newall coming by with the procession, would not once move his cap, nor shew any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. The parson perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man had wrought, and said, What hath he done, Mr. Parson, that you are in such a rage with him?

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He is an heretic and traitor (quoth the parson), and despiseth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the queen's name, have him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming.

Well (quoth Rolfe) he shall be forthcoming, proceed in your business, and be quiet.

Have him to the stocks, quoth the parson.

I am constable, quoth Rolfe, and I may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not be put in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming: so the good parson went forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

In the afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him.

The young man said, Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself, I am not sorry, but I commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right.

Well, quoth Rolfe, yet beware of him, for he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me.

I fear not, quoth the young man: he shall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be if God will call me to die for his truth's sake.

Then they went to the parson, who at the first asked him, Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

I say, quoth he, as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it, and ye are false idolatrous priests, all the sort of you.

I told you (quoth the parson) he was a stout heretic.

So after long talk, the parson committed him to prison, and the next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him; and so the young man came no more to Hadley, but after a long imprisonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with ill keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr of God's truth, which he heartily confessed, and received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves; therefore they would not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have convenient burial.

*The History of THOMAS BENBRIDGE, Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death for the Testimony of Christ.*

**T**HOMAS BENBRIDGE, a gentleman, (unmarried) in the diocese of Winchester, although he might have lived a gentleman's life, in the wealthy possessions of this world; yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy present pleasures with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the truth of the same. For which cause he being apprehended for an adversary to the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before the bishop of Winchester, where he sustained certain conflicts for the truth against the said bishop and his colleague; for which he was condemned, and some time after brought to the place of martyrdom, by sir Richard Pecksal, sheriff.

When standing at the stake, he began to untie his points, and to prepare himself; then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to sir Richard Pecksal, the high-sheriff. His cap of velvet

he took off from his head and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon; but when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Mr. Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his Memento, the said Dr. Seaton came to him again and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, Away, Babylonian, away.

Then said one that stood by, Sir, cut out his tongue, and another being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Seaton did, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

Thus when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he did not shrink at all. Then it came on the other side and took his legs, and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by that wished his life, they stepped to the fire, and helped to take it from him also, who for their labour were sent to prison. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake and sent him to prison again, for which he was sent unto the Fleet, and lay there some time. But before he was taken from the stake, the said Dr. Seaton wrote articles to have him subscribe unto them, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But the said Mr. Benbridge made much ado before he would subscribe them, insomuch that Dr. Seaton ordered them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man's back.

That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison, he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, unto which he had subscribed: for he was grieved that ever he subscribed unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was the same day seven-night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of JOHN COOKE, a Sawyer, ROBERT MILES, alias PLUMMER, Sheerman, ALEXANDER LANE, a Wheelwright, JAMES ASHLEY, Bachelor.*

**T**HE examination of these above-mentioned persons, being severally called before the bishop of Norwich, and sir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon these articles following.

First, sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, How doth it happen that you go not to your church?

Cooke. I have been there.

Sir Edw. What is the cause that you go not thither now in these days?

Cooke. Because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edw. O thou rank traitor, if I had as good commission to cut out thy tongue, as I have to sit here this day, thou shouldst be fure to have it done.

Then he commanded the constable to take him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and said, How happeneth it, that you will not go to church?

Miles. Because I will follow no false gods.

Then said the bishop, Who told thee that it is a god?



Even you, quoth Miles, and such as you are.

Then the bishop commanded him aside, and to appear before him the next day.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him how it chanced, that he would not go to the church.

He said, that his conscience would not serve him so to do.

Sir Edward said, How dost thou believe?

Lane answered, Even as it is written in God's books.

Then sir Edward commanded him to say his belief.

Then Lane, being somewhat abashed, said his belief to these words, which he missed unawares, "Born of the Virgin Mary."

Then said sir Edward, What, was he not born of the Virgin Mary?

Yes, said Lane, I would have said so.

Nay, said sir Edward, you are one of Cooke's scholars, and so commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they passed also with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them again. So in fine they appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's-Bury, as is afore said, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of queen Mary.

*An Account of the Martyrdom of two godly Persons at Ipswich, for the everlasting Testimony of Christ, namely, ALEXANDER GOUCH, and ALICE DRIVER.*

**M**R. NOONE, a justice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martlesham, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloody tyrant in the time of trial) at length had intelligence of one Alexander Gouch, of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife, of Grosborough, to be at Grosborough together, a little from his house, and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to get into an hay-loft to hide themselves from their cruelty. At length they came to search the hay for them, and by gaging thereof with pitchforks, at last found them: so they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they remaining a good while, at last were carried to Bury, against the assize at St. James's-tide, and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope and his papistical trash. And among other things, Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her persecution, to Jezebel; and so in that sense called her Jezebel: for that sir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, ordered her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of 36 years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation a weaver of sheding coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, and born at Uxford, in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of 30 years, and dwelt at Grosborough, (where they were taken) in Suffolk: her husband did use husbandry. These two were carried from Melton gaol to Ipswich, where they remained, and were examined. Which examination, as it came to hands, hereafter followeth.

*The First Examination of ALICE DRIVER, before Dr. SPENSER, the Chancellor of Norwich.*

**F**IRST, she coming into the place where she should be examined, with a smiling countenance, Dr. Spenser said, Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?

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*Driver's Wife.* Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be.

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

*Dri.* Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for you know it better than I.

*Spenser.* No, by my troth, woman, I know not why.

*Dri.* Then have you done me much wrong thus to imprison me, and know no cause why; for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done, justly.

*Spensf.* Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words be spoken of consecration?

Driver's wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed priest that stood by, spake, and asked her why she made not the chancellor answer. With that the said Driver's wife looked upon him austere, and said, Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master: but if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy master to hold his peace. And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

*Dri.* Sir, pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby; for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the scripture.

*Spensf.* Why, what scriptures have you read, I pray you?

*Dri.* I have (I thank God) read God's book.

*Spensf.* Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?

*Dri.* It is the Old and New Testament. What call you it?

*Spensf.* That is God's book indeed; I cannot deny.

*Dri.* That same book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any such sacrament there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper: and therefore seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you shew me what a sacrament is.

*Spensf.* It is a sign. And one Dr. Gascoine being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

*Dri.* You have said the truth, sir. It is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it: and therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own saying.

Then stood up the said Gascoine, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to the purpose, being both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, Yes; and said, I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised.

*Gascoine.* Very well. Then he said to his disciples, "Take, eat, this is my body:" Ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lie.

*Dri.* I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?

*Gascoine.* Those be the words. Can you deny it?

*Dri.* No; they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?

*Gascoine.* No, it was his body.

*Dri.* Then was it his body that they did eat over night?

*Gascoine.* It was his body.

*Dri.* What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

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*Gascoine.*



*Gasc.* It was Christ's body.

*Dri.* How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him over night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eat over night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, such a doctrine! Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In the 22d of Luke, "He took bread and brake it to his disciples," saying, "Take, &c. and do this in remembrance of me." St. Paul saith, 1. Cor. xi. "Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come:" and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people, to lie so manifestly as you do.

With that Gascoin held his peace, and made her no answer; for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

*Dri.* Now ye be not able to resist the truth, ye command me to prison again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. So away she went with the gaoler.

#### The Second Examination of ALICE DRIVER.

**T**HE next day she came before them again, and the chancellor then asked her, what she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar?

*Dri.* I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves: for yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said, it was a sign; and I agreed thereto, and said it was the truth, confirming it by the scriptures, so that I went not from your own words; and now you come and ask me again of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the scriptures.

*Spens.* Thou liest, naughty woman, we did not say that it was a sign.

*Dri.* Why, masters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?

Then stood up Dr. Gascoin, and said, she was deceived; for there are three churches, the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

*Dri.* Sir, is there mention made of so many churches in the scripture?

*Gasc.* Yea.

*Dri.* I pray you where find you this word [church] written in the scripture?

*Gasc.* It is written in the New Testament.

*Dri.* I pray you, sir, shew the place where it is written.

*Gasc.* I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that she desired him to look in his Testament: then he fumbled and sought about him for one; but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At last she said, Have you none here, sir?

*Gasc.* No.

*Dri.* I thought so much indeed, that you were little acquainted withal. Surely you are a good doctor. You say you sit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you? At which words Dr. Gascoin was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

No, said she.

Then, said he, I am as good a doctor as you.

*Dri.* Well, sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Christ, if you could), and since you would not suffer me to have any book at all; so burning is your charity. But you may well know (I thank God), that I have exercised the same; else I could not have answered you (to God's glory be it spoken) as I have. Thus she put them all to silence, so that one looked on another, and had not a word to speak.

*Dri.* Have you no more to say? God be honoured. You be not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time: yet notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same; and if I had a thousand lives, they should go for payment thereof.—So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the secular power; and so she went to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

#### Martyrdom of ALEXANDER GOUCH and ALICE DRIVER.

**T**HIS Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church. And for that his belief was, that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and the pope to be supreme head of Christ's church, for these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver, at Ipswich, the 4th of November, which was the Monday after All-Saints, 1558.

These two persons being come to the place where the stake was set, by seven o'clock in the morning, notwithstanding they came the same morning from Melton gaol, which is six miles from Ipswich, being at their prayers, and singing of psalms both of them together, sir Henry Dowel, being then sheriff, was very much offended with them, and desired the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of prayers: they kneeling upon a broom faggot, one of the bailiffs, whose name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, saying, On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the stake; yet they continued in prayer.

Then sir Henry sent one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end.

Then Gouch stood up and said unto the sheriff, I pray you, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then said the bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the said Gouch, and Alice Driver, said, Why, Master Sheriff, and Master Bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?

Away, said sir Henry, to the stake with them.

Gouch answered, Take heed, Mr. Sheriff, if you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads. Then they being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, O (said she) here is a goodly handkerchief, blessed be God for it.

Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate, a barber, a busy doer about them, who having then a frize gown upon him, sold it immediately, saying, It stunk of heretics; with other foul words. Within three or four weeks after this, God's hand was upon him, and he died very miserably in Ipswich.

Although our history hasteth apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy death of queen Mary, yet she died not so soon but that some were burned before her death, and more would have been burned soon after, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which suffered in the same month when queen Mary died, were three that were burned at Bury, whose names were these, Philip Humfrey, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

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Concerning the burning of these three, here is to be noted, that sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, issued out a writ for the burning of them, notwithstanding that the queen was then known to be past remedy of her sickness.

*An Account of Mrs. PREST, Martyr.*

**A**LTHOUGH in such a great number of persons, who in sundry parts of this realm were put to death in queen Mary's time, it be hard exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us either unknown, or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, I mean Mrs. Prest, burned under the said queen's reign, in the city of Exeter, who dwelling sometime about Cornwall, having a husband and children there, much addicted to the superstitious sect of popery, was many times rebuked by them, and driven to go to the church, to their idols and ceremonies, to confession, to follow the cross in procession, to give thanks to God for restoring Antichrist again in this realm, &c. which when her spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer to God, calling for help and mercy, and so at length lying in her bed, about midnight, she thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of singular comfort. Whereupon in short space, she began to grow in contempt of her husband and children, and so taking nothing from them, but what she had on, departed from them; seeking her living by labour and spinning as well as she could; here and there for a time. In which time she never ceased to utter her mind as well as she could against their popery; however, she at that time was brought home to her husband again. Where at last she was accused by her neighbours, and so brought up to Exeter, to be presented to the bishop and his clergy. The name of the bishop who had her in examination, was Dr. Troubleville. His chancellor (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chiefest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned, was for the sacrament (which they call) of the altar, and for speaking against idols, as by the declaration of those which were present, I understand, who report the talk between her and the bishop on this wise:

*Bishop.* Thou foolish woman, I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fie for shame. Thou art an unlearned person, and a woman: wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of such high mysteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

*Woman.* My lord, I trust your lordship will hear me speak.

*Bishop.* Yea, marry, for that cause I sent for you.

*Woman.* I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of what I get, I give part to the poor.

*Bishop.* That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?

And here the bishop entered into conversation about her husband.

To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children; and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children: but now standing here as I do, said she, in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ, or my husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ, my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other.

And here she making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband," &c. the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, who died because they would not sacrifice to the false gods.

*Woman.* Surely, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that idol, which with your mass you make a god.

*Bishop.* What, heretic, will you say that the sacrament of the altar is a foul idol?

*Woman.* Yes, truly, there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond phantasies, where Christ did command it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption.

*Bishop.* See this prattling woman. Dost thou not hear, that Christ did say over the bread, "This is my body," and over the cup, "This is my blood."

*Woman.* Yes, forsooth, he said so, but he meant that it is body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally.

*Bishop.* Lo, she hath heard prating among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman, thou art deceived.

*Woman.* No, my lord, what I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reason why I will not worship the sacrament.

*Bishop.* Marry, say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear.

*Woman.* Truly such gear as I will lose this poor life of mine for.

*Bishop.* Then you will be a martyr, good wife.

*Woman.* Indeed, if the denying to worship that bready god be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart.

*Bishop.* Say thy mind.

*Woman.* You must bear with me, a poor woman.

*Bishop.* So I will.

*Woman.* I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth say, That Christ doth perpetually sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be in heaven our Advocate, and to make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so he is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a false offering make all imperfect? If he be to be worshipped in Spirit and in truth, why do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drank in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say you make his flesh and blood, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas, I am a poor woman, but rather than I will do as you, I would live no longer. I have said, sir.

*Bishop.* I promise you, you are a jolly protestant. I pray you in what schools have you been brought up?

*Woman.* I have upon the Sundays visited the sermons, and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them.

*Bishop.* O foolish woman, who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy husband? if thou wert an honest woman, thou wouldst not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

*Woman.* Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my master Christ counselleth me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another.

*Bishop.* Who persecuted thee?

*Woman.* My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft, but because I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the mass; and wheresoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holidays, I made excuses not to go to the popish church.

*Bishop.* Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband, and the church.

*Woman.* My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church.

*Bishop.* The true church, what dost thou mean?

*Woman.* Not your popish church, full of idols and abomina-



abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go, as long as I live.

*Bishop.* Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison till we fend for her husband.

*Woman.* No, I have but one husband, who is here already in this city and in prison with me (from whom I will never depart). And so their communication, for that time, brake off. Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was not in her right senses (which is no new thing for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to the carnal men of this world), and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty to go at large. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did work as a servant in the said keeper's house, and she went about the city when and where she pleased, and many people took great delight in talking with her: and all her discourse was about the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide.

Then her husband was sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the bishop and the priests.

Then divers of the priests endeavoured to persuade her to leave her wicked opinion about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth corrupt, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: God's body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes or aumbries. Let it be your god, it shall not be mine; for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, is very foolishness and devilish deceit.

Now truly, said they, the devil hath deceived thee.

No, said she, I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse.

Then stepped forth an old friar, and asked her what she said of the holy pope?

I (said she) say, that he is Antichrist and the devil.

Then they all laughed.

Nay, said she, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon. I defy him and all his falsehood; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my conscience. You would have me follow your doings; I will first lose my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou foolish woman, said they, we come to thee for thy profit and soul's health.

O Lord God, said she, what profit ariseth by you, that teach nothing but lies for truth? how save you souls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and destroy souls.

How provest thou that? said they.

Do you not damn your souls, said she, when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks, and stones, the works of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making of a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they be damned, if they confess not all: when God's word saith, Who can number his sins? Do you not promise them trentals and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray

unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray devils? Do you not make a thousand more abominations? And yet you say, you come for my profit, and to save my soul. No, no, one hath saved me. Farewel, you with your salvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to express.

In the month's liberty, which was granted by the bishop, as is before-mentioned, she went into St. Peter's church, and there found a cunning Dutchman that had made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in king Edward's time; to whom she said, What a mad man art thou to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads? The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, Thou art accursed, and so are thy images. He called her whore. Nay, said she, thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God say, You go a whoring after strange gods, figures of your own making? and thou art one of them. Then she was sent for and clapped fast, and from that time she had no more liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers resorted to visit her, some sent by the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a great preacher sometime of the gospel, in the days of king Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire: whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution which he had partly sustained by the cruel justices in those parts, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Raully, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the prison and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the article, He ascended, there she staid, and bid the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, not on earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and the sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed passion; and yet, said she, as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which, said she, will not continue, and so take it, good mistress. So that as soon as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a woman (of such simplicity to look on) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so earnestly; in so much, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things, to which I am not able to answer, though I can read, and she cannot.

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whose father, R. Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the gospel. These two good and faithful brethren were present with her, both in the hall, and also at the prison, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant; and as godly exhortations she gave them.

Thus this good matron was by many ways tried, both by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts and scorns, called an anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises; she was tried with her husband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed, she had cast her anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world; a rare example of constancy to all professors of Christ's gospel.

In the bill of my information, it is so reported to me, that albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of scripture, but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books of the bible. For which cause one Gregory Bassett, a rank papist, said she was out of her wits, and talked of the scripture as a dog straggleth



rangeth far off from his master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen sheep out of his master's hands, she knew not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other taunts, which she utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praised, working so mightily in such a weak vessel, so men of stronger and stouter nature have also to take example how to stand in like case; whereas we see this poor woman, how manfully she went through with such constancy and patience.

At last when they perceived her to be past remedy, and had consumed all their threatenings, that neither by imprisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, An anabaptist, an anabaptist. Then in one day they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guild-hall, and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her opinions: and go home to thy husband, said they, thou art an unlearned woman, thou art not able to answer to such high matters.

I am not, said she; yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death; and I pray you make no longer delay with me: my heart is fixed, I will never say otherwise, nor turn to your superstitious doings.

Then the bishop said, the devil did lead her.

No, my lord, said she, it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me.

Then there was a great shout and laugh amongst the priests and others.

During the time that this good woman was thus under these priests' hands, amongst many other baitings and sore conflicts which she sustained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Mr. Blaxton aforesaid, being treasurer of the church, had a concubine, who sundry times resorted to him, with other of his gossips: so that always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house, there to make his minion, with the rest of his company; some mirth, he examining her with such mocking and grinning, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any christian heart to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this christian martyr; in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, except that sometimes he would send for her, when his aforesaid guests came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly. But in fine, these vile wretches, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power.

Then the sentence being given, That she should go to the place from whence she came, and from thence to the place of execution, there to be burned with flames, till she be consumed; she lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, I thank thee, my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought. But such out-cries as were again, and such mockings were never seen upon a poor innocent woman: all which she most patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. Nay, that will I not, said she: God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband, to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels to mortal children; and if my husband and children be faithful, then am I their's; God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman; God is my friend most faithful.

Then was she delivered to the sheriff, innumerable people beholding her, and led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Sothenhey, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, God be merciful to me a sinner. And so while they were tying her to the stake,

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thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with flames of fire consumed; and so ended this mortal life, as 'constant a woman in the faith of Christ; as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to appearance, as a man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about 54 years of age. She had a chearful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient in her words and answers; sober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle, but a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble she would take no money, because (said she) I am going to a city where money beareth no mastery; whilst I am here, God hath promised to feed me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whose constancy God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

*The Persecution and Martyrdom of RICHARD SHARPE, THOMAS BANION, and THOMAS HALE.*

**R**ICHARD SHARPE, weaver of Bristol, was brought the ninth day of March, 1556, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of the city of Bristol, and after examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded by the said Dalby and others to recant; and the 29th of the said month was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body; who shortly after upon Sunday came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass came to the choir door, and said with a loud voice, Neighbours, bear me record that yonder idol (and pointed to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was: and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God. Then the constables were ordered to apprehend him, but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After, at night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ, and said, it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burned by the said Dalby. He was burnt the 7th of May, 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

*An Account of THOMAS HALE, Martyr.*

**T**HE Thursday night before Easter, in the year 1557, came one Mr. David Harris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, shoemaker, of Bristol, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth from his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good may it do you. He being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the 24th of April in the year aforesaid, was brought before Mr. Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after by him condemned to be burned for saying, The sacrament of the altar was an idol. He was burnt the 7th day of May with the aforesaid Richard Sharpe, patiently embracing the fire with his arms. They were both bound back to back.

*An Account of THOMAS BANION.*

**T**HOMAS BANION, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable, the 13th day of August, 1557, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of August, he was condemned by the said Dalby to be burnt for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two, that



that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the said month, in the same year, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, with confessing the articles of our christian faith.

*The Martyrdom of JOHN CORNEFORD, of Wortham, CHRISTOPHER BROWNE, of MAIDSTONE, JOHN HERST, of Ashford, ALICE SNOTH, and CATHERINE KNIGHT, alias TINLEY, an aged Woman.*

**T**HESE five were the last that suffered in queen Mary's reign, for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, and gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists: who although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of queen Mary; yet such was the implacable spite of that generation, that there be some that say, the archdeacon of Canterbury the same time being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, immediately made post haste home to dispatch these whom he had before then in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was for believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received; saying moreover, that we receive another thing also, besides Christ's body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, "The things that be seen, be temporal," &c.

Item, For confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body. "Because no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father."

Item, That it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and St. John forbidding it, faith, Beware of images.

Item, For confessing that we should not pray to our lady, and other saints, because they be not omnipotent.

For these and other such like articles of christian doctrine, were these committed to the fire. Against whom, when the sentence should be read, and they excommunicated, after the manner of the papists, one of them, John Corneford by name, stirred with a vehement spirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication against the papists, in the name of them all, pronounced sentence against them, in these words as follow:

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy word, or do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church or feigned religion, so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it, Amen."

This sentence of excommunication being the same time openly pronounced and registered, proceeding so, as it seemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeal to God's truth and religion, took such effect against the enemy, that within six days after queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English papists with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the sickness and death of that queen, whereof they were not ignorant, yet the archdeacon and others of Canterbury, thought to dispatch the martyrdom of these men before.

In which fact, the tyranny of this archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner, who notwithstanding he had some at the same time under his custody, yet was not so importunate in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Lining and his wife, and divers others, who being the same time under the custody of Bishop Bonner, were delivered by the death of queen Mary.

These godly martyrs, in their prayer which they made before their martyrdom, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This Catherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all queen Mary's time. To whom his mother coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the scripture (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion), but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants, and upon the maids in those days will I pour my Spirit," &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snotth mentioned in this story, or else to be Agnes Snotth above-mentioned, that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to shew them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf; and they said, No.

Then, said she, I die a christian woman, bear witness of me; and she was consumed in fire, and gave up her life joyfully for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were at first baptized.

*The History and Condemnation of JOHN HUNT, and RICHARD WHITE, who escaped the Fire by the Death of Queen MARY.*

**B**ESIDES these three martyrs above-named, there were several others imprisoned in divers parts of the realm, whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined, some examined but not condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ, escaped.

Others there were also, both condemned, and the writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was one John Hunt, and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury. Touching which history, something is here to be shewed:

These two good men, and faithful servants of the Lord, had remained a long time in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabouts, the space of two years and more. During which time, they were often called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the bishops and priests. All whose examinations, as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely, of the examination of Richard White, before the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Gloucester, with the chancellor and other priests, not unworthy here to be rehearsed.

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon, the bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brookes. These, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests sitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them. With whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, began thus.

Brookes.



Brookes. Is this the prisoner?

Chancellor. Yea, my lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherefore camest thou hither?

White. My lord, I trust to know the cause: for the law saith, In the mouth of two or three witnesses things must stand.

Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy faith when thou camest hither?

White. No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards'-Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser.

Then the Register said, The mayor of Marlborough apprehended you for words that you spake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveyed hither to prison.

White. You had the examination of me at Marlborough. Say what I have said, and I will answer you.

Chancellor. Thou shalt confess thy faith before thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do.

White. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation unto all that believe: and St. Peter saith, "If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer, and that with meekness." Who shall have the examination of me?

Chancellor. My lord of Gloucester shall have the examination of thee.

White. My lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? Be not guilty thereof; I warn you before hand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our law.

White. My lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?

Brookes. I will pose thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar: how dost thou believe of the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the virgin Mary, that was hanged on the cross, that suffered for our sins? And at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White. My lord, what is a sacrament?

Brookes. It is the thing itself which it representeth.

White. That cannot be; for he that representeth a prince cannot be the prince himself.

Brookes. How many sacraments findest thou in the scriptures called by the name of sacraments?

White. I find two sacraments in the scriptures, but not called by the names of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine gave them the first name of sacraments.

Brookes. Then thou findest not that word sacrament in the scriptures.

White. No, my lord.

Brookes. Did not Christ say, This is my body, and are not his words true?

White. I am sure the words are true; but you play by me as the devil did by Christ: for he said, If thou be, &c. Matt. iv. For it is, &c. Psal. xci. But the words that followed after be clean left out, which are these: Thou shalt walk on the lion and the asp, &c. These words the devil left out, because they were spoke against himself; and even so do you recite the scriptures.

Brookes. Declare thy faith upon the sacrament.

White. Christ and his sacraments are alike, because of their natures; for in Christ are two natures, a divine and an human nature; so likewise in the sacraments of Christ's body and blood there be two natures, which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine. The internal part is the invisible grace, which by the same is represented. So there is an external receiving of the same sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye,

the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me faith; whereby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying the same wholly unto my salvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Dr. Hoskins. This is Oecolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people.

Brookes. Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration there is the natural presence of Christ's body.

White. My lord, I will answer you, if you will answer me to one question. Is not this article of our belief true? "He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty:" if he be come from thence to judgment, say so.

Brookes. No. But if thou wilt believe the scriptures, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in heaven and in earth at one time.

White. As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brookes. St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. "Last of all he was seen of me," &c. Here St. Paul saith he saw Christ, and St. Paul was not in heaven.

White. St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven; like as he was seen of Stephen, sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine saith, the head that was in heaven, did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ? as he witnesseth, 1 Cor. xv. For there he went but only say he saw Christ, but concerning the place he speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of scripture proveth not that Christ was both in heaven and earth at one time.

Brookes. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholics. If you the Oecolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans, and we the Catholics be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholics be out of the way. But if we the Catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics.

White. My lord, you have troubled me greatly with the scriptures.

Brookes. Did I not tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollards' Tower, and dispatch him as soon as you can.

This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Amongst many other examinations of the aforesaid Richard White, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackstone, chancellor of Exeter, sat upon him, with divers others, who alledging certain doctors, as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Tertullian, against the said Richard White, and being reprov'd by him for his false patching of the doctors, fell into such a trembling and shaking, (his conscience belike accusing him) that he was fain, stooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to stay his body from trembling.

Then the said John Hunt, and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery, the bishop's chancellor, there to be condemned, and so they were. The high sheriff at that present was sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the sessions, was there charged with these two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see them put to death.

In the mean time Mr. Clifford, of Bosco, in Wiltshire, son-in-law to the said sir Anthony Hungerford, the sheriff, came to his father, exhorting and counselling him in no case to meddle with the death of these two innocent persons; and if the chancellor and priests would needs be instant upon him, yet he should first require



require the writ to be sent down, *De comburendo*, for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and understanding justice Brown to be in the town the same time, went to him to ask his advice and counsel in the matter, who told him that without the writ sent down from the superior powers, he could not be discharged; and if the writ were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The sheriff understanding by justice Brown, how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his horse, departed.

The chancellor all this while marvelling what the sheriff meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that he was rid away, took his horse and rid after him; who at length overtaking the sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had been to have seen execution done; the matter, he said, was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it how he would answer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note, good reader, by the way, the close and covert hypocrisy of the papists in their dealings; who in the form and stile of their own sentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the secular power, in the wounds of Jesus Christ, that the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that their life may be spared. And how standeth this now with their doings and dealings, when this chancellor (as you see) is not only contented to give sentence against them, but also hunteth after the officer, not suffering him to spare them, although he would? What dissimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profession? But let us return to our matter again.

The sheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, saith the chancellor, did not I give you a writ, with my hand and eight more of the close set unto the same? Well, quoth the sheriff, that is no sufficient discharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if you have a sufficient writ and warrant from the superior powers, I know then what I have to do in my office; otherwise, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all, &c.

Where note again (good reader) how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burned at Salisbury before, were burned belike without any authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only from the information of the chancellor and of the close, through the uncircumspect negligence of the sheriffs, who should have looked more substantially into the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the magistrates. Let us return to the story again.

Doctor Geffery, the chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same, (for anger belike) as they signified unto me, who were the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.

The under sheriff to this sir Anthony Hungerford, above-named, was one Mr. Michell, a godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White, and John Hunt; but the under sheriff receiving the said writ, said, I will not be guilty of these men's blood, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two aforesaid, John Hunt, and Richard White, being the same time in a low and dark dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accustomed manner) fell to evening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they should begin their prayer, suddenly fell both to such a strange

weeping and tenderness of heart (but how they could not tell), that they could not pray one word, but so continued a great space, bursting out in tears. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first word they heard, was, that the chancellor, their great enemy, was dead. The time of whose death they found to be the same hour, when they fell into such a sudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be praised, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked chancellor.

Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth; and so were set at liberty.

#### *An Account of the Martyrdom of a young Lad of Eight Years old, scourged to Death in Bishop BONNER'S House in London.*

**I**F bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, suffering for no cause of his own, but in the truth of Christ and his religion, do make a martyr, no less deserveth the child of John Fetty, to be reputed in the catalogue of holy martyrs, who in the house of bishop Bonner, was unmercifully scourged to death, as by the sequel of this story here following may appear.

Amongst those that were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a godly poor man, dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a taylor, of the age of twenty-four years or thereabouts, who was accused and complained of unto one Brokenbury, a parson of the same parish, by his own wife, because he would not come unto the church, and be partaker of their idolatry and superstition; and therefore, through the said priest's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner, and his fellow constables there, and one Martin the headborough. However, immediately upon his apprehension, his wife (by the just judgment of God) was stricken mad, and divested of her wits, which declared a marvellous example of the justice of God against such unfaithful and most unnatural treachery. And although this example (perhaps for lack of knowledge and instruction in such cases) little moved the consciences of these simple poor men to cease their persecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought so in their hearts, that for the preservation and support of her and her two children (like otherwise to perish) they for that present let her husband alone, and would not carry him to prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his house. During which time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks (through God's merciful providence) she was well amended, and had recovered again some stay of her wits and senses.

But such was the power of Satan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithstanding his gentle dealing with her, yet so soon as she had recovered some health, she did again accuse her husband; whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and carried unto sir John Mordaunt, knight, one of the queen's commissioners, and he upon examination sent him by Cluny, the bishop's sumner, unto the Lollards' Tower: where he was put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it. To what purpose God knoweth, except it were to shew that he should look for little other sustenance. Which is credible enough, if we consider their like practices upon divers before-mentioned in this history, as amongst others, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruel imprisonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story, to have leave that she might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or blood in his mouth; but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the wise.

After



After the aforesaid John Fetty had thus lain in prison for the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, sometimes by one leg and one arm, sometimes by the other, and sometimes by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy of the age of eight or nine years) came unto the bishop's house to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked, and whom he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked again who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, shewed him that his father was there in prison. Why, said the priest, thy father is an heretic: the child being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark.

With that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house, and there amongst them did they most shamefully, and without all pity, so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore of blood, and then in jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they caused Cluny, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father being in prison, the blood running down his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked his blessing. The poor man then beholding his child, and seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said, Alas, Will, who hath done this to thee? The boy answered, that as he was seeking to come to see his father, a priest with Balaam's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there he was so handled. Cluny therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after.

And at three days end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man, for this their horrible fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in the morning to be brought out of Lollards' Tower into his bedchamber, where he found the bishop bathing of himself against a great fire; and at his first entering into the chamber, Fetty said, God be here, and peace. God be here, and peace! said Bonner; that is neither God speed, nor good morrow. If you kick against this peace (said Fetty), then this is not the place that I seek for.

A chaplain of the bishop's standing by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, said in a mocking manner, What have we here, a player? Whilst Fetty was thus standing in the bishop's chamber, he espied hanging about the bishop's bed, a great pair of black beads; whereupon he said, My lord, I think the hangman is not far off: for the halter, pointing to the beads, is here already. At which words the bishop was in a marvellous rage.

Then he immediately after espied also standing in the said bishop's chamber in the window a little crucifix. Then he asked the bishop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured? said Fetty.

Yea, that he was, said the bishop.

And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you: for you are unto God's people as Caiaphas was unto Christ.

The bishop being in a great fury, said, Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all that I have unto my gown.

Nay, my lord, said Fetty, you had better give it to some poor body, that he may pray for you. But yet Bonner bethinking himself of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accomplished.

Whereupon, after this and such like talk, the bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain

and grief. But within fourteen days after the child died, whether through his cruel scourging or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all secrets, and also to the discreet judgment of the reader. But however it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful christian; his name therefore be ever praised. Amen.

*An Account of the cruel Handling and Burning of NICHOLAS BURTON, an English Merchant, in Spain.*

**I** THINK it not amiss in this place to mention the story of Nicholas Burton, being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the example of his singular constancy, as also for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel revenge of those catholic inquisitors of Spain, who under the pretended visor of religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and advantage, with crafty rifling and spoiling of other men's goods, as by the noting of this story may appear.

The fifth day of November, about the year of our Lord 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen sometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandize, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the party of Andalusia, in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas, or, as they term them, a familiar of the fathers of the inquisition. Who asking for the said Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver into his own hands; by which means he spake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said promoter, or familiar, at the motion of the devil his master, whose messenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lading for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he loaded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the serjeant of the inquisition might come and apprehend the body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently.

He then well perceiving that they were not able to burden or charge him that he had written, spoke, or done any thing there in that country against the ecclesiastical or temporal laws of the same realm, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did so arrest him, and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Notwithstanding they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the filthy common prison of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst thieves.

All which time he so instructed the poor prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well reclaimed several of those superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popish traditions.

Which being known unto the officers of the inquisition, they conveyed him laden with irons from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and straiter prison called Triana, where the said fathers of the inquisition proceeded against him secretly according to their accustomed cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or speak to any of his nation: so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Afterward, the 20th of December, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true christian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the said inquisitors sat in judgment, which they call Auto, with a canvas coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge



huge devil, tormenting a soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the same work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people, and so he was set with another Englishman of Southampton, and divers other condemned men for religion, as well Frenchmen, as Spaniards, upon a scaffold over against the said inquisition, where their sentences and judgment were read and pronounced against them.

And immediately after the said sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the city, where they most cruelly burned them, for whose constant faith God be praised.

This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in the flames of fire, had so cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which stood by, said, that the devil had his soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

It happened that after the arrest of Nicholas Burton aforesaid, immediately all the goods and merchandize which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffic, were (according to their common usage) seized, and taken into the sequester; among which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor. Whereof so soon as news was brought to the merchant as well of the imprisonment of his factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his attorney into Spain, with authority from him to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whose name was John Fronton, citizen of Bristol.

When his attorney was landed at Seville, and had shewed all his letters and writings to the holy house, requiring them that such goods might be delivered into his possession, answer was made him that he must sue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtless to delay him), and they forsooth of courtesy assigned him one to frame his supplication for him, and other such bills of petition, as he had to exhibit in their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they stood him in no more stead than if he had put up none at all. And for the space of three or four months this fellow missed not twice a day attending every morning and afternoon at the inquisitor's palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his dispatch, but especially to the bishop of Tarracon, who was at that very time chief in the inquisition at Seville, that he of his absolute authority would command restitution to be made thereof; but the booty was so good and great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At length, after he had spent four whole months in suits and requests, and also to no purpose, he received this answer from them, That he must shew better evidence, and bring more sufficient certificates out of England for proof of this matter, than those which he had already presented to the court. Whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters testimonial, and certificates, according to their requests, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithstanding the inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in more weighty affairs, and with such answers put him off for four months after.

At last, when the party had well nigh spent all his money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his dispatch, they referred the matter wholly to the bishop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he got this answer, That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination appertained to the other commissioners as well as unto him: and thus by posting and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his suit. Yet for his importunity's sake, they being resolved to dispatch him, it was on this sort: one of the inquisitors, called Gasco, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after dinner.

The fellow being glad to hear this news, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose to talk with the other that was in prison, to confer with him about their accounts, rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the inquisitors cast out a word, that it should be needful for him to talk with the prisoner, and being thereupon more than half persuaded, that at length they meant good faith, did so, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a prison where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself, contrary to his expectation, cast into a dark dungeon, perceived at length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done.

But within two or three days after he was brought into the court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance, they bid him say his Ave Maria; "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus, Amen."

The same was written word by word as he spake it, and without any more talk of claiming his goods, because it was needless, they commanded him to prison again, and entered an action against him as an heretic, forasmuch as he did not say his Ave Maria after the Romish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously, for he should have added moreover; "Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus:" by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (said they) that he did not allow the mediation of saints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth upon their stage disguised after their manner; where sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he sued for, though they were not his own, and besides this, suffer a year's imprisonment.

In the year 1560 several other Englishmen suffered in Spain, among whom John Baker and William Burgate were apprehended, and burnt the second day of November in the city of Seville.

Mark Bruges, an Englishman, master of an English ship called the Minion, was burnt in a city in Portugal.

William Hoker, a young man about the age of sixteen years, being an Englishman, was stoned to death by certain young men in the city of Seville, for the same righteous cause.

But of these and such other matters which happened in Spain, because they fell not within the reign of queen Mary, but since her time, we shall treat more hereafter, when we come to the reign of queen Elizabeth, where we shall give an account, not only of the martyrs abroad, but also the whole inquisition of Spain and Flanders, with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the last memory of these our latter unhappy days.

#### *A Treatise concerning those that were scourged by the Papists, for the Cause of the Gospel.*

**A**FTER this bloody slaughter of God's saints and servants thus ended and discussed, let us now proceed (by God's assistance) to treat of such as for the same cause of religion have been, though not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the enemies of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who about the time of Anne Askew, were miserably rent and tormented with scourges and stripes, for their faithful standing to Christ and his truth, as by the story and examination of them both may appear.

#### *The Scourging of RICHARD WILMOT and THOMAS FAIRFAX.*

**A**FTER the first recantation of Dr. Crome, for his sermon which he made the first Sunday in Lent, at St. Thomas Acres, being the Mercers' chapel, his sermon



sermon was on the Epistle of the same day, written in the tenth chapter to the Hebrews; wherein he very learnedly proved by the same place of scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all. For which sermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at St. Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him: but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For which the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

Bishop Bonner and his champions were not at all pleased therewith, but yet notwithstanding they took him home with them, and he was so handled among the wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Cross again the next Sunday.

And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witnesses of this recantation which was most blasphemous, to deny Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and an holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there present.

Now to come to our matter: at this time, the same week, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot being apprentice in Bow-lane, of the age of 18 years, and sitting at work in his master's shop, in the month of July, one Lewis, a Welchman, being one of the guard, came into the shop, having things to do for himself.

One asked him what news at the court, and he answered, that the old heretic, Dr. Crome, had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at St. Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear this news: for (said he) if Crome should say otherwise than he hath said, then is it contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which before God shall accuse him.

Lewis answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently, by the scriptures.

Lewis then asked him how he knew that?

Wilmot answered, By the scriptures of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he should prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewis said, it was never well since the bible was translated into English; and that he was both an heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English (meaning Cromwel), and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered again, What his deserts and offences were to his prince a great many do not know, neither is it of any force whether they do or no, since, he was sure that he lost his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution: adding moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleased God to raise him from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this, that he should do that which all the bishops in the realm yet never did, in restoring again God's holy word, which

being hid long before from the people in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad amongst us, will bring our bishops and priests, said he, in less estimation among the people.

Lewis asked, Why so?

Wilmot said, Because their doctrine and living is not agreeable to his word.

Then said Lewis, I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they must needs know the truth, and our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot answered, I will not say so: for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed those people our forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, so thought the people. But for all this Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the people to take heed of them, lest they should both fall into the ditch.

Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been commonly resisters of the truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did persecute our Saviour Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry, sir, quoth Lewis, you are an holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books, and so would your master if he were wise. And with that in came his master, and a young man with him, who was a servant to Mr. Daubney, in Watling-street.

His master asked him what was the matter.

Lewis said, that he had a knavish boy here to his servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his house.

Then his master being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master asked what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

He said, That he trusted he had said nothing, where-with either he or Mr. Lewis might justly be offended, I pray (quoth Wilmot), ask him what I said.

Marry (said Lewis), this he said, that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recanted on Sunday next he would be sorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he saith, that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching: for, saith he, they be hinderers of God's word, and persecutors of that; and how Cromwel (that traitor) did more good in setting forth the bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years: thus reporting the matter worse than it really was.

His master hearing this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. Daubney's servant) standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewis, and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This



This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewis hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the next day they heard, that the said Wilmot and Fairfax were sent for to come to the lord mayor. The messenger was Mr. Smart, the sword-bearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's house, and were commanded to sit down to dinner in the hall; and when dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their discourse was this; sir Roger Cholmley said to Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid to their charge.

Then said Mr. Cholmley to him, Sirrah, what countryman art thou? He answered, That he was born in Cambridgeshire, and in such a town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him.

Then he asked what learning he had. He said, little learning and small knowledge. Then (deridingly) he asked how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, about two years. Then he called him a lying boy, and said that he (the said Wilmot) was his son.

The other said unto him, that was unlike, for that he never saw his mother, nor she him. Cholmley said he lied. Wilmot said he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon that he made at St. Thomas Acres chapel in Lent. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said yes, and the other nay. Then said he, What say you to his sermon made at the Cross the last day, heard you not that?

*Wilmot.* Yes, and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people:

*Cholmley.* How so?

*Wilmot.* For that they looked that he should have recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

*Cholmley.* Yea, sir, but how say you now to him? For he hath recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the Cross again; how think you of that?

*Wilmot.* If he so did, I am the more sorry to hear it; and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

*Cholmley.* But what say you? Was his first sermon heresy or not?

*Wilmot.* No, I suppose it was no heresy. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul an heretic that preached such doctrine; but God forbid that any christian man should so think of the holy apostle; neither do I so think.

*Cholmley.* Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?

*Wilmot.* I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Jesus.

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said, that it was a pity that his master did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and in fine said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester, and bishop Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and counsellors of this realm, for which his fact he saw no other but he must suffer, as was due to the same. And Mr. Cholmley said, Yea, my lord, there is such a sort of heretics and traitorous knaves taken now in Essex by my lord Rich, that is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent to the bishop shortly, and shall be hanged and burned all.

*Wilmot.* I am sorry to hear that of my lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism.

Cholmley asked him when he spake with him. He said, not these twelve years.

*Cholmley.* If he knew that you were such a one, he would do the like by you, and in so doing he should do God great service.

*Wilmot.* I have read the same saying in the gospel that Christ said to his disciples, "The time shall come, faith he, that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God good service."

Well, sir, said Cholmley, because you are so full of your scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would wish you to study how you will answer to the council of those things which they have to charge you with, for else it is like to cost you your best joint. I know my lord of Winchester will handle you well enough, when he hearth thus much. Then was the officer called in to have him to the Compter, in the Poultry, and the other to the other Compter, not one of them to see another; and thus they remained eight days. In which time their masters made great suit to the lord mayor, and to sir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of drapers to labour with them in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council: but at that time they could find no grace at Winchester's hand, and sir Anthony Browne's, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the law.

At length, through much intreaty, he granted them this favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market-days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the master and wardens of the company petitioned on their knees to have this open punishment released, forsomuch as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall before the wardens and certain of the company, which at length was granted.

The next day they appeared before the masters in the hall, their own masters being present, where they were charged with heresy and treason, for which, they were told, they deserved death, and this was declared with a long process by Mr. Brookes, the master of the company, declaring what labour and suit the mayor and wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail, and from these two dangers they had laboured to deliver them, but not without great trouble and charge. For (said he) the company hath promised to the council for this their mercy towards them, an hundred pounds, notwithstanding we must see them punished in our hall within ourselves for those their offences. After these and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were put asunder, and stripped from the waist upward one after another, and had into the midst of the hall, where they were wont to make their fire; there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their feet tied fast to that.

Then came down two men disguised in mummers apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods till the blood flowed out of their bodies. As for Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed for six nights after, for Brookes played the tyrant with them; so that with the pain and fear, they were never in health afterwards, as the said Wilmot with his mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no less than testify the same.

Thus have we briefly declared this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those who profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be, according to the apostle's saying, "It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him." To whom be honour and glory. Amen.



*The Scourging of THOMAS GREEN, Printer, written by his own Hand.*

**I**N the reign of queen Mary, I Thomas Green, being brought before Dr. Story by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to certain honest men; he asked me where I had the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I could tell him no more. Then he said, it was no heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bid him set me fast in the stocks; and he took me out, and carried me to the Coal-house, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks, and he took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my right hand, and so he set me cross fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, Let me shift your hand and your leg, because you shall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and said, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

And I said, I had told the truth, and could tell no otherwise. Then he put only my leg in the stocks, and so went his way, and there I remained six days, and would come to no answer.

Then Dr. Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my friends, who were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends also, there we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends, in the fear of God.

Then Story scoffed at me, and said, Then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ; and reviled me, and called me an heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said no; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also; so falling into discourse, he shewed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then he said, I was a thief, and had stolen my master's money. And I said, a little money served, for I gave him but four-pence, but I promised him, that at our next meeting I would give him twelve-pence more. And he said, that was boldly done, for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

Then Story required me to bring him two fureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no fureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then, said he, this is but a lie; and so called for Cluny, and bid him lay me fast in the Coal-house, saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming: and so I lay in the stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there I remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth; I said, I neither could nor would tell him any other truth than I had done already. And while I was there standing, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and swore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself (said she) would set it on fire. So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, where I found with him my lord of Windfor's

chaplain, and two gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, the book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. They then asked me what I said of the book. And I said, I knew no evil of it.

At which words Story chafed, and said he would hang me up by the hand with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alledged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of it.

Then my lord of Windfor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aside, and intreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and I will save you harmless. I made them answer, that I had told all I could to Dr. Story, and began to tell it them again: but they said, they knew that already; so they left that talk, and went again with me to Story.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was an heretic. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bid me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ who died and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, What is the right hand of God? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, So they say all. And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then inferred my lord of Windfor's chaplain, asking me what I said of the mass. I said I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Moreover, he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, As for the mass I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, "Even as ye see him ascend up, so shall he come again." And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, "The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always."

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more questions to me, to which I made no answer. Among others, he brought Chrysostom and St. Hierome, for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

Then Dr. Story called for Cluny, and bid him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the Coal-house; where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was still kept alone without company, in a prison called Salt-house, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

On a time whilst I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the back-side undrest, in his hose and doublet, looked through the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and said it was a very wicked book, and bid me confess the truth to Story. I said, I had told the truth to him already, and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there a long time.



time. And he said, he could not meddle with it; Story hath begun, and must end it.

Then I was removed out of the Salt-house to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the stocks; and there I found two prisoners, one called Lion, a Frenchman, and another with him: and so I was kept in the stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man suffered to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my keeper, who brought me meat.

Thus we three being together, Lion, the Frenchman, sung a psalm in the French tongue, and we sang with him, so that we were heard down in the street, and the keeper coming up in a great rage, swore that he would put us all in the stocks; and so took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in Lollards' Tower seven days, since my last being with Story, he swore a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story sending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commissioners dined; and by the way my keeper told me that I should go to the Tower to be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and there I stood before them, and some said I was worthy to be hanged for having such heretical books. After I had staid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again, and said, he had other matters of the queen's to do with the commissioners, but he would find another time for me. Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower, the woman which brought the books over, being taken, and her books, was put in the Clink, in Southwark, by Hufsey, one of the arches; and I Thomas Green do testify before God, now, that I neither discovered the man nor the woman, of whom I had the books.

Then I lying in the Lollards' Tower, being sent for before Mr. Hufsey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom. To whom I made answer, that I was put there by Dr. Story for a book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and said he knew my friends, and my father and mother, and bid me tell him of whom I had the book, and said, Come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was angry, and said, I love thee well, and therefore I send for thee, and looked for a further truth: but I could tell him no other; wherefore he sent me again to the Lollards' Tower. At my going away he called me back again, and said, that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin-lane; and I said he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained seven days more.

Then Mr. Hufsey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom, he said, I had the books, who had made the matter manifest before; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myself, inasmuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of them in his house, and knew where the woman lay better than myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it signified nothing for me to stand in it. He asked me what I had done with the books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being apprentice with Mr. Turtle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, Because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by others and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment. I said, Yea, take my blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he told me, I should be whipped like a thief and a vagabond: and so I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days, and so was brought by the keeper Cluny, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's-Hospital, sometime the Grey-Friars, and accordingly had there for that time the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and so was delivered to Tri-nian, the porter, and put into a stinking dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendship, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day-time, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

At length Dr. Story came and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichrist; and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, I have intreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till it was found out by others. Then said he, it were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thine ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves. And the gentlemen said, Nay, that were pity. Then he asked if I would not become an honest man: and I said, Yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my faith; I told him that I had made him answer of my faith before my lord Windsor's chaplain, as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me if I would go unto my master again, and I said nay. And he said, I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before: but let me alone (quoth he), I will find him out if he be in England. And so with many other things, which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bid me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that he should have an hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so intreated, that he had not so many, Story saying, If I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue.

## A LETTER

*From STEPHEN COTTEN to his Brother, declaring how he was beaten twice by Bishop BONNER, before he was burnt at Brentford.*

**B**ROTHER, in the name of the Lord Jesus, I commend me unto you, and I do heartily thank you, for your godly exhortation and counsel in your last letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so we are of contrary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate; be you most assured, good brother, in the Lord Jesus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Jesus, whom I trust we altogether with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives, and by whose precious blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in God's prison, which is a joyful school for them that love



love their Lord God, and to me, being a simple scholar, most joyful of all.

Good brother, once again I do, in the name of our Lord Jesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight strongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good soldier to my captain Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire my sister also to do the same, and do ye not mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble: for I trust to be loosed out of this dungeon shortly, and to go to everlasting joy, which never shall have end. I heard how ye were with the commissioners. I pray you, sue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I shall desire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witness with me that I shall die, I trust in God, a true christian, and, I hope, all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not these evil-disposed people, who are the authors of all untruths.

I pray you provide me a long shirt against the day of our deliverance; for the shirt you gave me last, I have given to one of my companions, who had more need than I; as for the money and meat you sent us, the bishop's servants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had so great trust in. Brother, there is none of them to trust to, for the master and servant are both alike. I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again by the bishop himself. I suppose we shall go into the country to Fulham, to the bishop's house, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can. For when we shall go, it will be suddenly done. Thus fare you well. From the Coal-house, this present Friday.

Your brother,  
STEPHEN COTTEN.

#### *The Scourging of JAMES HARRIS.*

**I**N this society of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris, of Billerica, in Essex, a stripping of the age of seventeen years; who being apprehended and sent up to Bonner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by sir John Mordaunt, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, justice of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned), was by Bonner divers times strictly examined. In which examinations he was charged not to have come to his parish church for the space of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confessing there withal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting the same with all his heart.

After this, and such like answers, Bonner (the better to try him) persuaded him to go to confession. The lad, somewhat to fulfil his request, consented to go, and did. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why, quoth the priest, sayest thou nothing? What shall I say? said Harris. Thou must confess thy sins, said the priest. My sins, said he, be so many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the priest told Bonner what he had said; and he, of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, taken from off a cherry-tree, did most cruelly whip him.

#### *The Scourging of ROBERT WILLIAMS, a Smith.*

**R**OBERT WILLIAMS, who being apprehended in the same company, was so tormented after the same manner with rods in his harbour, who there subscribing and yielding himself by promise to obey the laws, after being let go, refused so to do: whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth: and now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever. Amen.

And forasmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's scourging, by the occasion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other boys and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey, rowing towards Fulham. The story, though it touch no matter of religion, yet because it sheweth something of the nature and disposition of that man, and may refresh the reader, wearied perhaps with other doleful stories, I thought not to omit.

Bonner, passing from London to Fulham by water, having John Willis and Thomas Hinshaw above-mentioned with him, both prisoners for religion, by the way as he went, was saying even-song with Harpsfield, his chaplain, in the barge, and being about the middle of their orisons, they espied some young men swimming and washing themselves in the Thames, over against Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom he went and gave very gentle language, and fair speech, until he had set his men on land.

That done, his men ran after the boys to get them, as the bishop commanded them before, beating some with nettles, drawing some through bushes of nettles naked, and some they made to leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvelled they were not drowned.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this skirmishing was between them, immediately came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the boys made such a noise. Whom when the bishop espied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made answer stoutly, Yea. Then the bishop commanded him to be taken also: but he ran away with speed, and thus avoided the bishop's blessing. Now when the bishop saw him run away, and another man sitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he desired him likewise to stop the boy: and because he would not, he commanded his man to fetch that man to him also; but he hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, escaped the bishop in like manner.

Then the bishop, seeing the success of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple of Ferry-boys to run and hold him that last ran away. And because they said they could not (as indeed it was true), therefore he caused his men to take and beat them. The boys hearing that, leapt into the water to save themselves; notwithstanding they were caught, and in the water by the bishop's men held and beat.

Now, after the end of this skirmish, the bishop's men returned to their master again into the barge, and he and Harpsfield his chaplain, went to their even-song afresh where they left, and so forsooth the rest of their service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will), and grace to become a new man. Amen.

#### *The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury.*

**U**NTO these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a poor starved beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Colingborow, was brought to Salisbury with bills and glieves to the chancellor Dr. Geffery, who cast him into the dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped by two catch-poles. The sight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be shewed upon such a simple and silly wretch: for they that saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists.

Besides these above-named, divers others also suffered the like scourgings and whippings in their bodies for their faithful standing in the truth. Of whom it may be said, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts, "Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."



*Another Treatise of such as being pursued in Queen MARY's Time, were in great Danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, mercifully were preserved.*

**A**LTHOUGH the secret purpose of Almighty God, which disposeth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful servants both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemy's hands, to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, with famine, with burning of hands, with plucking off beards, with burning also both hand, beard, and body, &c.

Yet notwithstanding some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, in safety, were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by quitting the realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or disposing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his servants, as not only ought to stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About the time it began to be known that queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm, some at Bury, some at Salisbury, as John Hunt, and Richard White, of whom we have treated before, and some at London, amongst whom was William Living, and his wife, and John Lithal, of whom something remaineth now compendiously to be touched.

*An Account of the Persecution and Deliverance of WILLIAM LIVING, with his Wife, and of JOHN LITHAL, Ministers.*

**A**BOUT the latter end of queen Mary's reign, she then being sick, came one Cox, a promoter, to the house of William Living, about six o'clock, accompanied with one John Launce, of the Greyhound. They being not ready, they demanded some buttons, saying, they should be as well paid for them as any; and he would come about three hours after for them again.

In the mean time he procured one Mr. Dean, the constable, and George Hancock, the beadle of that ward, and searching his books, found a book of astronomy, called the work of Joannas de Sacro Bosco de Sphæra, with figures, some round, some triangle, some quadrangle, which book, because it was gilt, seemed to him the chief book there, and that he carried open in the street, saying, I have found him at length. It is no wonder the queen be sick, seeing there be such conjurers in privy corners; but now I trust he shall conjure no more; and so brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane through Fleet-street, into St. Paul's church-yard, with the constable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they entered into Darbshire's house, who was bishop Bonner's chancellor: and after the constable and they had talked with Darbshire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, and said to him,

What is your name?

*Liv.* William Living.

*Darb.* What are you? a priest?

*Liv.* Yea.

*Darb.* Is this your wife that is come with you?

*Liv.* That she is.

*Darb.* Where were you made priest?

*Liv.* At Obourne.

*Darb.* In what bishop's days?

*Liv.* By the bishop of Lincoln, that was king Henry's spiritual father in Cardinal Wolsey's time.

*Darb.* You are a schismatic and a traitor.

*Liv.* I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was a traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenor of God's word; and when

tumults and schisms have been stirred, I have preached God's word, and assuaged them as in the time of king Edward.

*Darb.* What, you are a schismatic. You be not in the unity of the catholic church: for you pray not as the church of Rome doth: you pray in English.

*Liv.* We are certain we be in the true church.

*Darb.* There be that doubt thereof, forasmuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn against I talk with you again, to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

*Liv.* If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Christ is the head, then I am a member thereof, for I know no other church but that.

*Darb.* Well, Cluny, take him with thee to the Coal-house.

Then he called Cluny again, and spake secretly to him, but what he said I know not.

Then said Cluny, Wilt thou not come? And so plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own house in Paternoster-row, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Coal-house to put me in the stocks, saying, Put in both your legs and your hands; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck. What is the fine? quoth I; forty shillings, quoth he; I am never able to pay it, said I.

Then said he, You have friends that be able. I denied it; and so he put both my legs into the stocks till supper-time, which was six o'clock; and then a cousin of my wife's brought me meat, who seeing me sit there, said, I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty: and he took her money, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my supper. And at seven o'clock, he put me in the stocks again, and I remained till two o'clock the next day, and so he let me forth till night. This woman above-mentioned was Griffin's first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and afterwards in Cheapside.

The Thursday following, in the afternoon, was I called to the Lollards' Tower, and there put into the stocks, having the honour to put my leg into that hole which Mr. John Philpot's leg was in, and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me either with meat or drink.

At eleven o'clock on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one o'clock he brought me to Darbshire's house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I knew none of them but Foster. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not inquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly women, who said, Mr. Darbshire, it is enough; and so became sureties for me, and paid to Cluny fifteen shillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whose answers to Darbshire, the chancellor, here likewise follow.

*The Examination of JULIAN LIVING, Wife to WILLIAM LIVING.*

*Darbshire.* **A**H, firrah; I see by your going you be one of the sisters.

*Julian.* I wear not my gown for sisterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm.

*Darb.* Nun? No, I dare say you be none: is that man your husband?

*Julian.* Yea.

*Darb.* Is he a priest?

*Julian.* No, he saith no mass.

*Darb.* What then? he is a priest. How darest thou marry him?

Then he shewed me a roll of certain names of citizens.

To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, You shall be made to know them.

Then



Then said I, Do no other but justice and right, for the day will come, that thou shalt answer for it.

*Darb.* Why, woman, thinkest thou not that I have a soul?

*Julian.* Yes, I know you have a soul; but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

*Darb.* Ho, Cluny, have her to the Lollards'-Tower. And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one Dale, a promoter, who said to me, Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you? said I.

You be not ashamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherefore you come hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not; for it is for Christ's Testament.

Christ's Testament? quoth he. It is the devil's Testament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man should speak any such word.

Well, well, said he, you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. God's blood, there must be some other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worse than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be cut off. For though the queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it; for there is my lord cardinal's grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then said Cluny, Come with me; and so I went to the Lollards'-Tower. On the next day Darbshire sent for me again, and inquired of those citizens that he inquired of before.

I answered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on Sunday was fortnight?

And I said, In no place.

Then the constable of St. Bride's being there, made suit for me.

And Darbshire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He answered, Yea. And so he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Christmas.

Then Darbshire said, You be constable, and should give her good counsel.

So I do, quoth he. For I bid her go to mass, and to say as you say. For, by the mass, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou seest here delivered through the request of women, his sureties, yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of queen Mary abated and bridled, rather than the cruelty of those papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

#### An Account of the Trouble and Deliverance of JOHN LITHAL.

AT the taking of William Living, it happened that some of his books were in the custody of one John Lithal; which known, the constable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's servants, were sent to his house, who breaking open his doors and chests, took away not only the books of the said William Living, but also all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithal was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Auales and some of the queen's servants beset his house all the night, with such careful watch; that as he in the morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Auales bursting out upon him, cried, Stop the traitor, stop the traitor. Whereat Lithal being amazed, looked back.

And so John Auales came running to him, with others that were with him, saying, Ah, firrah, you are

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a traitorous fellow indeed, we have had somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the queen's majesty than he. For you, said he, are commanded by God to keep holy the sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your neighbour's blood on the sabbath-day. Remember that you must answer it to God. But he said, Come on, you villain, you must go before the council. So Lithal was brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor, by John Auales, saying, that they had there caught the captain of these fellows, and so caused him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbshire, who began with him in this wise:

*Chan.* What countryman are you?

*Lith.* I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire.

*Chan.* Where were you brought up?

*Lith.* In this our country of England.

*Chan.* In what university?

*Lith.* In no university, but in a free-school.

*Chan.* We had certain books from your house, and writing, wherein is both treason and heresy.

*Lith.* Sir, there is neither treason nor heresy in them.

Then the chancellor asked for certain other men that I knew.

*Lith.* If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will answer it; but I will have no other man's blood upon my head.

*Chan.* Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own parish church?

*Lith.* I am of the church of Christ, the fountain of all goodness.

*Chan.* Have you no ministers of your church, but Christ?

*Lith.* We have others.

*Chan.* Where be they?

*Lith.* In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the gospel and faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them.

*Chan.* You boast much every one of you of your faith and belief: let me hear therefore the effect how you believe.

*Lith.* I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.

*Chan.* Faith cannot save without works.

*Lith.* That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.

*Chan.* John Auales, you and the keeper have this fellow to prison.

Then John Auales, and Cluny the keeper, had me unto St. Paul's, and would have had me seen the apostles' mass.

*Lith.* I know none the apostles had, and therefore I will see none.

*Cluny and John Auales.* Come and kneel down before the rood, and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds.

*Lith.* I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both these, his name be praised for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to see the mass, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some spit on me, and said, Fie on thee, heretic; and others said, it was a pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to Lollards'-Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the keeper some money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing



that should be against my conscience; and though you have lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought), than for any other affection; and within four or five days my wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In which time divers of my neighbours and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance; the bishop, as they said, at that time being sick at Fulham. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor sent for me out of Lollards' Tower to his own house, and said as follows—

*Lith.* here are some of thy neighbours who have been with me to intreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I should deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I shall be burned for thee; for I know his mind already in that matter.

*Lith.* I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbours for their good report.

*Chan.* *Lith.* if thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming, whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also, if thou wilt be an obedient subject, I shall be content to deliver thee.

*Neigh.* If it please your worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods.

*Chan.* I will require no such bonds of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called.

*Lith.* Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the scriptures, that the church of Christ did bind any man for the profession of his faith? Which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the inventions and works of men, be they ever so glorious, be altogether vain, as the wise man saith.

*Chan.* Lo, where he is now. I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James saith, "That a man is justified by works."

*Lith.* St. James spake to them that boasted themselves of faith, and shewed no works of faith: but O, Mr. Chancellor, remember, I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the holy scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, and so even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all that believe shall be saved from all their sins and offences. Isaiah saith, chap. lxxv. "I am found of them that sought me not, and am manifest to them that ask not after me:" but against Israel he saith, "All day long have I stretched out my hand to a people that believe not." And when the jailor asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, Acts xvi. "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and all thy household."

Again, St. John saith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor on earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book nor the seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Saviour. And St. Paul saith, Heb. ix. "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified."

*Chan.* With vain glory you rehearse much scripture, as all the rest of you do: but you have no more understanding than my sheep. But to the purpose. Will you that your neighbours shall enter into bonds for you, or not?

*Lith.* By my mind they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my conscience freely, for it is written, Rev. xiii. "They that lead into captivity, shall go into captivity, and they that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

Also it is written in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Matt. xviii. "That whoso doth offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck,

and that he were cast into the depth of the sea." Of which I am assured by his holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you shew, unto you shall be shewed the like.

*Chan.* You are a madman. I would not bind you, but that I must needs have something to shew for your deliverance. Then he called two of his neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, who offered themselves to be bound, and called me before them, and said, I have a letter of his own hand-writing, with his name and seal at it, with a book also against the regiment of women, for which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but on my faith I will him no more hurt than I mean to my own soul.

*Lith.* I desire you that be my neighbours and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me: for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myself; it goeth against my conscience that ye should so do.

*Chan.* Why, I will not bind you to do any thing against your conscience.

Then they made the bond, and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also, and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set to my hand.

*Chan.* It is a pity that thou hast so much favour shewed thee: yet for these honest men's sakes, I will discharge thee.

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of Dr. Darbishire, pretending for favour of his sureties to set me at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and irrecoverable sickness of queen Mary, which then began somewhat to assuage the cruel proceeding of these persecutors, whereby they durst not do what they would: for else *Lith.* was not likely to have escaped so easily.

Moreover, there was one Edward Grew, priest, and Appline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Broke; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good conscience.

At last he was taken and cast into Colchester-castle, where he remained till queen Elizabeth came to her regal seat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Brown, parson of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolk, made a sermon in the said town, soon after the burial of our good king Edward, and in his sermon he said, There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were so, said he, they are all traitors that do so, because it is both against the truth, and against the laws of this realm, and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the king, or unto the realm, that so do. For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefield, an adversary to the truth, being then constable of the town, and bailiff unto sir John Jerningham, knight, (the chief lord of the town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, who was then under-sheriff, sir Thomas Cornwallis being then high-sheriff.

So the said Golding and Blomefield sent for certain men of the same town, and examined them for the sermon: whereupon they made but a small answer. Then the sheriff made a bill, and so terrified the men, that two or three of them set to their hands, and one of them never enjoyed himself after, but it was a grief to him till he died.

Then they took men with them to the parson's house, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen kept him till it was day. Then should he have been carried the next day to the council; but the said Robert Blomefield was taken so sick, that he was like to die: so that he could not carry him for his life.

Then the said sheriff sent him to Ipswich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to Bury prison, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet; and so he lay in prison from the beginning of



of harvest till near Christmas, and said, God gave him such answers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of conscience. And having his liberty, he came again to the aforesaid town; and because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to fly here and there for his life and conscience. In the last year of queen Mary's reign God took him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blomefield above-named, immediately after he had apprehended the said Brown, fell very sick; and although at that time he was a wealthy man and of great substance (beside his land which was better than twenty pounds a year), after this time God plagued his household, that his eldest son died, and his wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then he married another, a rich widow: but all would not help, and nothing would prosper; for he had a sore pining sickness, being full of blotches and sores, whereby he wasted away both body and goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above nine score pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had; but a little before his death, he threatened a good man, one Simon Harlston, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no surplice when he said service.

Wherefore it is pity such baits of popery are left to the enemies to take christians in. God take them away, or ease us from them: for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst men.

Furthermore, out of the said town were constrained to fly Robert Boela and John Trapne, because they would not go to mass and receive their sacrament of the altar.

#### The Persecution of ELIZABETH YOUNG.

**Y**OU heard before of the scourging of Thomas Greene, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a certain book called Antichrist, which he received of a woman, because in no case he would detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who coming from Emden to England, brought with her divers books, and dispersed them abroad in London; for which she being at length apprehended and laid fast, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquisitors of heretical pravity. Some of which examinations have come to our hands, and are as follow:

#### The First Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, before Mr. HUSSY.

**Hussy.** **W**HERE was you born, and who were your father and mother?

**Eliz. Young.** Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with fantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. You have not, I think, put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But, I pray you, go to the matter I came hither for.

**Hussy.** Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?

**Young.** To keep my conscience clean.

**Hussy.** When wast thou at mass?

**Young.** Not these three years.

**Hussy.** Then wast thou not there three years before that?

**Young.** No, sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were I had evil luck.

**Hussy.** How old art thou?

**Young.** Forty and upwards.

**Hussy.** Twenty of those years you went to mass.

**Young.** Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first, for I understand it not.

**Hussy.** Why wilt thou not go to the mass?

**Young.** Sir, my conscience will not suffer me: for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience.

**Hussy.** What if a louse or a flea stick upon thy skin,

and bite thy flesh? thou must make a conscience in taking her off, is there not a conscience in it?

**Young.** That is but a sorry argument to displace the scriptures, and especially in such a part as my salvation dependeth upon: for it is but an easy conscience that a man can make.

**Hussy.** But why wilt thou not swear upon the evangelists before a judge?

**Young.** Because I know not what a book oath is.

Then he began to teach her the book oath.

**Young.** Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

**Hussy.** Thou wilt not understand it; and with that rose up and went his way.

#### The Second Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, by Dr. MARTIN.

**Martin.** **T**HOU art come from beyond the sea, and hast brought with thee books of heresy and treason, and thou must confess to us who translated them, printed them, and who sent them over, (for I know thee to be but a messenger) and in so doing the queen's highness will be good to thee (for she hath forgiven greater things than this), and thou shalt find as much favour as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confess, thou wilt be very ill-handled: for we know the truth already; but this we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true to thy word or no.

**Young.** Sir, you have my confession, and more than that I cannot say.

**Martin.** Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this confession that thou hast made? Thou rebellious whore, and traitorous heretic, thou dost refuse to swear upon the evangelists before a judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked by inch meal, thou traitorous whore and heretic, but thou shalt swear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confess how many books thou hast sold, and to whom.

**Young.** Sir, I understand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for those books which I had, your commissioners have got them all.

**Martin.** Thou traitorous whore, we know that thou hast sold a number of books, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou layest, and every place that thou hast been in: dost thou think that thou hast fools in hand?

**Young.** No, sir, you be too wise for me: for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myself, but if it were in Turkey, I should have meat, and drink, and lodging for my money.

**Martin.** Thou rebellious whore, thou hast spoken evil words of the queen, and thou dwellest amongst a set of traitors and rebels that cannot give the queen a good name.

**Young.** I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither is there any man that can prove any such things of me as you lay to my charge. For God's word hath taught me my duty to my queen, and therefore I am sure you accuse me wrongfully.

**Martin.** Thou rebel and traitorous whore, thou shalt be so racked and tormented, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorous whores and heretics; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy evangelists, and confess to whom thou hast sold all and every of these heretical books that thou hast sold: for we know what number thou hast sold, and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess it in spite of thy blood.

**Young.** Here is my carcase; do with it what you will, and more than that you cannot have. Mr. Martin, you can have no more than my blood.

Then he raved as though he were stark mad, and said, Martin! Why callest thou me Martin?

**Young.** Sir, I know you well enough, for I have been before you ere now. You delivered me once at Westminster.

**Martin.** Where didst thou dwell then?

**Young.** I dwelt in the Minories.

*Martin.*



*Martin.* I delivered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then that thou wouldst have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any other bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst tried a faggot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

*Young.* Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

*Martin.* I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which will be little to thine ease.

*Young.* Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more you shall not. And then he arose, and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and asked his wife, whom she had suffered to come to this traitorous whore (as he called her). Then said the keeper's wife, As God receive my soul, there came neither man, woman, nor child to ask for her.

*Martin.* If any man, woman, or child, come to ask for her, I charge thee on pain of death, that they be laid fast; and give her one day bread, and another day water.

*Young.* If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger: and so he departed, saying, that was too good for her; and then she was shut up under two locks in the Clink, where she was before.

*The Third Examination of Mrs. E. YOUNG, before Dr. MARTIN.*

*Martin.* ELIZABETH, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon; for thou knowest that I have been thy friend, and in so doing I will be thy friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the seas.

*Young.* It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other side.

*Martin.* No, I mean but in Frankfort and Emden, where thou hast been.

*Young.* Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I looked not for.

*Martin.* When shall I have a true word come out of your mouth?

*Young.* I have told you the truth, but because that it soundeth not to your mind, therefore you will not credit it.

*Martin.* Wilt thou yet confess? And if thou wilt, that which I have promised I will do; and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the rack, and therefore confess.

*Young.* I can say no more than I have said.

*Martin.* Well, forasmuch as she will confess no more, have her away to the rack, and then she will be marred.

Then answered a priest that sat there, and said, Woman, take an oath, and confess: wilt thou be hurt for other men?

*Young.* I can confess no more than I have. Do with my carcase what you will.

*Martin.* Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? What a stout heretic is this? We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether she will confess. There is no remedy, but she must needs to the rack, and therefore away with her, and so commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and said to him, There is no remedy, but this heretic must be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was she did not hear.

Then he called her in again, and said, Wilt thou not confess, and keep thee from the rack? I advise thee so to do; for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain yet, but thou shalt do.

*Young.* I can confess no more; do with my carcase what you will.

*Martin.* Keeper, away with her. Thou knowest what I said. Let her know the pain of the rack. And so she departed, thinking no less, but that she should have gone to the rack, till she saw the keeper turn toward

the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations: for she was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times.

*The Fourth Examination of Mrs. E. YOUNG, before the Bishop of London, Sir ROGER CHOLMLEY, Dr. COOK, the Recorder of London, Dr. ROPER, and Dr. MARTIN.*

FIRST, she being presented by Dr. Martin before the bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, The lord chancellor hath sent you here a woman, who hath brought books over from Emden, where all these books of heresy and treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treason and heresy; neither yet will she confess who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over. Wherefore my lord chancellor committeth her unto my lord of London, to do with her as he shall think good. For she will confess nothing but that she bought these said books in Amsterdam, and so brought them over to sell for gain.

*Dr. Cook.* Let her head be trussed in a small line, and make her confess.

*Martin.* The book is called Antichrist, and so may well be called, for it speaketh against Jesus Christ, and the queen. Besides that, she hath a certain spark of the anabaptists, for she refuseth to swear upon the four evangelists before a judge: for myself and Mr. Hussy have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to swear. Wherefore my lord chancellor would that she should abstain and fast, for she hath not fasted a great while: for she hath lain in the Clink a good while, where she had too much liberty.

Then said the bishop, Why wilt thou not swear before a judge; that is the right trade of the anabaptists.

*Young.* My lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine.

No, said the bishop; and why?

*Young.* My lord, Christ saith, That whatsoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is: and therefore I will take no such thing upon me.

Then said Cholmley, Twenty pounds it is a man in woman's clothes, twenty pounds it is a man.

*Bonner.* Think you so, my lord.

*Cholmley.* Yea, my lord.

*Young.* My lord, I am a woman.

*Bishop.* Swear her upon a book, seeing it is but a question asked.

Then said Cholmley, I will lay twenty pounds it is a man.

Then Dr. Cook brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand thereon.

*Young.* No, my lord, I will not swear, for I know not what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and have children.

*Bishop.* That we know not; wherefore swear.

*Cholmley.* Thou ill-favoured whore, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine: and so he laid his hand on the book.

*Young.* So will not I.

Then the bishop spake a word in Latin out of St. Paul, as concerning swearing.

*Young.* My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not.

*Bishop.* I dare swear that thou dost not.

*Young.* My lord, St. Paul saith, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a strange tongue.

*Cook.* Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman.

*Young.* If you will not believe me, then send for women into a secret place, and I will be searched.

*Cholmley.* Thou art an ill-favoured whore.

*Bishop.* How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?

*Young.* If it will please you that I shall declare my faith,



faith, I will, and if it be not good, teach me a better, and I will believe it.

*Cook.* That is well said, declare thy faith.

*Young.* I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God: I believe all the articles of my creed: I believe all things written in the scripture, and all things agreeable to the scripture, given by the Holy Ghost to the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. I believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to save sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made clean from my sins, and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and ordain, and left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed; when I do receive this sacrament in faith and spirit, I do receive Christ.

*Bishop.* No more, I warrant you, but the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, received but in spirit and faith, with those heretics.

*Cholmley.* Ah, whore, spirit and faith, whore!

*Young.* This sacrament man never could, nor did make, but only he, that did what no man could do.

*Martin.* Then thou must allow that grafts is a sacrament; for who could make grafts but he only?

*Young.* Sir, he hath suffered, and made a sufficient sacrifice once for all, and so hath he made his sacrament sufficient once for all: for there was never man that could say, "Take, eat, this is my body, that is broken for you," but only Jesus Christ, who had his body broken for the sins of the world; which sacrament he hath left here amongst us for a testimonial of his death, even to the world's end.

*Martin.* Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?

*Young.* Yea, bishop Scory, and others that I have heard.

*Bishop.* Why, is Scory bishop now?

*Young.* If that offend you, call him Dr. Scory if you will.

*Roper.* I knew him when he was but a poor doctor.

*Martin.* What do you call Scory?

*Young.* Our superintendant.

*Bishop.* Lo! their superintendant.

*Martin.* And what are ye called?

*Young.* Christ's congregation.

*Bishop.* Lo! Christ's congregation, I warrant you.

*Dr. Cook.* What living hath Scory?

*Young.* As far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him ought.

*Recorder.* Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough sent him out of England.

*Young.* Sir, I know no such thing.

*Cholmley.* Hark, whore, hark; hark, how I do believe.

*Young.* My lord, I have told you my belief.

*Cholmley.* Hark, thou ill-favoured whore, how I do believe. When the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very body that was born of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the cross, was dead and buried, and descended into hell, and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God. The same body when the priest hath spoken the words, cometh down, and when the priest lifteth up his body on this wise (he lifting up his hands said), there it is.

*Young.* I have told you also how I do believe.

*Martin.* Away with her.

*Cholmley.* Ah, ill-favoured whore! Nothing but spirit and faith, whore!

*Martin.* Away with her, we have more to talk withal.

Then she was carried into the Coal-house, and searched for books, and then put into the stock-house, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

The Fifth Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, before the Bishop of London's Chancellor.

*Chan.* WHAT age are you of?

*Young.* Forty years and upwards.

*Chan.* Why, thou art a woman of fair years; why shouldst thou meddle with the scriptures? It is necessary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy distaff, than to meddle with the scriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought to prison.

*Young.* Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if you find any thing therein that is not fit for a christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

*Chan.* Well said. But who shall judge between thee and me?

*Young.* The scripture.

*Chan.* Wilt thou stand by that?

*Young.* Yea, sir.

*Chan.* Well, go thy way out of the door a little while, for I am busy, and will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again and said, Now, woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him as she had done before to the bishop.

*Chan.* Woman, spirit and faith I do allow, but dost not thou believe that thou dost receive the body of Christ, really, corporally, and substantially.

*Young.* These words, really and corporally, I understand not; as for substantially, I take it, you mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once), and that I believe not.

*Chan.* Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned.

*Young.* Sir, can you give me belief?

*Chan.* No, God must give it thee.

*Young.* God hath given me no such faith or belief.

The chancellor then declared a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in English, saying, I could make thee believe, but that thou hast a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?

*Young.* You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God, and so I believe, and then may not I believe an untruth to be true.

*Chan.* Dost thou not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh?

*Young.* No, sir, I believe not that; for my flesh will putrefy and rot.

*Chan.* Christ said, My flesh is flesh in flesh.

*Young.* Whoso receiveth him fleshly, shall have a fleshly resurrection.

*Chan.* Christ saith in St. John, chap. vi. "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

*Young.* Christ preached to the Capernaïtes, saying, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you: and the Capernaïtes murmured at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, 'This is an hard saying, and who can abide it?'" Christ understood their meaning, and said, "Are ye also offended? Will ye also go away? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up to heaven, from whence he came? Will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." I pray you, sir, what meaneth Christ by that?

*Chan.* O God forbid. Would you have me to interpret the scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, which have studied the scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Ghost given unto them.

*Young.* Why, sir, have you not the Holy Ghost given and revealed unto you?

*Chan.* No, God forbid that I should so believe; but I hope, I hope: but you say you are of the Spirit. Will you say that you have no profit in Christ's flesh?

*Young.* Sir, we have our profit in Christ's flesh, but not as the Capernaïtes did understand it; for they understood that they must eat his flesh as they did eat ox flesh and others, and drink his blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But so we must not receive it: but our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that



that his body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for our sins; that is the very meaning of Christ, that so we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, when he said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

*Chan.* How doth thy body live, if Christ's flesh is not flesh in thy flesh?

*Young.* Sir, I was a body before I had a soul; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it shall please God to dissolve my life, my flesh will offer itself unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Christ my soul will offer itself to the place from whence it came.

*Chan.* Yea, but if thou do not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh, thou canst not be saved.

*Young.* Sir, I do not believe that.

*Chan.* Why, doth not Christ say, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed?" Canst thou deny that?

*Young.* I deny not that; for Christ's flesh and blood is meat and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hath died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feedeth thereon for ever.

*Chan.* When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body?

*Young.* Sir, as often as I receive the sacrament, I believe, that spiritually and by faith I receive Christ. And of this sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith.

*Chan.* Why, did not Christ take bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat, this is my body that is given for you?" Did he give them his body, or no?

*Young.* He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for many." Now, I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or the wine that was in the cup?

Then he was very angry, and said, Dost thou think that thou hast an hedge-priest in hand?

*Young.* No, sir, I take you not to be an hedge-priest; I take you for a doctor.

*Chan.* So me thinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

*Young.* No, sir, but I let you know what I know; and by argument one shall know more. Christ said, "As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me;" but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Likewise St. Paul saith, "So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death till he come:" then we must not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, "He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?" But if he come not before he come to judgment, how then is he present in your sacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Christ occupieth no more than one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

*The Sixth Examination of Mrs. YOUNG, before the Chancellor.*

*Chan.* **W**OMAN, the last time that thou wast before me, our talk was concerning the sacrament.

*Young.* Sir, true it is, and I trust that I said nothing that you can deny by the scriptures.

*Chan.* Yes, thou wilt not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh.

*Young.* No, sir, God hath given me no such belief, for it cannot be found by the scriptures.

*Chan.* Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the scripture? Why, how many sacraments dost thou find in the scripture?

*Young.* The church of Christ doth set down two.

*Chan.* I will as well find seven by the scripture, as thou shalt find two.

*Young.* Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I say that the church of Christ setteth out two, and I have been taught no more.

*Chan.* What are those two?

*Young.* The sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the sacrament of baptism.

*Chan.* What sayest thou by the sacrament of wedlock?

*Young.* I have not heard it called a sacrament, but the holy estate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them.

*Chan.* How sayest thou by priests? Is it good that they should marry? Is it to be kept of them?

*Young.* I come not hither to reason any such matter, for I am no divine, and also it is no part of my faith.

*Chan.* Can you not tell? You shall tell before ever you go.

*Young.* Then you must keep me a good while; for I have not studied the scriptures for it.

*Chan.* No? Why, you will not be ashamed to flee unto the highest mystery, even to the sacrament at the first dash, and you are not afraid to argue with the best doctor in the land.

*Young.* God's mysteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

*Chan.* What say you by prayers for the dead? Is it not meet that if a man's friend be dead, his friend commend his soul unto God?

*Young.* There is no christian man that will commend his friend or his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

*Chan.* Then thou allowest not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

*Young.* Sir, I never heard in the scriptures of purgatory, but in the scripture I have heard of heaven and hell.

*Chan.* Why, you have nothing but the skimming of the scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the scriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a priest should take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day.

*Young.* Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor New Testament, as far as ever I could hear.

*Chan.* Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or New Testament, but a sort of schismatics, bawdy bishops, and hedge-priests (which have brought into the church a stinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England), which hath deceived the king and all the nobility, and all the whole realm.

*Young.* Sir, it is a vile name that you give them all.

*Chan.* Where are all the hedge-knaves now, that they come not to their answer?

*Young.* Answer, sir? Why, they have answered both with the scriptures, and also with their blood; and then where were you that you came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God's word, it was for their disobedience.

*Chan.* No, I pray you? Did you not know that we were hanged, killed, burned, and beheaded?

*Young.* Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or beheaded.

*Chan.* No? Did you never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome?

*Young.* Then he died not for God's word.



*Chan.* Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canst thou find the sabbath written in the scripture, by the name of the sabbath? For the right sabbath-day will I prove to be Saturday. Or, where canst thou find the articles of the creed in the scripture by the name of the articles? or where canst thou find in the scripture that Christ went down into hell?

*Young.* What place or part in the scripture can you find to disprove any of these things?

*Chan.* What priest hast thou lain withal that thou hast so much scripture? Thou art some priest's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the best doctor in all the land.

*Young.* I was never yet priest's wife, nor yet priest's woman.

*Chan.* Have I touched your conscience?

*Young.* No, sir, you have not touched my conscience, but beware you hurt not your own.

*Chan.* Thou hast read a little in the Bible or Testament, and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a doctor, that hath gone to school thirty years; and, before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldst not." And so would we gather you together in one faith, and you will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own head; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the scripture; and therefore thou art damned.

*Young.* I do believe all things written in the scripture, and all things agreeable to the scripture, given by the Holy Ghost to the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ, and shall I be damned because I will not believe an untruth?

Then the chancellor called the keeper, saying, Cluny, take her away, thou knowest what thou hast to do with her. And so she departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron, and afterwards she was removed into the Lollards' Tower, and there she remained with both her feet in the stocks and irons till the next time of examination.

*The Seventh Examination of Mrs. YOUNG, before the Chancellor and the Bishop's Scribe.*

*Chan.* **W**OMAN, thou hast been twice before me, but we could not agree, and here be certain articles that my lord the bishop of London would that thou shouldst make answer unto, which are these: First, how many sacraments dost thou allow?

*Young.* Sir, as many as Christ's church doth allow, and that is two.

Then said the scribe, Thou wast taught seven before king Edward's days.

*Chan.* Which two sacraments be those that thou dost allow?

*Young.* The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

*Chan.* Dost thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?

*Young.* No, sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church: for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wherefore they be scattered abroad.

*Chan.* Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins heretical, detestable and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?

*Young.* Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins.

*Chan.* Dost thou not know that the pope sent over his jubilees, that all that ever would fast and pray, and go to the church, should have their sins forgiven them?

*The Scribe.* Sir, I think that she was not in the realm then.

*Chan.* Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?

*Young.* Yes, that I have.

*Chan.* And art thou not sorry for it?

*Young.* No, sir, not a whit.

*Chan.* Hast thou not said, that the mass was wicked, and the sacrament of the altar most abominable?

*Young.* Yes, that I have.

*Chan.* And art thou not sorry for it?

*Young.* No, sir, not a whit.

*Chan.* Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear mass?

*Young.* I will not go to the church, either to mass or mattins; till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language. And always the scribe did write every one of these articles, as they were demanded and answered unto.

Then the scribe asked her from whence she came.

The chancellor said, This is she that brought over all these books of heresy and treason.

Then the scribe said to her, Woman, where hadst thou all these books?

*Young.* I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them over to sell, thinking to gain thereby.

*The Scribe.* What is the name of the book?

*Young.* I cannot tell.

*Scribe.* Why shouldst thou buy books, and know not their names?

Then said Cluny, the keeper, Sir, my lord bishop did send for her by name, that she should go to mass, but she would not.

*Chan.* Yea, did my lord send for her by name, and would she not go to mass?

*Young.* No, sir, I never will go to mass, till I do understand it, by the leave of God.

*Chan.* Understand it! why, who the devil can make thee understand Latin, thou being so old?

Then the scribe commanded her to set her hand to all these things.

Then said she, Let me hear them read first.

*Scribe.* Master Chancellor, shall she hear it read?

*Chan.* Ay, ay, let the heretic hear it read.

The she heard it read, and so signed it.

*The Eighth Examination of Mrs. YOUNG, before the Bishop.*

*Bishop.* **I**S this the woman that hath three children?

*Keeper.* Yea, my lord.

*Bishop.* Woman, here is a supplication put into my hands for thee. In like case there was another supplication put up to me for thee before this, in which thou madest as though I should keep thy children.

*Young.* My lord, I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other.

*Bishop.* Mr. Dean, is this the woman you have sued so earnestly for?

*Dean.* Yea, my lord.

*Dean.* Woman, what remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, when and after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration?

*Young.* A piece of bread. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and leave among his disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministered according to his word, that sacrament I do believe.

*Dean.* How dost thou believe concerning the body of Christ? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?

*Young.* Sir, in heaven he sitteth on the right hand of God.

*Dean.* From whence came his human body?

*Young.* He took it of the Virgin Mary.

*Dean.* That is flesh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what shape hath his spiritual body? Hath it face, hands, and feet?

*Young.*



*Young.* I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he said, "This is my body, which is given for you; and this is my blood which shall be shed for you." Whereby he plainly meaneth that body and no other, which he took of the virgin Mary, having the perfect shape and proportion of a human body.

*Story.* Thou hast a wife body: for thou must go to the stake.

*Dean.* Art thou content to believe in the faith of Christ's church? But to ask of thee what Christ's church is, or where it is, I let it pass.

*Young.* Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpose never to turn, by God's help.

*Dean.* Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

*Young.* Sir, if it please God to give me leave.

*Dean.* Art thou willing to confess thyself to be a foolish woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal doth, and as my lord the bishop of London thine ordinary doth, and as the king and queen, and all the nobility in England do; yea, and the emperor, and all the noble persons of Christendom?

*Young.* Sir, I was never wise, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe all things that are written in the scriptures, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith; and not on man.

Then said *Story*, And who shall be judge?

*Young.* Sir, the scripture.

*Story.* And who shall read it.

*Young.* He unto whom God hath given the understanding.

*Bishop.* Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone, and master dean here hath earnestly sued for thee.

*Dean.* Woman, I have sued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my lord will be good unto thee.

*Young.* I have been before my lord bishop, and before master chancellor three times, and have declared my faith.

*Dean.* And yet I know that master chancellor will say, that thou art a general heretic.

*Story.* Away with her.

*Bishop.* Master dean, you know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber soon at four o'clock in the afternoon, and if that we find her reasonable, then let her go, for I would that she were gone.

Then said the dean, With a good will, my lord; and so she was sent unto the place from whence she came, until it was four o'clock in the afternoon.

*The Ninth Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, before the Dean, after which she was delivered.*

*Dean.* **A**RT thou a fool now, as thou wert to-day?

*Young.* Sir, I have learnt but small wisdom since.

*Dean.* Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?

*Young.* Yes, sir, that I do.

*Dean.* Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?

*Young.* Yea, sir, and, if it please God, that you will.

*Dean.* Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive when thou receivest the sacrament which Christ left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed?

*Young.* Sir, that that his disciples did receive.

*Dean.* What did they receive?

*Young.* Sir, that that Christ gave them, they received.

*Dean.* What answer is this? was Christ there present?

*Young.* Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament.

*Dean.* He took bread and he brake it, and he gave it

to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you." When thou receivest it, dost thou believe that thou receivest his body?

*Young.* Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ.

*Dean.* Dost thou believe that Christ is there?

*Young.* Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him.

*Dean.* He also took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Drink ye all thereof; this is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?

*Young.* Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him.

*Dean.* Now thou hast answered me, remember what thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ.

*Young.* Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament.

*Dean.* How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

*Young.* Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God, for it is, and hath been my belief.

*Dean.* Wilt thou say this before my lord?

*Young.* Yea, sir.

*Dean.* Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf, why wouldst thou not say so to-day.

*Young.* Sir, you asked me no such question.

*Dean.* Then you would stand in disputation how many bodies Christ had.

*Young.* Sir, indeed that question you did ask me.

*Dean.* Who shall be the sureties that thou wilt appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?

*Young.* Sir, I have no sureties, nor know I where to have any.

Then spake the dean unto two women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying, "Women, will ye be her sureties, that she shall appear before my lord of London and me, upon Friday next?"

*Women.* Yea, sir, and it please you.

*Dean.* Take heed that I find you no more a babbler in the scripture.

*Young.* Sir, I am no babbler in the scripture, nor yet can any man burden me therewith.

*Dean.* Yes, I have heard of you well enough what you are.

Then said he to the two women, what if a man should touch your conscience, do ye not smell a little of heresy also?

*Women.* No, sir.

*Dean.* Yes, a little of the frying-pan, or else wherefore have ye two so earnestly sued for her?

The one woman answered, because that her children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her.

Then said the other woman, And I provided her child a nurse, and I am threatened to stand for the keeping of her child; and therefore it standeth me in hand to sue to have her out.

*Dean.* Woman, give thanks unto these honest women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee so have I. These great heretics will receive nothing but in spirit and faith; and so he rose and departed.

*Young.* Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness and theirs also, and so went away; and upon the Friday next, because she was accused, her two sureties went thither, and were discharged.

#### *The Persecution of ELIZABETH LAWSON.*

**I**N the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, dwelt an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawson, about the age of sixty years, who was apprehended as an heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year 1556,



1556, because she would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, and believe in it.

First, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that she was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury gaol, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time sir John Sylliard had her home unto his house, he being high sheriff that year, where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they could by no means move her to recant, she was sent to prison again with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there were burnt her son and many more, whereby she would often say, "Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded queen Elizabeth. At which time this Elizabeth Lawson remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For she being a condemned person, neither the temporality, nor yet spiritual authority would discharge her without sureties. Now she being abroad, and her sureties made afraid by wicked men, said, they would cast her again in prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a supplication to go unto the queen's majesty, and came to a friend of her's to have his counsel therein; who willed her to stay a while, because she was old, the days short, and the expences great, and weather foul (for it was a little before Christmas), and to tarry until summer. In the mean time God broke the bond, and shortened her journey; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

This good old woman, long before she went to prison, had the falling sickness, and told a friend of her's, one Simon Harlston, after she was apprehended, that she never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

She had a very unkind husband, who, while she was in prison, sold her raiment, and would not help her: and after she was out of prison, she returned home unto him, yet would he shew her no kindness, nor help her neither; and yet the house and land that he dwelt in he had by her; wherefore as long as she lived she was maintained by the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawson also had a sister, wife to one Robert Hollon, in Mickfield, in the same county of Suffolk, who likewise was persecuted and driven out from house to house, and a young man her son with her, because they would not go to the church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar.

#### *An Account of the Persecution of THOMAS CHRISTENMASS and WILLIAM WATS.*

**I**N this perilous rage of queen Mary's reign were two men persecuted, one called Thomas Christenmass, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge, in Kent. As these two men travelled from place to place, not resting two nights together in one place, they happened to go to Rochester in Kent, where they at the town's end met with a damsel of eight years of age, but whether she went, they knew not. It was then night, and they being weary, were willing to lie in the same town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody catholics. At last they devised to ask the damsel whether there were any heretics in the town, or no? and she said, Yea. They asked her where. She answered them, At such an inn, telling them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themselves better, and God so moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and asked her how she knew that the innkeeper (of whom she spake before) was an heretic. Marry, quoth she, well enough, and his wife also. How knowest thou, pretty maiden? said they; I pray thee tell us. How know I? said she; marry, because they go to the church; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will

present them, and he himself goes from house to house, to compel them to come to church. When these two men heard this, they gave God praise, and avoided that house, taking the warning of that maid (of good bringing up, as it should seem) to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

In the last year but one of queen Mary's reign, William Wats lived at Seale, in Kent, where being apprehended, and brought by the constables before the bishop and justices at Tunbridge, who endeavoured to persuade him to turn from the truth, but all in vain, though they spent much time, and used many flattering words.

At dinner-time the constables took Wats to a victualing-house, where after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their prisoner had been sure enough under their hands. Wats's wife being in the house with her husband, and very careful for his well-doing, seeing them all fast asleep, desired her husband to go away, as God had given him an opportunity; but he refusing so long that at last a stranger hearing something of the dispute, asked what the matter was, and why she was so earnest with her husband: the wife told him. Then said the stranger to Wats, Father, go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Upon which words he went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her house at Seale, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came in the said Wats also, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haste to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

Then Wats said, he would eat meat first, and also pray; which he did, and afterwards departed thence. As soon as he was out of doors, and had hid himself in an holly-bush, immediately came the said constables with thirty persons into the said house to search for him, where they pierced the feather-beds, broke open his chests, and made great havock; and as they were searching, the constable cried, I will have Wats, I will have Wats, I tell thee, I will have Wats; but God be thanked Wats could not be found. And when they saw it needless to search for him, in the end they took his wife, and set her in a pair of stocks, where she remained two days, and she was very bold in the truth, and at last delivered through the providence of God; whose name be glorified in all his works. *Amen.*

Mr. DABNEY.

**T**HERE was at London a certain godly person, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Auales in the time of queen Mary had brought before Bonner to be examined for his faith. It happened the same time, when the said Dabney was there, that the bishop was occupied with examining of others, so that he was bid to stand by, and to wait the bishop's leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly came word to the bishop to prepare him with all speed, the general procession tarried for him. The bishop hearing that, setting all business apart, bustleth himself with all possible speed to the church, there to furnish procession. By reason whereof Dabney, who newly came to the house, was there left alone, while every man else was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward according as the case required.

To be short, as the time called on, Bonner, with his household makes all possible haste to the procession. Dabney being left alone, came down to the outward court next the gate, there walking heavily by himself, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen left there behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. Yea, said he, with a good will, if you will let me out. With all my heart, quoth the porter, and I pray you so do.



And thus the said Dabney taking the opportunity offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth. The procession being done, when the bishop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found. Whereupon search was made, but especially John Avalet laid wait for him: who, after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife to let him alone when he should see him, and so that good man escaped.

#### ALEXANDER WIMHURST, Priest.

**A** LIKE example of God Almighty's goodness towards his afflicted servants in that dangerous time of persecution, may also appear evidently in one Alexander Wimhurst, a priest, sometime of Magdalen college, in Oxford, and then a papist, but since an earnest enemy to Antichrist, and a man better instructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had recommended him to bishop Bonner for religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth Robin Caly, otherwise called Robin Papist, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, bestirreth him in his business, and smelleth him out, and when he had taken him, bringeth him along by Cheap-side, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were some of his old friends of Oxford that offered to speak unto him.

When they came into St. Paul's, he espied Dr. Chedsey there walking up and down, and, because he was able in such a case to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very desirous to speak to him ere he went through. Chedsey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, said, that he durst not meddle in the matter. Yes, (said little Robin) you may talk with him if it please you, master Doctor. To be short, Alexander opened his case, and in the end desired, for old acquaintance sake, that he would find means he might be brought before Dr. Martin to be examined, rather than any other. Nay, said he, (alleging the words of Christ unto Peter in the last chapter of St. John) you remember, brother, what is written in the gospel: "When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldst; but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not." Thus abusing the scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithstanding he might easily have accomplished so small a request, if he had liked it.

Thence he was carried to Story and Cook, commissioners, there to learn what should become of him. Before them he behaved himself boldly and stoutly, as they on the other side did urge him with captious questions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor man their fill, they asked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (said he), but my lawful wife. She is thy whore, said they. She is not my whore (said he again), I tell you. So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them so much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to prison. And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation.

He was brought into Cluny's house, in Paternoster-row, from thence to be carried to Lollards'-Tower, out of hand, but that Cluny, (as it happened) his wife and his maid, were so earnestly occupied about present business, that they had not leisure then to lock up their prisoner. In the hall where Alexander sat was a strange woman, whose husband was then presently in trouble for religion, which perceived by some occasion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cause. Alack, good man; saith she, if you will you may escape the cruel hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all away that should look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity

thereof, if you be wise. Being persuaded with these and such like words, he went out of doors, and escaped their hands.

#### BOSOM's Wife.

**T** HIS good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly urged to go to church. At length, through great importunity, she came; being in the church, and sitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papists, she behaved herself so, that when they kneeled, she stood; when they turned forward, she turned backward, &c. This being notorious in the church, the constable and church-warden attached her in the queen's name, charging her and her mother to appear the next day at Kingston, which accordingly they did, and happening to meet the officers crossing the river, saluted them by their names, but at that time the officers had no power to speak to them, though afterwards they stamp and stared, and were mad with themselves for letting them pass, as was declared by the waterman in the boat. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty.

#### JOHN DAVIS, under Twelve Years of Age.

**I** N the year 1546, and the last year of king Henry the Eighth, John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the house of Mr. Johnson, apothecary, in the town of Worcester, his uncle, using sometimes to read in the Testament and other English books, was complained of by his mistress, who was an obstinate person, and consulted with one Thomas Parton, and Alice Brook, wife to Nicholas Brook, organ maker, with certain of the canons, and Mr. Johnson, chancellor to Dr. Heath, their bishop. The means whereby he was intrapped, was wrought by the afore-said Alice Brook, who procured her son Oliver, school-fellow with the said John Davis, to feign friendship with him, and under pretence to be instructed, to see his English books, and especially to get something of his writing against the six articles: which being had, was soon brought to the canons of the church and the chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced against his will to bind the poor boy's arms behind him; and so he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the 14th of August till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the Freeman's prison, where one Richard Howborough, coming to persuade him from burning, willed him to prove first with a candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it a good space, yet (as the party himself assured me) he felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and saw no scorching of the candle at all appeared.

The child was removed from thence to an inner prison, called Peephole, where the low bailiff, named Robert Yould, laid upon him a pair of bolts, so that he could not lift up his little legs, but leaning on a staff, slipt them forward upon the ground: with these bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of straw nor cloth to cover him, save only two sheep-skins; neither durst father or mother, or any of his friends come to him. Besides this, and many great threats of the papists, there was a madman, put to him in the prison, with a knife about him, wherewith in his frantic rage he often threatened to stab him.

After this came to him one Joyliff and Yewer, two canons, who had his writings against the six articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down for all your shaven crown," to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after sat Mr. Johnson, the chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poor lad. Where first were brought in his accusers, and sworn, then were sworn also twenty-four men which went on his quest, and found him guilty, but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this



this he was sent to the common gaol among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and so to be had strait to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable, when all other help is past, so provided for this innocent lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted enemies was disappointed: for before the judges came, God took away Henry the Eighth out of this life. By reason whereof the force of the law was then stayed: however, he was nevertheless arraigned, being held up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven: who when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped. But Mr. Bourne declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in prison, he had him home to his house, his wife anointed his legs herself with ointment, which then were stiff and numbed with irons, till at length when Mr. Bourne and his wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with heresy.

Thus John Davis was mercifully preserved, after he had suffered imprisonment from the 14th day of August till within seven days of Easter, who is yet alive, and a profitable minister this day in the church of England: blessed be the Lord.

#### Mrs. ROBERTS.

**M**ISTRESS ROBERTS, a gentlewoman, living (as I understand) in the town of Hawkhurst, in Suffex, being earnestly addicted to the truth of the gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept herself during all the brunt of queen Mary's time, that she never came to their popish service, nor polluted her conscience with their idolatrous mass. There dwelt at the same time not far off a justice, called sir John Gilford, who being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of queen Mary, thought to prove masteries with this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And first sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform herself to the prince's laws, and to come, as other christian people did, to the church. Notwithstanding, she constantly persisting in the sincerity of the truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her conscience; and so kept at home a certain time, till again Mr. Gilford thinking not to give her over so, sent his officers and servants to her, by force and power to haul her out of her house to the church, and so did. Where, by the way, she for grief of conscience swooned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time dispensed with. When she had recovered her health again, he came in person to compel her to come to church whether she would or no. But, (as the proverb goeth) who can prevent that which God would have done? For when Mr. Gilford had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for this good woman, that as he was coming up stairs towards her chamber, suddenly his old disease the gout seized him, and so terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: and so he, that purposed to carry her to the church against her will, was forced himself to be carried home to his house on account of his pain, protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

#### Mrs. ANNE LACY.

**M**ISTRESS ANNE LACY, widow, in Nottinghamshire, was in great danger in queen Mary's time, insomuch that the process was out against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her bible and other books in a dunghill. Mr. Lacy, her brother, was then justice of peace; but to whom (as I have heard) she was but very little beholden. Nevertheless, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth

such as stick to him; for in this mean time, as the process came out against her, queen Mary died, and so she escaped.

#### CROSSMAN's Wife.

**S**HE lived at Tibnam Longrow, in Norfolk, and for not going to church, was sought for at her house by the constable of the hundred, who when he came to her house, she being at home with a child sucking in her arms, slept into a corner on the one side of the chimney, and they seeking about the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and so by this means the Lord preserved her.

#### The Congregation at Stoke, in Suffolk.

**T**HERE were some likewise that avoided the violent rage of the adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual according in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain town in Suffolk, called Stoke. After the three sharp years of queen Mary's persecution being past, yet notwithstanding the inhabitants of the town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popish manner, the sacrament; who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped imprisonment. But because there were so many, the papists thought it best not to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them sixteen days respite after Easter, wherein as many as would, should receive the sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chief were these:

Eve, an old woman of sixty years of age; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Foxe; Agnes Cutting; Alice Spencer; Henry Canker; Joan Fouke; Agnes Spaulding; John Steyre, and his brother; John Foxe.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took counsel among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they should not receive at all. Yet some of them afterwards, being persuaded with fair promises that the communion should be ministered unto them according to king Edward's book, went to the parish priest (whose name was Cotes), and asked him after which sort he would administer the sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest should have it after the popish manner.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of which the one gave his wife leave to do as she thought best. The other went about with threats to compel his wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they withdrew themselves from church, resorting to their wonted company, only Foxe's wife tarried still at home, in heaviness, whose husband practised with the curate in the mean time, that the next day after he should give her the sacrament, which was the seventeenth day after Easter. But the very same day, unknowing to her husband, she went secretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of good cheer, and said, that they would make their most earnest prayers to God both for her and her husband; and indeed when they had so done, the matter took very good success. For the next day after, Goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith; to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the bishop of Norwich sent



sent forth certain of his officers or apparators thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way on purpose to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the church on the day appointed, the commissary did first suspend them, according to the bishop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an officer of the town was set to take some of them, they convening themselves privily out of the town, escaped all danger.

#### *The Congregation in London.*

**N**O less wonderful was the preservation of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of queen Mary to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device, searching, and inquisition of men, or strictness of laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever working with his people. Of this bountiful goodness of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which I now speak of. How often, and in what great danger did he deliver them!

First, In Black-friars, when they should have resorted to sir Thomas Carden's house, private watch was laid for them, but yet through God's providence the mischief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again; they narrowly escaped about Aldgate, where spies were laid for them: and had not Thomas Simson, the deacon, espied them, and bid them disperse themselves away, they had been taken. For within two hours, the constables coming to the house after they were gone, demanded of the wife what company had been there. To whom she, to excuse the matter, made answer again, saying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfast as they went a maying.

Another time also about the Great Conduit, they passing there through a very narrow alley, into a cloth-worker's loft, were espied, and the sheriffs sent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately shifted away out of the alley, John Ayles standing alone in the mercers chapel, staring at them.

Another like escape they made in a ship at Billingsgate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open sight of the people they were assembled together, and yet through God's mighty power escaped.

Betwixt Ratcliff and Redriff, in a ship called Jesus ship, twice or thrice they assembled, having there closely, after their accustomed manner, both sermon, prayer, and communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, although not unespied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's house in Pudding-lane, so near were they to perils and dangers, that John Ayles coming into the house where they were, talked with the man of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed; God so working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to take them.

But they never escaped more hardly, than once in Thames-street in the night-time, where the house being beset with enemies, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that present in the same company, and seeing no other way to avoid, pluckt off his slops and swam to the next boat, and so rowed the company over, using his shoes instead of oars; and so the jeopardy was dispatched.

What should I speak of the extreme danger which that goodly company was in at the taking of Mr. Rough, their minister, and Cutbert Simson, their deacon, had not God's providence given knowledge before to Mr. Rough in his sleep, that Cutbert Simson should leave behind him at home the book of all their

names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were sometimes forty, sometimes an hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometimes more, sometimes less. About the latter time of queen Mary it greatly increased. From the beginning, which was about the first entry of queen Mary's reign, they had divers ministers; first, Mr. Scamier, then Tho. Foule, after him Mr. Rough, then Mr. Augustine Bernher, and lastly, Mr. Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which Mr. Bentham (being now bishop of Coventry and Litchfield), God's mighty providence most notably is to be considered. The story is thus:

On a time when seven martyrs were burnt in Smithfield, a proclamation was issued out, strictly forbidding all persons whatsoever either to salute, or pray for, the prisoners as they came to the stake: the godly people hearing this, great numbers of them assembled together, resolving to comfort and encourage them by their prayers: and when they came towards the stake, well guarded by officers armed with bills and glieves as usual, the whole congregation ran in upon them, kissing and embracing them, (not minding the officers and their weapons) and carried them to the stake, and might as well have carried them off, for aught the officers could do to prevent it.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation was read with a loud voice to the people in the names of the king and queen, That no man should pray for them, or once speak a word unto them. Mr. Bentham, then minister of the congregation, seeing the fire set to the martyrs, turned his eyes to his people and said, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but say, God strengthen them: and then he boldly said, Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them. With that all the people with one consent, and one voice, said, Amen, Amen. The noise whereof was so great, that the officers could not tell what to say, or whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful assembling together at London in the time of queen Mary.

Another time, as Mr. Bentham was going through St. Catherine's, intending to take a walk in the air, he was forced by two or three men to go along with them. Mr. Bentham being amazed at the suddenness of the matter, required what their purpose was, or whither they would have him go. They answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's inquest was called and charged to sit upon him, of which inquest he must of necessity be one, &c. He endeavoured to excuse himself alledging that he had no skill, and less experience in such matters; and if it would please them to let him go, they would meet with another more fit for their purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he further urged, that he was a scholar in the university of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inquest. The coroner demanded the sight of his privilege. He said, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the coroner, The queen must be served without delay; and so constrained him to be at the hearing of the matter. Then a book was offered him to swear upon; upon his opening it, he found it to be a popish primmer, and refused to swear thereon, and declared moreover what superstition in the book was contained. What, said the coroner, I think we shall have an heretic among us. And upon that, after much reasoning, he was committed to the custody of an officer till further examination: by occasion whereof he hardly could have escaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? As they were thus contending about matters of heresy, suddenly cometh the coroner of the admiralty, disannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first coroner was discharged and displaced; by reason whereof Mr. Bentham escaped their hands.

EDWARD



## EDWARD BENNET.

**A**BOUT the second year of queen Mary, Edward Bennet, then dwelling at Queenhithe, was desired by Mr. Tingle, then prisoner in Newgate, to bring him a New Testament. He procured one of Mr. Coverdale's translation, wrapt it in a handkerchief, saying to George the keeper, who asked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. Let me see it, said he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to sir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did so, saying that book was not lawful, and so committed him to Wood-street Compter, where he continued twenty-five weeks.

Dr. Story coming to the prison to examine other prisoners, this Bennet looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out, for he had long lain in prison. To whom Dr. Story answered, Wast thou not before me in Christ's church? Yes forsooth, said Bennet. Ah, said Story, thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar? Marry, I will help thee out; come, said he to the keeper, turn him out. I will help him; and so took Bennet with him, and brought him to Cluny, in Paternoster-row, and bade him bring him to the Coal-house, and there he was in the stocks a week.

Then the bishop sent for him to talk with him, and first asked him, if he were confessed? No, said Bennet. He asked him if he would be confessed? No, said he. Then he asked him if the priest could take away his sins. No, said Bennet, I do not so believe.

Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatsoever the priest bound here in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth in earth should be loosed in heaven. No, said Bennet; but I believe that the minister of God, preaching God's word truly, and administering the sacraments according to the same, whatsoever he bindeth on earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth, &c. Then the bishop putting him aside, said he should go to Fulham and be whipped.

Mr. Buswell, a priest, then came to him lying in the Coal-house, in the stocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, saying, that he had recanted. My faith, said the other, lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next Saturday, Bennet with five others were called for to come to mass in the chapel. The mass being done, and they coming out, five of them went to prison, and were afterwards burned. Bennet being behind, and coming toward the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. No, said they. Bennet standing in open sight before him, with other serving men who were there by reason that Bonner made many priests that day, when the gates were opened, went out amongst them and so escaped.

Again, in the last year of queen Mary, the same Bennet being taken again with the twenty-four beyond Islington, and brought to sir Roger Cholmley's, the people coming very thick, did cut off some of them, to the number of eight, which were behind, among whom was Bennet. Then he knocked at the gate to come in, the porter said, that he was none of the company. He said, Yes, and knocked again. Then there stood by one of the congregation, named Johnson, who said, Edward, thou hast done well, do not tempt God: go thy way. And so he taking the warning as sent of God, with a quiet conscience eschewed burning.

JEFFERY HURST, *Brother-in-law to* GEORGE MARSH, Martyr.

**I**N the town of Shakerley, in Lancashire, dwelt one Jeffery Hurst, the son of an honest yeoman, who had besides him eleven children, the said Jeffery being the first and eldest: and their father being willing to bring them up, so that they should be able another day to help themselves, he did bind this Jeffery apprentice

unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and served out the time of seven years, which being expired he gave himself at times to learn of his other brethren which went to school; and as he was very willing to the same, so God sent him knowledge; wherein he persevered and went forwards in such sort, that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuance came by more knowledge; and so having the Bible and divers other books in his house, did come to knowledge in the scripture. After this he took to wife the sister of Mr. George Marsh, of whose martyrdom mention is made before, and being very familiar with him, did greatly amend his knowledge. Now when queen Mary was entered the first year of her reign, he kept himself away from their doings, and came not to the church: whereupon he was laid in wait for and called heretic, and Lollard, and so for fear of further danger he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and fly into Yorkshire, and there being not known, did lead his life, returning sometimes by night to comfort his wife, and bringing with him some preacher or other, who used to preach unto them so long as the time would serve, and so departed by night again. The names of the preachers were, Mr. Reneses, Mr. Best, Mr. Brodbanke, Mr. Ruffel, and every time they came thither they were about twenty or twenty-four sometimes, but sixteen at least, who had there also a communion. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the last year of the reign of queen Mary. Then it chanced that the said Jeffery Hurst, after the death of his father, came home and kept close for seven or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morles, a certain justice of the peace, and of the quorum, named Thomas Lelond, who hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's house where he then dwelt, to rifle the house for books, and to search for him also, and so he did. Jeffery and his company having knowledge of their coming, took the books which were in the house, as the Bible, the communion book, and the New Testament of Tindal's translation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or vat, conveying also the said Jeffery under the same, with a great deal of straw underneath him; for as it chanced they had the more time, because when the justice came almost to the door, he stayed and would not enter the house till he had sent for Hurst's mother's landlady, Mrs. Shakerley; and then with her consent intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery by such as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Testament of Tindal's translation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the book of Ecclesiasticus, to try what they would say unto them.

This done, Mrs. Shakerley came. Unto whom the justice immediately declared the cause of his coming, and how he was sorry to attempt any such thing against any of her tenants for her sake, but notwithstanding he must needs execute his office. And again you must (said he) note this, that a scabbed sheep is able to infect a great number; and especially having, as he hath, so many brethren and sisters, he is able to marr them all, if he be not looked to in time. And thus concluding, Mr. Lelond entered into the house, and being come in, set himself in a chair in the middle of the house, and sending sir Ralph Parkinson, his priest, and one of his men, and one of Mrs. Shakerley's men, about the house, to search and rifle the chests (who did so), in the mean time he talked with Hurst's mother, almost sixty years of age; and chiding with her that she would suffer her son so to order and behave himself like an heretic, said, Thou old fool, I know myself that this new learning shall come again; but for how long? even for three or four months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old fool, in Lancaster dungeon for this, and well worthy.

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as grammar, and such like. These be not what we look for (said they), we must see farther, and so looked into Hurst's chamber, where they found the aforesaid books. Then sir Ralph taking up the Tes-



tament, looked on it, and smiled. His master seeing that, said, Now, sir Ralph, what have we here? Forsooth, saith he, a Testament of Tindal's translation, plain heresy, and none worse than it. Then said he, all their goods are lost to the queen, and their bodies to prison, and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding, through the means of Mrs. Shakerley, he was content to stay a little.

Then the priest looked on the other book. What say you to that, sir Ralph? is that as bad as the other? No, said he, but it is not good that they should have such English books to look on, for this and such others may do much harm. Then he asked his mother where her eldest son was, and her daughter Alice. She answered she could not tell; they had not been with her a long time. And he swore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaster dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short, for fear, he had his brother J. Hurst and his mother bound in an hundred pounds to bring the parties before him in fourteen days time, and so he departed, and the priest put both the books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurst went after them, desiring that he might have the book which the priest found no fault with; but he said, they should answer to them both, and which soever was the better, neither was good.

As this passed on, when the time was come that Jeffery Hurst and his sister should be examined, the justice sent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a mass to begin withal, asking Jeffery Hurst if he would first go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom Jeffery answered and said, Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am assured in going to your mass I shall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excused.

Well, well, said he, I perceive I shall find you an heretic, by God; but I will go to mass, and I will not lose it for all your prattling. Then he went into his chapel, and when mass was done he sent for them, and caused his priest to read a scroll unto them concerning the seven sacraments; and ever as he spake of the body and blood of Christ, he put off his cap, and said, Lo, you may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your prince; but you shall feel it before I have done with you, and all the faculty of you, with other talk more between them, I know not what; but in the end they were licensed to depart under sureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to Lancaster. However, in the mean time it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the said Jeffery Hurst had his two books sent home, and nothing was said unto him.

It followed after this that God's word began to take place, and the queen's visitors came down into that country, who chose four men in the parish, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurst, Henry Brown, George Eccersley, which four were protestants, to see the queen's proceedings take place; who according to their power did so, notwithstanding it little prevailed; and therefore the said Jeffery being sorely grieved with the office, fell sick, in which sickness it pleased God to call him, making a very godly end, God have the praise for it.

Now to return to the aforesaid Thomas Lelond again, he continued still in his office, did very seldom come to the church, but said he was aged, and might not labour, and there kept with him sir Ralph Parkinson, his priest, who could (as it was said) administer the communion unto the people, and sing mass unto his master: yes, and (as the same reported) did a prettier feat than all that, for he begat two children by a servant in his house, his master knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good mass-priest.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same justice Lelond's behaviour at church time, he had a little dog which he would play with all service time, and the same dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them molested and troubled others as well as himself,

from hearing the service. Also it was observed in the same justice, that as he sat in his chapel at service time, his manner was on a willow bark to knit knots, for that, he could not be suffered to have his beads, and to put the same upon a string also. Witness hereof Edward Hurst, with others.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Brown, one of the four chosen men before-mentioned, this is also to be noted, that the said Henry Brown, dwelling in the town of Pinnington, in the same parish, 1564, had a little boy, who as he was playing in the town, one Glave's wife gave unto the boy a pair of beads made of wood for him to play withal. the little boy, being glad thereof to have such a fine thing, went home and shewed them to his father. His father seeing the beads took them and burnt them, and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy that pair of beads.

That I did, said Glave's wife.

Well, said he, I have burnt them.

Hast thou so? said she, and thrust him from her. They shall be the dearest beads that ever thou sawest, and immediately went and complained unto the justice, how Brown had burned her beads.

At this the justice was very angry, and directed his letter unto the constables of the said town, by his own hand subscribed; the title of which superscription on the backside was this, "To the constables of Pinnington give this."

This done, the constables according to their charge brought him before the justice at the time appointed; and when the justice came to talk with him, he was in such a heat, that he called him thief, and said that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beads, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse; wherefore (said he) I will lay thee in Lancaster dungeon for this trick.

Whilst they were thus talking, there came all his servants about them from their work, saying, Is this master doctor Brown, that will burn beads? I pray you, sir, let us have him here and preach: I will give you a quarter's wages, saith one; and I will give you money, saith another, and he shall be master doctor, with much derision and scoffing at this poor man.

He hearing this, spake again boldly, and said, Did you send for me to make a laughing-stock of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and see such papistry abolished yourself, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church as you ought to do, and therefore with more things than I have to charge you withal, I say you do not well. When all this misdemeanour by the justice laid to his charge would not prevail, and also a witness came in of the papist who knew the beads, and testified that they were plain, and cost but a half-penny, he then went into his parlour in a passion, and one master Exberston, a papist, with him; which Exberston turned back, and said, Is it you, Henry Brown, that maketh this stir? You are one of them that pulled down crosses in the church, and pulled down the rood-sollor, and all the saints; you were best now to go paint a black devil, and set him up and worship him, for that will serve well for your religion. And thus, under suretyship, he departed till July following, and then he said he should go to Lancaster prison, and so he came away.

The time drew on that he should appear, but God stayed the matter, and in July as the aforesaid Thomas Lelond sat in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down suddenly dead, not much moving any joint: and thus was his end; from such God defend us.

WILLIAM WOOD, of Kent.

WILLIAM WOOD, baker, dwelling in the county of Kent, was examined before Dr. Kenall, chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, Dr. Chedsey, the mayor of Rochester, and Mr. Robinson, the scribe, on the 19th day of October, and in the



the second year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas church in Rochester.

*Scribe.* William Wood, you are presented because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the Altar. How say you? Have you received it, or have you not?

*Wood.* I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you minister it.

*Kenall.* Thou heretic, what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed sacrament of the altar? And at this word they all put off their caps; and made low obeisance.

*Wood.* There are three causes that make my conscience afraid that I dare not receive it. The first, Christ did deliver it to his twelve apostles and said, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c. and ye eat and drink up alone. The second cause is; you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. The third cause is; you administer it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I would rather have five words with understanding, than ten thousand with tongues; by reason whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Christ.

*Kenall.* Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than these, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Wilt thou deny the scriptures?

*Wood.* I will not deny the holy scriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul saith, "God calleth those things that are not, as though they were:" and Christ saith, "I am a vine: I am a door." St. Paul saith, "The rock is Christ:" All which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.

*Robinson.* You make a very long talk of this matter: learn, Wood, learn.

*Kenall.* Nay, these heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himself: thou fool, art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?

*Wood.* And please you, Mr. Chancellor, I think you would be loth to have such glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the servant is not greater than his master. And where you do mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul saith, "The wisdom of the wise of this world is foolishness before God, and he that will be wise in this world, shall be accounted but a fool."

*Kenall.* Dost not thou believe that after these words spoken by a priest, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "this is my body;" there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the cross?

*Wood.* I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after.

*Kenall.* It is some wise question, I warrant you.

*Wood.* God spake to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, "Thou son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of thy head, and take one part and cast it into the air, take the second part and put it into thy coat lap; and take the third part, and cast it into the fire: and this is Jerusalem." I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did cast into the fire, or was it Jerusalem?

*Kenall.* It did signify Jerusalem.

*Wood.* Even so this word of Christ, "This is my body," is not to be understood, that Christ's carnal, natural and real body is in the same, in quantity and quality as it was born of the virgin Mary, and as he was crucified on the cross, is present or inclosed in the sacrament; but it doth signify Christ's body, as St. Paul saith, "So often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall shew forth the Lord's death till he come." What should the apostle mean by this word, "Till he come," if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the

virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul saith, "You shall shew the Lord's death till he come." This doth argue, that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

*Chedsey.* I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread; but not in quantity and quality.

*Kenall.* Yes he is here present in quantity and quality.

*Chedsey.* He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, said Kenall.

No, said Chedsey.

I will prove the contrary, said Chedsey.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending so fiercely one with the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to spit in another's face, so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment seat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

*Wood.* Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves how he is there.

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the pharisees and sadduces, did even so deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papists, by means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath promised to lay no more upon his people than he will enable them to bear, and in the midst of temptation can make a way for them (how, and when it pleaseth him) to escape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect saints and children, a remarkable instance of which may be seen in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon, in his own words as followeth.

*The History of SIMON GRINÆUS, collected out of Melancthon's Commentaries upon the tenth Chapter of Daniel.*

WHEN I was (saith he) at the assembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1539, by chance Simon Grinæus came thither unto me from the university of Heidelberg; where he heard Faber, the bishop of Vienna, in a sermon, defend and maintain many detestable errors. When the sermon was done, he followed Faber out of the church, and saluted him reverently, telling him that he had something to say to him: the bishop was willing to talk with him.

Then Grinæus said unto him, that he was very sorry that a man of such learning and authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumelious against God, and also might be refuted by the manifest testimonies of the scriptures. Ireneus writeth, (saith he) that Polycarpus was wont to stop his ears whensoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarpus have heard you argue and reason what is it that the mouse eateth, when he gnaweth the consecrated host? Who would not bewail such ignorance and blindness of the church? With this the bishop broke off his talk, and asked his name. This man, dissembling nothing, gently told him that his name was Grinæus.

This bishop, as many well know, was also timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grinæus, especially in such a matter as this was, fained as though he had been sent for by the king, and that he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter



matter. He pretended that he was very desirous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grinæus, intreating him, that, both for his own private cause, and also for the commonwealth, he would come again the next day unto him, and so shewed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he should come. Grinæus, thinking that he had spoken unfeignedly, promised so to do.

When he was departed from the bishop, he immediately came to us, and was scarcely sat at the table (for it was supper-time) reciting part of the talk he had with the bishop unto me, and others there present, when, sitting with my company, I was suddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who shewing a singular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spake unto me, and said, that the serjeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being sent by the king's command, to carry Grinæus to prison, whom the bishop had accused to the king; commanding that Grinæus should immediately depart out of the town; and exhorting me, that we should in no case delay the time: and so bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, I neither knew then, nor ever after could understand. I returning again to my company, bade them arise, and told them what the old man had said unto me.

By and by, we taking Grinæus in the midst of us, carried him through the street to the river Rhene; and after we had stayed upon the hither bank awhile, until Grinæus with his companion were carried over in a small boat, returning again to our lodging, we understood that the serjeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the house. Now in what danger Grinæus would have been, if he had been carried to prison by this cruelty of the bishop, every man easily may conjecture: wherefore we judged that that most cruel intent and purpose of his was disappointed by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot say what old man it was that gave me that warning, even so likewise the serjeants made such quick speed, that, except Grinæus had been covered and defended by angels, through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have escaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there are many good men yet alive who know the same, and also were present when this circumstance happened. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, who hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfil and do the office of our vocation.

With such like examples of God's mighty and merciful custody, the church of Christ in all ages abounds, as by manifold experience appears, as well among the Germans, as in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor at any time more plentiful, than in the persecuting time of queen Mary, in this realm of England, as partly hath been already shewn, and will hereunto be added.

#### *The Lady Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk.*

**S**TEPHEN GARDINER, bishop of Winchester, surmising the lady Catherine, baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and duchess dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, first, by touching her in the person of her husband, Richard Bertie, esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great seal at his devotion) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter, commanding most strictly the same sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London to his Lordship. Mr. Bertie being clear in conscience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take a bond of Mr. Bertie, with two sureties, in a thousand pounds, for his appearance before the bishop on Good-Friday following; at which day Mr. Bertie appeared, the bishop then being at his house by St. Mary Overy's. Of whose presence when the bishop understood by a gentleman of his chamber, he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber in great rage, where he found a crowd of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. Bertie, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the queen.

Mr. Bertie answered, that notwithstanding my lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp towards him, yet he received great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremely hard to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process: none, however, came to his hands.

Yea, marry, said the bishop, I have sent you two subpoenas to appear immediately, and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse a man than Mr. Solicitor; and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacy.

Mr. Bertie denying the receipt of any subpoena, humbly prayed his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, said the bishop, I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same for devotion, and I will not further trouble myself with you; but I injoin you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at seven of the clock. Mr. Bertie came at the time appointed, at which time the bishop had with him Mr. Serjeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Mr. Bertie, because Mr. Serjeant was towards the lord Wriothesley, late earl of Southampton, and chancellor of England, with whom the said Mr. Bertie was brought up. Mr. Serjeant gave a very friendly account of Mr. Bertie, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the bishop caused Mr. Bertie to be brought in, and first making a false train (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he first assaulted him in this manner.

*Bishop of Winchester.* The queen's pleasure is, that you shall make present payment of 4000 pounds, due to her father by duke Charles, late husband to the duchess your wife, whose executor she was.

*Bertie.* Pleaseth it your lordship, that debt is installed, and is, according to that instalment, truly answered.

*Bishop.* Tush, the queen will not be bound to instalments in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government.

*Bertie.* The instalment was appointed by king Henry the Eighth; besides, the same was, by special commissioners, confirmed in king Edward's time; and the lord treasurer being an executor also to the duke Charles, solely and wholly, took upon him, before the said commissioners, to discharge the same.

*Bishop.* If it be true that you say, I will shew you favour. But of another thing, Mr. Bertie, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear of your evil religion, yet I can hardly think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly a catholic as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education, if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may ask the question of my lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mails, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused, in her progress, a dog to be carried in a rochet, and called by my name? or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, who said to me, when



when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the Tower, That it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my lord, her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to chuse him whom she loved best, and so place themselves: my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for my lord would not have her to take himself, said, That, forasmuch as she could not sit down with my lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst.

Of the device of the dog, quoth Mr. Berty, she was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your lordship, yet if it would please you, without offence, to know the cause, I am sure the one will clear the other. As touching setting up of mas, which she learned, not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent learned men, but by universal consent and order, these six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ shew herself a false christian, and to her prince a masquing subject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporisers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where salvation is pretended.

Yea, marry, quoth the bishop, that deliberation would do well if she were required to come from an old religion to a new: but now she is to return from a new to an ancient religion; wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any.

For that, my lord, (said Mr. Berty) not long since she answered a friend of her's, using your lordship's speech, That religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment.

I pray you, (quoth the bishop) think you it possible to persuade her?

Yea verily (said Mr. Berty) with the truth: for she is reasonable enough.

The bishop, in reply to this, said, It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the queen and my lady your wife, and one of them gone from the faith.

Mr. Berty answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her.

The bishop then persuaded Mr. Berty to labour earnestly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

The duchess and her husband, from the daily accounts which they received from their friends, understanding that the bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised how they might pass the seas by the queen's licence. Mr. Berty had a ready means; for there remained great sums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the duchess was) beyond the seas, the emperor himself being one of those debtors.

Mr. Berty communicated this his purposed suit for licence to pass the seas, and the cause, to the bishop, adding, that he took this to be the most proper time to deal with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his son.

I like your device well, said the bishop, but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father.

Nay, said Mr. Berty, under your lordship's correction, and pardon for so liberal speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient; for when the marriage is consummated, the emperor hath his desire, but till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with us.

By St. Mary, said the bishop, smiling, you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand.

Mr. Berty found so good success, that he obtained the queen's licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them as often as he should think proper, till he had finished his business beyond the seas. He

accordingly embarked at Dover, about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the duchess behind, who, by agreement with her husband, followed, taking barge at Lion-key, very early in the morning of the first of January ensuing, not without some danger.

None of the persons who accompanied her, except Mr. Robert Cranwell, an old gentleman, whom Mr. Berty had provided for that purpose, were made privy to her departure till the instant. She took her daughter with her, an infant of one year old, and the meanest of her servants, for she imagined the best would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, who was a rider of horses; another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, a kitchen-maid, a gentlewoman, and a laundress.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, between four and five o'clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing a noise, rose and came out with a torch in his hand, as she was going out of the gate; wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk, in the same gate-house, commanding all her servants to hasten forward to Lion-key: and taking with her only the two women and her child, as soon as she was clear of her own house, perceiving the herald to follow, she stepped into the Charter-house just by. The herald coming out of the duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting) that she was departed, returned in; and while he was searching the parcels left in the mail, the duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded on her journey, she knowing the place only by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any that was with her. Likewise her servants having divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said Lion-key.

So she appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown, she took the way that leads to Finsbury field; and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they passed directly to Lion-key, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steer's-man was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure, and some of them came forthwith to her house to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchess, naming her Mrs. White, the daughter of Mr. Gosling, for such a daughter he had who never was in that country. She there reposed herself, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, (where she was again almost betrayed) yet notwithstanding by God's good working she escaped that hazard; at length, as the tide and wind served, they went aboard, and carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was on shore for fresh provision, and finding by the simplicity of his tale only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be on ship-board, he ceased to search any further.

To be short, so soon as the duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hooks; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town called Santon, took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place where to settle themselves.



About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wefell, under the said Duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans-towns, privileged with the company of the Steel-yard, in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the duchess's hands. Mr. Berty being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his, and his wife's abode at Wefell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to shew them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

In the mean while at the town of Santon was a muttering, that the duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth: and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arras also being dean of the great minister, orders were taken that the duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon a sudden. Which being discovered by a gentleman of that country to Mr. Berty, he without delay taking no more than the duchess, her daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more than to take the air, about three o'clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring either horse or waggon, for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant privately that night to get to Wefell, leaving the rest of his family at Santon.

After they had travelled one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (which only went with them) to a village as they passed, to hire a car for their ease, but none could be hired. In the mean time Mr. Berty was forced to carry the child, and the duchess his cloak and rapier. At last between six and seven o'clock of a dark night, they came to Wefell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and some repose, after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn, offering large sums of money for a small lodging, they were refused by all the inn-holders, suspecting Mr. Berty to be a launce-knight, and the duchess to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pitifully, the mother wept as fast, and the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.

Mr. Berty, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Mr. Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by bad weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian, or Latin, till at last going towards the church-porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house where Mr. Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock, the good man of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked Mr. Berty who he was. Mr. Berty said, an Englishman, that sought for one Mr. Perusell's house. The Walloon desired Mr. Berty to stay a while, then went back, and told Mr. Perusell, that the same English gentleman, of whom he had talked at supper-time, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Mr. Perusell came to the door, and beholding Mr. Berty, the duchess, and their child, their faces, apparel, and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor they to him for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth full joyfully; Mr. Berty changing his

apparel with the good man, the duchess with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within a few days after, by Mr. Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not delay to shew themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole town, what discourtesy the inn-holders had shewed unto them at their entry, insomuch that on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly in sharp terms rebuked that great incivility toward strangers, by allegation of sundry places out of the holy scriptures, discoursing how not only princes sometimes are received in the image of private persons, but angels in the shape of men, and that God of his justice would make them strangers one day in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger.

The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watch-word came from sir John Mason, then queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wefell for the service of the house of Austria against the French king, the said duchess and her husband should be with the same company intercepted.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Mr. Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Wineheim, under the Palsgrave's dominion; where under his protection they continued till their necessities began to fail them, and they, almost fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At which time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly to them, letters from the Palatine of Vilva, that the king of Poland was informed of their hard estate by a baron, named Joannes Alasco, that was sometime in England, offering them great courtesy. This provision unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy spirits. Yet considering they should remove from many of their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, a country not frequented by the English, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding what they looked for, the end of their journey should be worse than the beginning, they advised thereupon with one Mr. Carloe, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him agreeable, they sent with him letters of thanks to the king and Palatine, and also a few principal jewels (which only they had left of many), to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letters had offered.

That favour, by the forwardness of the Palatine, was as soon granted as uttered. Upon which assurance the said duchess and her husband, with their family, began their journey in April, 1557, from the castle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort. In which their journey, it were too long here to describe what dangers fell by the way, upon them and their whole company, by reason of the Landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of Mr. Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears through the waggon where the women and children were, Mr. Berty having but four horsemen along with him. In which scuffle it happened that the captain's horse was slain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was spread immediately through the towns and villages about, that the Landgrave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which exasperated the countrymen the more fiercely against Mr. Berty, as afterwards it proved. For being motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to reach some town thereby for his rescue, he so doing, was in worse case than before: for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no less but that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would have it) espied a ladder leaning to a window, by which he got into the house.



house, and went up into the garret; where, with his dagger and rapier he defended himself for a time: but at length the burgh-master coming thither with another magistrate, who could speak Latin, he was advised to submit himself to the order of the law. Mr. Berty knowing himself to be clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive him upon safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, he willingly delivered up his weapons, and peaceably surrendered himself into the hands of the magistrates, and so was committed to safe custody till the truth of his cause could be tried.

Then Mr. Berty wrote a letter to the Landgrave, and another to the earl of Erbagh, dwelling about eight miles off, who came early in the morning to the town, where the duchess was brought with her waggon, Mr. Berty also being in the same town under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence before of the duchess, after he had come and had shewn her such courtesy as he thought belonged to her estate and dignity, the townsmen perceiving the earl behave himself so humbly to her, began to consider more of the matter, and further understanding the captain to be alive, both they and the authors of this stir, drew in their horns, shrunk away, and made all the friends they could to Mr. Berty and his lady, beseeching them not to report their doings after the worst manner.

And thus Mr. Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained by the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the said king of the Poles, in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Mr. Berty with the duchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued in honour, peace and plenty, till the death of queen Mary.

#### THOMAS HORTON, Minister.

**T**HOMAS HORTON used often to travel between Germany and England, for the benefit and sustenance of the poor English exiles there: so he journeying on a time between Maestricht and Cologne, chanced to be taken by certain rovers, and so being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

#### THOMAS SPRAT, of Kent, Tanner.

**H**E had been some time a servant to one justice Brent, a heavy persecutor, and therefore forsaking his master for religion's sake, he went to Calais, (accompanied by one William Porrege, who was afterwards a minister) from whence they used often for their necessary affairs to have recourse to England.

In the fourth year of queen Mary they landed at Dover, and taking their journey together towards Sandwich, suddenly upon the way, three miles from Dover, they happened to meet justice Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen with their servants, to the number of ten or twelve horses. One of the Blachendens happened to know William Porrege, the other had only heard of his name.

Sprat first espying his master Brent, was much surprised, saying to his companion, yonder is Mr. Brent, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth Porrege, seeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And so thinking to pass by them, they kept themselves at a distance, Sprat also shadowing his face with his cloak.

One of Mr. Brent's servants knowing Sprat, called out to his master, saying, Yonder is Thomas Sprat; at which words they all stopt their horses, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, said William Porrege; now there is no remedy, but we are

taken: and so would have persuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, and but one hedge about a stone's throw off. All this notwithstanding, Sprat staid, and would not go. Then they called again, sitting still on horseback. Ah, firrah, quoth the justice, why come you not hither? And still his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no hope of getting away. Nay, said Sprat, I will not go to them; and therewith took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They seeing that, set spurs to their horses, thinking it impossible for him to escape their hands. When he got to the hedge, scrambling through the bushes, they were at his heels, and struck at him with their swords, one of the Blachendens (both of them haters of God's word) cruelly crying, Cut one of his legs off.

He had no sooner got through the hedge, but one of justice Brent's servants (a fellow that had some time been his fellow-servant) followed him on foot: the rest rode up the other side of the hedge to meet him at the end.

While they were following Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege (which was one of the Blachendens, but not he that knew him), who began to question him, not asking what was his name (as God would have it) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he got into Sprat's company, and whither he was going: he answered, that he came from Calais, and Sprat came over with him in the passage-boat, and they were both going to Sandwich: and so without any more questions he let him depart. But to return.

As Sprat was pursued on the one side of the hedge by his old fellow-servant in his boots, and on the other side by horsemen, his fellow-servant cried out, You had as good tarry: for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithstanding he still kept his course till he came to a steep down-hill at the end of the hedge, down which he ran from them, for the horsemen could not follow him without fetching a great compass about. After he had ran almost a mile he got into a wood, but by that time they were just behind him: but night coming on, and it beginning to rain, they pursued him no further. And thus by the providence of God they both got clear.

Not long after this, one of the two cruel Blachendens was murdered by his own servant.

#### JOHN CORNET.

**T**HIS young man was apprentice to a musician at Colchester, and being sent by his master to a wedding (in the second year of queen Mary), in a town hard by, called Rough-hedge, was requested by a company there of good men (the constables being present), to sing some songs of the scripture: he happened to sing a song, called, News out of London, which tended against the mass, and against the queen's mis-proceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge, called Yackfley, and committed, first to the constable, where his master gave him over, and his mother forsook and cursed him. From thence he was sent to Justice Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was first put in irons and chains, and after that so manacled, that the blood spirted out of his finger's ends, because he would not confess the names of those who allured him to sing. After that, he was sent again to Rough-hedge, and there whipped till the blood followed, and banished the town for ever.

#### THOMAS BRYCE.

**H**E being in the house of John Seal, in the parish of Horting, the bailiff and other neighbours were sent by sir John Baker, to search for, and apprehend him, and though they perfectly knew his stature and the colour of his garments, yet then they had no power to know him, though he stood before their faces. So miraculously did the Almighty dazzle their eyes, that they



they asked for him, and looked on him, yet notwithstanding he quietly took his bag of books, and departed out of the house without any hand laid upon him.

Also another time, about the second year of queen Mary, the said Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce, his elder brother, coming then from Wesell, meeting together at their father's house, as they travelled towards London, to give warning to one Springfield there, which else was like to be taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon Gad's-hill, fell into company with a promoter, who dogged and followed them again to Gravesend, into the town, and laid the house for them where they were, all the way they should go to the water's side, so that it had not been possible for them to have avoided the present danger of those persecutors, had not God's provident care otherwise disposed for his servants, through the ostler of the inn, who conveyed them under cover by a secret passage; whereby they took barge a mile out of town, and so in the end both the lives of them, and also Springfield, were preserved, through God's gracious protection.

#### GERTRUDE CROKHAY.

**GERTRUDE CROKHAY**, dwelling in St. Catherine's, by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband's house, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope's childish Saint Nicholas went about the parish. Which she understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into the house.

Then doctor Mallet hearing thereof, and being then master of the said St. Catherine's, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to affright her, and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus: Sir, I know not that St. Nicholas came hither. Yes, quoth Mallet, here was one that represented St. Nicholas.

Indeed sir, (said she) here was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purse cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks, &c. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time escaped.

Then in the year 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the service-book in king Edward's time; and that being soon known to her enemies, she was sought for; who understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Guelderland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at length coming home by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, shipper, who seeing her there, went out of malice to the Margrave, and accused her of being an anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why he did thus, was because he claimed of Mr. Crokhay, her husband, a piece of money which was not his due, for a ship that Mr. Crokhay bought of him, and because he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight. In which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privately were drowned in Rhenish-wine-fats, and after secretly put in sacks and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, expecting to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of which at length she died.

Then at last was she called before the Margrave, and charged with anabaptistry: which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with the profession, at the suit of some of her

friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book, and so she came over into England again.

#### THOMAS ROSE, a Preacher.

**H**E was a Devonshire man, born in Ermouth, and being made priest in that country, was brought out of it by one Mr. Fabian, to Polsted, in Suffolk, where the said Mr. Fabian was parson, and in a short time after by his means was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, first coming to some knowledge of the gospel, began there to treat upon the creed, and thereupon took occasion to inveigh against purgatory, praying to saints and images, about the time that Mr. Latimer began to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur; insomuch that many embracing the truth of Christ's gospel, against the said purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increasing, the adversaries began to stir against him, insomuch that Mr. Bate (who afterwards became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach against the said Thomas Rose; notwithstanding this, he continued still very vehemently against images, and the Lord so blessed his labours, that many began to contrive how they might deface and destroy them, and especially four men, whose names were, Ring, Debnam, Marsh, and Gard, who usually resorted to his sermons, by which they were so inflamed, that soon after they ventured to destroy the rood of the court of Dover, which cost three of them their lives, who were hanged in chains, because they would not accuse Thomas Rose as their counsellor. The said Rose had the coat of the rood brought to him afterwards, who burnt it. The rood was said to have done many and great miracles, yet being in the fire, could not help himself, but burned like a block, as indeed it was.

At this time there were two fore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, two brothers: these complained to the council, that an hundred men were not able to fetch Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was upon examination of his doctrine committed to the commissaries keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that town, that they were much offended that their minister was so taken from them, and had therefore by force brought him from the commissary, if certain wise men had not otherwise persuaded them, who at length also with more quiet placed him in his office again: which so enraged the two brothers, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as aforesaid; whereupon a serjeant at arms was sent from the council to arrest Thomas Rose and bring him before them. Then his adversaries laid to his charge, that he was privy to the burning of the rood at Dover court, and upon this he was committed to prison in the bishop of Lincoln's house in Holborn, where he remained from Shrovetide to Whitsuntide, and great part of the time in the stocks.

The stocks was very high and large, so that day and night he lay with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that the blood was fallen from his feet, which were so benumbed that he could hardly feel them for a long time. By this treatment he fell sick, and the keeper often hearing him cry and groan through extremity of pain, was moved with pity, and went to the bishop and told him, that he would not keep him to die under his hand, and upon this he had some more ease and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to see him, but she was not suffered to speak with him (such was their cruelty), but the bishop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon-beads, and bade her go home and pray, for she might not see him; which thing pierced the hearts both of the mother and the son. At this time also certain men of Hadley, very desirous to see him, endeavoured to speak with him, but might not be suffered, till at length they gave the keeper four shillings, and yet then might not speak to him, or see him, otherwise than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midsummer in prison. Then he was removed to Lambeth, in the first year of Dr. Cranmer's consecration, who used him much more courteously



courteously than ever the bishop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and set him at liberty : but yet so, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the gospel half a year, till Hadley men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley again, and indeed by means of sir John Rainford, knight, obtained at the archbishop's house to have him thither : however, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years, till at length the adversaries procured an inhibition from the bishop of Norwich, to put him to silence. But a great number laboured to have him continue in preaching, and subscribed a supplication to the archbishop, with one hundred and twenty hands, who under their seals also testified of his honest demeanour, so that the adversaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury, in Suffolk, so that he was constrained to flee to London, and to use the aid of the lord Audley, then lord chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after examination of the matter, set him free, and sent him by a token to the lord Cromwell, then lord privy seal, for a licence from the king to preach : which being obtained by the lord Cromwell's means (who hereupon also had admitted the said Thomas Rose his chaplain), forthwith he was sent into Lincolnshire and to York. In the mean time such complaint was made to the duke of Norfolk, for that he preached against auricular confession, transubstantiation, and such other points contained in the six articles (which then to have done, by law was death), that the duke in his own person not only sought him at Norwich, but also beset all the ports for him, from Yarmouth to London ; and being lieutenant, commanded, that whosoever could take the said Thomas Rose, should hang him on the next tree. However, the said Thomas Rose at his coming home, having warning thereof by certain godly persons, was conveyed away and passed over to Flanders, and so to Zurich in Switzerland, where a time he remained with Mr. Bullinger, and afterwards went to Basil, and there hosted with Master Grinæus, till letters came that Master doctor Barnes should be bishop of Norwich, and things should be reformed and restored. But when he came to England again, it was not so, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the seas, being so beset, as if the mighty providence of God had not sent him in readiness to receive him the self same man, boat, and boy that before carried him over, it had been impossible for him to have escaped. But such was the goodness of God towards him, that he safely was conveyed, and lived at Barrow the space of three years, till at length purposing to come over into England, about business that he had, he, his wife, and their child, being but a year and three quarters old, upon the sea, the ship being in great danger, wherein they sailed (for the mast being cut away in that peril, they were carried whithersoever the waves tossed them), they with divers others expected nothing but death. However, at length they were taken prisoners, and carried into Dieppe in France, having all their stuff taken from them, and forty pounds in money. There they remained prisoners from Michaelmas till Allhallowtide, in great heaviness, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's providence. It pleased God at the same time, that one Mr. Young, of the town of Rye (who had heard him preach before), came thither for the redeeming of certain Englishmen there taken prisoners. This Mr. Young moved to see them in this case, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ransom, and so he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye, and from thence by stealth they came to London. At length the honourable earl of Suffex, hearing of the said Thomas Rose, sent for him, his wife, and his child, and had them to his house at Attleborough, where they continued, till at length it was blazoned abroad, that the earl was a maintainer of such a man to read in his house, as had preached against the catholic faith (as they term it) ; the

earl being at the parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warn him to make shift for himself, and to escape. So that from thence he passed to London, making hard shift for a year there and somewhat more, till the death of king Henry. After the king's death, he and others, who in the king's general pardon were excepted (and therefore dead men, if they had been taken whilst king Henry lived), by certain of the council were set at liberty, and after king Edward was crowned, were licensed to preach again by the king, who gave unto the said Thomas Rose the benefice of West-Ham, by London. But at the death of that virtuous and noble prince, he was deprived of all, and so should also have been of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London secretly, as their teacher in the congregation, among whom for the poor prisoners at their assemblies forty-one in a night oftentimes were gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, and with the lady Vane almost a year in the reign of queen Mary. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly whilst he read to the godly in sundry places of London, yet at length through a Judas that betrayed them, he with 35 more were taken in Bow-church yard, at a sheerman's house on New-years day at night. The rest being committed to prison, the said Thomas Rose was had to Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, who would not speak with him that night, but committed him to the Clink, till the Tuesday after.

*The First Examination of THOMAS ROSE, at St. MARY OVERY'S, before the Bishop of Winchester.*

*Rose.* I Wonder, my lord, that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the laws of this realm hath been allowed, and by your own writing so notably in your book *De vera obedientia*, confirmed.

*Bishop.* Ah sirrah, hast thou gotten that ?

*Rose.* Yea, my lord, I thank God, and do confess myself much thereby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of supremacy, against the bishop of Rome's authority, no man hath said further. And as I remember, you confess it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes.

*Bishop.* Thou liest like a varlet, there is no such thing in my book : but I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who are thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer.

*Rose.* My lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more, yet the law is in your hand ; but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At these words one of the servants stepped forth, and said, My lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in sir John Robster's house, and in his prayer he desired God to turn queen Mary's heart, or else to take her out of the world : and this was in king Edward's time.

*Rose.* My lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the king, I mentioned her in this manner, saying, Ye shall pray for my lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws, and so render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good example of the inferior subjects. And this, my lord, is already answered in mine own hand-writing to the council.

Unto this he said little, but turning his face to some that were by him, This is he, said the bishop, that my lord of Norwich told me had gotten his maid with child.

*Rose.* This is no heresy, my lord, although it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached : but for purgation of myself herein I had no less than six of the council's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination of this matter in the



country, by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testify, I thank God, that I am most clear from such wickedness, and indeed they have cleared me from it; and therefore I doubt not but all good men will see the mischievous device of mine adversaries, who, when other means failed, by such sinister means, went about to draw me into discredit and hatred: but God, who is the helper of the innocent, and searcher of men's hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse myself, was one Mr. Clark, servant, and in some estimation with the old lord treasurer of England, reputed and taken for a conjuror, who afterwards hanged himself in the Tower. Then the bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower and kept safely; where I lay till the week before Whitsuntide. After which time I was twice called, when the bishop came to the Tower about other prisoners. Notwithstanding, the bishop had no great talk with me, but spake friendly. One sir Richard Southwell, knight, however, still accused me for my prayer, and said I did put a difference betwixt lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in king Edward's faith, and prayed that he would confirm lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun upon her. Upon this the bishop said little. But in the week before pentecost, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bishop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

*The Second Examination of THOMAS ROSE, before Dr. HOPKINS, Bishop of Norwich, in the Presence of Sir W. WOODHOUSE, Mr. STEWARD the Chancellor, Dr. BARRET, with divers others 1553.*

**A**FTER I was presented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a minister.

*Bishop.* What is this to the purpose? Were you a friar or a priest?

*Rose.* Friar was I never, but a priest have I been, and beneficed by the king's majesty.

*Bishop.* Where were you made priest?

*Rose.* In Exeter, in the county where I was born. Then the bishop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

*Bishop.* Well, you are sent to me to be examined; what say you, will you submit yourself to the order of the church of England.

*Rose.* My lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christ's church in England, neither do I know myself an offender thereagainst.

*Bishop.* What? yes, you have here preached most damnable and devilish doctrine.

*Rose.* Not so, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached was both true, sincere, and holy. But, indeed, the doctrine that is now set forth is most wicked and damnable, yea, and that both against God's laws and men's. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, set out also by the authority of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the nobility and clergy of the same: so that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad seal for confirmation of the same, for which my doing you cannot justly charge me. And since the law ceased, I have kept silence; so that the council which sent me unto you, have not charged me therewith. Wherefore you do me open wrong to burthen me with that wherein I am free.

*Chan.* What, sir? you are very captious; answerest thou my lord after such a sort?

*Rose.* Sir, I answer for myself, and according to the truth; wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

*Chan.* Thou art an evil man. Wast thou not abused before now?

*Rose.* No, you untruly report me, and are in no wise able to prove that which you have spoken: so that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deserved at your hands. But in this I well perceive you are made an instrument to utter other men's malice conceived of old.

*Chan.* What sayest thou to the real presence in the sacrament?

*Rose.* I know right well you are made an instrument to seek innocent blood: well, you may have it, if God permit, it is present at hand, for I am not come hither to lye, but to die (if God see it good) in defence of that which I have said. Wherefore you may begin when you shall think good, for I have said nothing but the truth, and that which, in those days, was by all men allowed for truth, and against which you at that time durst not once whisper, although you now brag ever so much.

*Bishop.* Well, father Rose, whatsoever hath been done in times past, shall not now be called in question, so that you now submit yourself: for not only you, but all the whole realm, hath been out of the right way, both high and low, spiritual and temporal; but all notwithstanding have submitted themselves, and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore if you will be accounted for an Englishman, you must likewise submit yourself.

*Rose.* My lord, I am an Englishman born, and do most humbly require of the christian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit myself as in the form and manner following: That whatsoever law or laws shall be set forth in the same for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that, according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jesus Christ and his holy apostles, with the faithful fathers of Christ's primitive church, I do not only hold it, and believe it, but also most reverently obey it. At which my assertion, the bishop seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, Well, then we shall soon be at a point: but you shall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, so that you shall now depart, and consider with yourself until we call for you again: and so ended our first meeting.

*The Third Examination of THOMAS ROSE.*

**O**N Friday following, I was called again into Christchurch within their lady's chapel, as they termed it, where was gathered a great part of the whole city of Norwich, and after I was presented by my keeper, the bishop began with a great protestation, and after many words, demanded of me, whether I would submit myself or no. I answered as before I had done, that, according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey. Then said the chancellor, (to utter his gentleness) I think you do but feign.

*Rose.* The fault then, said I, shall be in yourself, and not in me: for if you burden me with nothing but scriptures, and the fathers of Christ's primitive church, then, as I said before, so I say again, I shall most gladly obey.

*Chan.* Well then, seeing you challenge to be member of the church of England, your mother here, for a trial of obedience, provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand.

*Rose.* Forsooth, said I, if she offer it me, as received of God my father, I shall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and spiritual mother.

*Chan.* What say you to ear-confession? Is it not a law ecclesiastical and necessary for the church of England?

*Rose.* Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not, and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed word; and yet I deny not, but that a man, being troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober, and christian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted: but to bind a man, under pain of damnation, once every year, to number his sins into the ears of a filthy, lecherous priest, is not of God, neither can be proved by his word.

*Bishop.*



*Bishop.* Ah, firrah; you will admit nothing but scripture, I see well.

*Rose.* No truly, my lord, I admit nothing but scripture for the rule of the soul: for why? faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; and where the word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. And here they left off speaking any more of that matter.

Mr. Chancellor then began to whet his teeth at me, saying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and substantial presence of Christ is not in the sacrament. What say you to that?

*Rose.* Verily, I say that you are a bloody man, and seek to quench your thirst in the blood of an innocent, and therefore, to satisfy you in that behalf, I say verily unto you, that so I have here preached: although, contrary to law you challenge me with the same, yet will I in no wise deny it, though justly I might do it, but stand thereunto, even to seal it with my blood, desiring all that are here present to testify the same, and believe it as the only truth.

*Bishop.* I charge you all to believe it not.

*Rose.* Yea, but my lord, if you will needs have credence given you, you must bring God's word to maintain your sayings.

*Bishop.* Why, doth not Christ say, This is my body? And can there be any plainer words spoken?

*Rose.* It is true, my lord, the words are as plain as can be; and even so are these, where it is said, I am a door, a vine, and Christ called a stone, a lion, and yet is he naturally none of these: for they are all figurative speeches, as both the scriptures and fathers do sufficiently prove.

At which saying, the bishop would have had me stay, saying I should have another day wherein I might take better advice.

*Rose.* Not so, my lord, for I am at a full point with myself in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your transubstantiation, with the real presence, to be against the scriptures and the ancient fathers of the primitive church: for Justin, who is one of the most ancient writers that ever wrote upon the sacrament, writeth in his second apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but are meats purposely obtained to give thanks unto God, and therefore are called Eucharistia, and also have the names of the body and blood of Christ; and that it is not lawful for any man to eat or drink of them, but such as profess the religion of Christ, and live also according to their profession: and yet, saith he, the same bread and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies. By which saying, it is evident that Justin meant, that the bread and wine remain still, or else they could not have turned into our flesh and blood, and nourish our bodies.

At which my saying they were greatly troubled, but enforced themselves to have denied the doctor, and would suffer me to speak no more, but straitway was I carried away unto my lodging: and so ended the second day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitsun week, and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. However, upon what occasion I know not, it was deferred unto Wednesday.

In the mean time, the bishop sent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communications about the real presence. After long reasoning concerning this point, at length I drove them to this issue; whether they did confess that Christ in the self-same body which was conceived of the virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, do in the self-same body naturally, substantially, and really sit at the right-hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment, or not? Whereunto they answered Yes, truly, we confess it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm after the words pronounced by the minister, there to remain flesh, blood, bones, hairs, nails, as is wont most grossly to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation

answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross doctrine, but also would detest themselves, if they should so think.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellously encouraged. Whereupon I demanded of them again, what manner of body they then affirmed it to be in the sacrament? Forsooth, said they, not a visible, palpable, or circumscribable body, for that is always at the Father's right hand; but in the sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's holy word, they know not how.

And for this they brought in St. Augustine, although by them not truly understood, yet they would admit no other sense than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin: so that I, perceiving their obstinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterwards talked with Dr. Barret, whom I also found of the same opinion. For, said he, if you would dissent from the fathers of the primitive church, of which St. Augustine is one, you shall be contented to die out of the favour of God. Well, I gave them over, being obstinate in their errors; however, to bring them to confess that openly which they had granted privately, I granted them according to the scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

After all this, the honourable earl of Suffex came to me, and that gentle knight sir William Woodhouse, with great persuasions: to whom, after long talk, I said, That I would do all that I might, saving my conscience, which I would in no wise pollute: and neither have I, as knoweth God, by whom all men must be judged.

*The Last Examination of THOMAS ROSE before the Bishop.*

**N**OW to come to my last appearance, the bishop forthwith demanded of me, whether I were resolved as he had heard say. To whom I answered, that as I always had said before, even so I was now. Then by low bowing my knee, I gave him my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Suffex was there. At this some who would be counted great gospellers, were (contrary to all christianity) sore offended. I then said, that whatsoever laws were set forth for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Christ's holy apostles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but most earnestly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I said, that if any thing could justly be proved by God's holy word, by me heretofore preached or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, unwarily, or through ignorance, yet by better knowledge, when it shall justly be tried and examined by the same, I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly proved) to revoke the same, provided always the word of God herein be my judge.

All this spake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from suspecting that which I went about, and that they should have no occasion to judge me of obstinacy. Then said I, moreover, all you must of force confess, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the authority of God's eternal verity, the authority of two most noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counsel of all the nobility and clergy of the land, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in both the universities, enacted also by parliament with the consent of the whole body and commons of the same, and that without any resistance or gainsaying established, as a religion most pure and perfect, most earnestly and sincerely preached by the principal bishops and doctors, and that before the king's majesty's person; and I, as one who was called to that office, did the like with all the rest, and in the zeal of God, and with a pure conscience, did set forth the same,



as the only and absolute truth of God, and the just and most true proceedings of my sovereign lord and king: and I had then my head where it now standeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the same, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was established and taught, as the only and absolute truth, and a thing unto me most desirable, and well willing, without any desire to hear the contrary, till now, through this my captivity; I am compelled to hear the contrary part speak, who are even here present, and whom my lord sent unto me.

After several long private disputations had happened betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard, and therefore must confess mine own ignorance in the same: for, quoth I, after I had inforced these men here present (meaning the bishop's two chaplains) to confess Jesus Christ's natural body, with his full complete members, in due order and proportion of a perfect man's body; to be present at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the last judgment, and also that after the words pronounced by the priest, there remaineth no such gross presence of flesh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be present, they said, a body invisible by the omnipotency of God's word, which neither can be felt or seen, nor that hath any distinction of members, but such a body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how; necessity compelled me to confess my ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they should do so: for by this their confession, and my silence afterward, I perceived their horrid blasphemies.

And methought in this I had well discharged at that time my conscience, in causing them, in open audience, to confess the same, and so I granted a presence, but not as they supposed: for I only said, that Christ, after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of. For, said I, Eusebius Emiffenus, a man of singular fame and learning, about three hundred years after Christ's ascension, saith, that the conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in baptism, where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost, which fashioneth and frameth Christ in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, Acts ii. by which he so pierced their conscience, that they openly, with most earnest repentance, confessed their sins, saying, "Men and brethren, what shall we do? Repent and be baptized every one of you," said Peter, "in the name of Jesus Christ;" so that at this sermon there were turned unto Christ three thousand persons; in whom Christ was so fashioned and formed, as that he dwelt in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner, said I, is Christ present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper, and not otherwise. For although I said, according to the truth, that Christ dwelt in every one of these persons rehearsed, yet meant I not that he in them should have a gross, carnal, or fleshly dwelling.

And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or grossly to be in the sacrament, but according to the scriptures, and my former protestation, that is, to the spiritual nourishment of all such as worthily come unto that holy supper, receiving it according to his holy institution.

And thus I ended; which the papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant nor thought, as God knoweth.

Now after I had thus concluded my speech, the bishop taking me by the hand, said, Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God's church, and we will see to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his journey in visitation of his diocese), and they feared much at this very time, lest queen Mary should have

miscarried in her child-travail, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, so that they were not so fierce as they had been, and were apprehensive of some stir, if I should have suffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that by any colourable means for their own discharge it might be; and the night following I was only committed to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that sir William Woodhouse did bear me great favour, said, he was sorry for me and my expences, and therefore wished that I was somewhere where I might spend no more money till his return. Why, my lord, said sir William Woodhouse, he shall have meat and drink, and lodging with me, till you return again, seeing you now break up house; and hereupon I went home with sir William, that good knight, who most genteely entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this the popish priests of the college of Christ's church in Norwich, because they saw me at liberty in sir William's absence, who had been from home a fortnight, blazed it abroad that sir William was bound for me in body and lands. At his coming home, therefore, I asking sir William if he were so bound for me, he denied it. Then, said I, sir, but for the reverence I bear to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you before this. I now trust, sir, as you are not bound for me, I may go and visit my friends. Go where you will, said sir William; for I told the bishop I would not be your gaoler, but promised only meat, drink, and lodging for you. Shortly after, by the advice of some friends, I was secretly conveyed to a friend's house, where I was closely kept for near a month, until rumours were over: for at the bishop's return, search was made for me in all houses where it was known I had been acquainted, and in the ships at Yarmouth.

At length the bishop sent to a conjuror, to know of him which way I was gone; and he answered, that I was gone over water, and in keeping of a woman. And in very deed I was passed over a small water, and was hid by a blessed woman, who lived in a small cottage, the space of three weeks, till the inquiries had nearly subsided.

I was then conveyed to London, and from thence passed over the seas, where I lived till the death of queen Mary, and till it pleased God, for the comfort of his church, and restoring of all poor exiles and prisoners, for his name's sake, to bless this realm with the government of our noble queen, whom God, to the glory of his own name, and the defence of his church, according to his good will and pleasure, long preserve and continue over us.

*A Brief Discourse concerning the Troubles and happy Deliverance of Dr. SANDS, first Bishop of Worcester, next of London, afterwards Archbishop of York.*

**A**T king Edward's death, the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having commission to proclaim lady Jane queen, and by power to suppress lady Mary, who took upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed queen in Norfolk. The duke sent for Dr. Sands, the vice-chancellor, Dr. Parker, Dr. Bill, and Mr. Leaver, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches, he said to them, Masters, pray for us, that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons. And even so it came to pass: Dr. Parker and Dr. Sands were made bishops, and he and sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons not long after, on Tower-hill. Dr. Sands being vice-chancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditory, and to speak of such a matter; yet he refused not the thing, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three o'clock in the morning, took his bible in his hand, and after he had prayed a considerable time, he shut his eyes, and holding his bible before him, earnestly



earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to treat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, the three last verses, where he found so convenient a place of scripture for that time, that the like he could not find in the whole Bible. His text was thus: "And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy word, in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong, and of a good courage."

Whoever shall consider what was concluded by such as called themselves the state, and likewise the auditory, the time, and other circumstances, may easily see that this text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the text, so gave he such order and utterance, as drew tears from the eyes of the greatest of them.

In the time of his sermon, one of the guard lifted a mass-book and a grail up to him in the pulpit, which Sir George Haward, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in Mr. Hurlestone's house, where lady Mary had been a little before, and there had mass. The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Mr. Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Mr. Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the duke was retired, and queen Mary proclaimed.

Dr. Sands was not troubled thereat; but gave the sermon written to Mr. Layfield. Mr. Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Mr. More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner, Mrs. More seeing him merry and pleasant (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified), drank unto him, saying, Master Vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that I shall see you. And so it was; for she was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the marketplace to proclaim queen Mary. The duke cast up his cap with others; but tears ran down his cheeks for grief. He told Dr. Sands, that queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands answered, My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I have instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen counsellors, neither can speech be treason; neither yet have I spoken further than the word of God, and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall never escape death, for if she should save you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the guard apprehended the duke; and certain grooms of the stable were as busy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands's house, sharply rebuked them, and drove them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time, the university, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Dr. Mousc and Dr. Hatcher should repair to Dr. Sands's lodging, and bring away the statute-book of the university, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping; and so they did: for Dr. Mousc being an earnest protestant the day before, and whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the university had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands came out of the fields, and sending for the beadles, asked

what the matter meant, and required them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did. And as soon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent house and took his chair, one Mr. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papists, went into a bye-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his sermon, but what he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with him: for they had not only concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembered them how beneficial he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him again, in came Mr. Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One laid hands on the chair to pull it from him; another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed for God's sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration; and having some money of the university's in his hands, he there delivered the same every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the university a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts, and so repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after there came unto him one Mr. Gerningham, and Mr. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him, that it was the queen's pleasure, that two of the guard should attend upon him, and that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London, with the duke. Mr. Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds: for he came down in payment against queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returned in payment for queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend; I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this manner.

Upon this his stable was robbed of four very good geldings, the best of them Mr. Huddleston took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inventory was taken of all his goods by Mr. More, beadle for the university. He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papists resorted thither to jeer at him, and some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milk-woman hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whom he mildly said, Woman, God forgive thee. Truth is, that that journey one evil intreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill-street, one woman standing at her door, cried, Fie on thee, thou knave, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic. Whereat he smiled. Look, the desperate heretic, said she, laughed at this jeer. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying, Fie on thee, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, nor the cause why he is thus treated. Then she said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the end. And thus he passed through rough and smooth to the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag,



and what else soever he had. His man, one Quinting Suainton, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The Bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like served the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was brought up into Nun's-Bower, a better prison, where was put along with him Mr. John Bradford.

At the day of queen Mary's coronation their prison door was set open, ever shut before. One Mr. Mitchell, his old acquaintance, who had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said, Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone, you may go out of the gates without questioning, save yourself, and let me do as well as I can. A rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying, I know no cause why I should be in prison. And to do thus were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet must I think myself much obliged to you: and so Mr. Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Mr. Bradford were thus in close prison twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at length he began to dislike popery, and to favour the gospel, and was so persuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday when they had mass in the chapel, he brought up a service book, a manchet, and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands ministered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their son begotten in bonds. When Wyatt was in arms, and the old Duke of Norfolk sent forth with a number of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him and other his accomplices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Bradford, were cast into one prison, and Dr. Sands with nine other preachers were sent unto the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people every where prayed God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered, popery began to be unfavoury. After they passed the bridge, the keeper said to Dr. Sands, I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. You are vain as they, if you being a young man will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own judgment before that of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me a severe keeper, as one that utterly dislikes your religion. Dr. Sands answered, I know my years to be young, and my learning but small, it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing who seeth not the great blasphemy that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the scriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard usage. Then said the keeper, Are you resolved to stand to your religion? Yes, quoth the doctor, by God's grace. Truly, said the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you: what favour I can shew you, you shall be sure of; and I shall think myself happy if I might die at the stake with you. He was as good as his word, for he trusted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was also a prisoner in the King's-Bench, and had found the same favour from his keeper: he laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight-marshal's men to lay fetters on him, as others had. And, at his request, he put Mr. Sanders in along with him, to be his bed-fellow, and sundry times after he suffered his wife, who was Mr. Sands's daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Dr. Sands; and Mr. Sanders; they had

much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great many communicants. Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people, (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent) that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mass, and defy all popery.

When Wyatt with his army came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea, to Dr. Sands, saying, that Mr. Wyatt would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, Tell Mr. Wyatt, if this his rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed here by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So answered Mr. Sanders, and the rest of the preachers, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of sir Thomas Holcroft, knight marshal, he was set at liberty; sir Thomas sued earnestly to the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance, after many repulses: but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the queen would grant him his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was sir Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy chamber to move the queen in it; who was contented if the bishop of Winchester would like it. The next time that the bishop went into the privy chamber to speak with the queen, Mr. Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands's remission ready, and prayed the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, Winchester, what think you of Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished? As it please your majesty, saith Winchester. That he spake, remembering his former promise to Mr. Holcroft, that he would not be against Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. Saith the queen, Then truly, we would that he were set at liberty. Immediately Mr. Holcroft offered the queen the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight marshal again, by sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy chamber door, he called Mr. Holcroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen of this country with him, each one bound in 500l. that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without licence. Mr. Holcroft immediately after met with two gentlemen of the North, friends, and cousins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the same day, Mr. Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. Holcroft alone walking in the garden. Mr. Holcroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands; much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two sureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands answered, I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God shall requite, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so I will not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer Mr. Holcroft much disliked: he told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come, the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away. And that his cousin sir Edward Bray would gladly receive him and his wife into his



his house, where he should never need to go to church, and the lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him to lose all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Mr. Holcroft said, Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty: and seeing you have a mind to go over sea, get you gone as quick as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to me hither, for so you may undo me. He friendly kissed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, Let me answer Winchester as I may. Dr. Sands returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night, and on the morrow he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, to which he invited his bed-fellow, and sworn stake-fellow, if it had so pleased God. When he took his leave, he said, Mr. Sanders, farewell, with many tears and kisses, the one falling on the other's neck, and so departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the King's-bench, and there talked with Mr. Bradford, and Dr. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boat, and came to a friend's house in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. The next night he shifted to another friend's house, and there he heard that search was made for him.

Dr. Watson and Mr. Christopherfon coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him, that he had set the greatest heretic in England at liberty, and one that had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, namely, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him, and whosoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one Mr. Berty's house, a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him awhile; he was a good protestant, and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his acquaintance in Cornhill; he caused his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex, to Mr. Sands his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At going to bed he found that a pair of hose which he had newly bought were too long for him: he desired the good woman of the house to send for somebody that could cut them two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carry them to the next taylor: which he accordingly did: and he chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the very person that first made them, whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant in Birchin-lane; and the boy desired him to cut the hose. Said he, I am not thy master's taylor. Said the boy, Because you are our next neighbour, and my master's taylor dwelleth afar off, I came to you, being late in the night, for he must put them on betimes in the morning. Benjamin took the hose, and looking upon them, knew his handy work, and said, These are not thy master's hose, they belong to Dr. Sands, I made them for him in the Tower. The boy confessed it to be so. Said he, go to thy mistress, pray her to sit till twelve o'clock, and then I will bring the hose and speak with the doctor for his good.

At midnight the good wife of the house and Benjamin came to Dr. Sands's chamber: the good woman desired him not to be surpris'd at their coming. He answered, Nothing can be amiss; what God will, that shall be done. Then Benjamin told him that he was the man that made his hose, and by good chance they now came to his hands. God used the means, he might admonish him of his danger, and advise him how to escape it, telling him, that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were

so greedily set, they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should have the five pounds. It is well known (quoth Benjamin) that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you intend to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow morning, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow my advice, and by God's grace you shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The good man's servant of the house shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal-green. The good man shall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight o'clock, it is both term and parliament time, here we will break our fast, and when the streets are full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your brother in the streets, shun him not, but outface him; and know him not. Accordingly Dr. Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin-lane, and from one lane to another till he came to Moregate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horses were ready, and Mr. Hurlestone to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other: he put his hand in his purse, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since that, Dr. Sands remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law Mr. Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told Mr. Sands, that there were two of the guard which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without company. After that he shifted to one James Mower, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton Shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, before that he should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his host and hostess, and went towards the ship. In taking his leave of his hostess who was barren, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and said, Be of good comfort, before that one whole year be past, God shall give you a child; a boy. And it came to pass, that that day twelvemonth lacking one day, God gave her a fair son.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with Mr. Isaac, of Kent, who had his eldest son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, sent his son with him, who afterwards died in his father's house in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Cox were both in one ship, being one Cockrel's ship, and were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner by Mr. Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin, being secretary to the English house, and kinsman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and said, king Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their dinner in great haste, and went out of the gate leading toward Cleveland. They found a waggon, and hastening away, got safe to Augsburg, in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then travelled towards Strasburgh, where after he had lived one year, his wife came to him. He fell sick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which died of the plague. His wife at length fell into a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Mr. Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilful in Hebrew. Mr. Grindal went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still

remained



remained in Strasburgh, whose support was chiefly from one Mr. Isaac, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than to receive. He gave him in that space above an hundred marks, which sum the said Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendship shewed himself to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space of five weeks. Being there, as they sat at dinner, word suddenly came that queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasburgh. That news made Mr. Martyr, and Mr. Jarret then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it smote into his heart that he should be called to misery.

Mr. Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburgh, where he preached; and so Mr. Grindall and he came over to England, and arrived in London, the same day that queen Elizabeth was crowned.

*The miraculous Preservation of the Lady ELIZABETH, afterwards Queen of England, from extreme Calamity and Danger of Life, in the Time of Queen MARY, her Sister.*

**B**UT when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there since the memory of our fathers, any example to be shewed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably shewed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous escape of the lady Elizabeth, in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

In which story we first have to consider in what extreme misery, sickness, fear, and peril her highness was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought: first, with great bands of armed men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her), being fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world, clapped into the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner in her own house, and guarded with a set of cut-throats, who ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingered of somewhat.

Secondly, we have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from the danger, what favour and grace she found with the Almighty; who, when all the help of man, and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty protection, and preserved her highness, and placed her in her princely seat of rest and quietness.

In which story, if I should set forth at large all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as just occasion of the history requireth; beside the importunate length of the story discoursed, peradventure it might move offence to some, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the story, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none, suppressing the names of some, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now to enter into the discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, that queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned she never dined or supped with her, but kept her apart from her, &c. After this it happened immediately upon the rising of sir Thomas Wyatt (as before was mentioned) that the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion of sir Thomas Wyatt's rising. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for

that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashbridge, the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, then master of the horse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her grace, that there were divers come from the court who had a message from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; however, being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten o'clock) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being surprised, went to shew her grace their words, but they hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whose sudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, said unto them, Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case; and I (said she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they answered, That they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, Certainly no creature can be more glad than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can testify.

Indeed we see it true, said they, that you do say; for which we are very sorry. Although, we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so straiteneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said, That their commission was very sore; but yet notwithstanding she hoped it would be otherwise, and not so strait. Yes verily, said they. Whereupon they calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their opinion to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they desired her to prepare against the next morning, at nine o'clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, departed to their chamber, being entertained as became their worships.

The next morning, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what a heavy house there was, to behold the irreverend and doleful dealings of these men, but especially the fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge; sick in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Alban's, to sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind. From thence they passed to Mr. Dod's house at Myms, where they also remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where



by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that situation. But especially a great multitude of people were standing by the way, who then flocking about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her estate. Now when she came to the court, her grace was there shut up, and kept a close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels; but being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester with nineteen others of the council (who shall be here nameless) came unto her grace from the queen's majesty, and burdened her with Wyat's conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with business made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the West country: which also she utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

Whereat she being amazed, said, that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further means to the queen her sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge, and therefore in fine desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower. Where-with the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour or a little more, came four of the aforesaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Suffex, with the guard; who warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; except that for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women to give attendance likewise upon her, that none should have access to her grace.

At which time there was an hundred northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, two certain lords were watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council, (the one was the earl of Suffex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her grace, that she must go forthwith unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be

suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her grace in so doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Suffex) kneeling down, told her grace that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, although she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they stayed till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine o'clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, if there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to see the queen, which she could not. Whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time commandment was given throughout London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their Palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without any concourse of people to the Tower.

After this, she took her barge with the two aforesaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman usher, and two of her grooms lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so great, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there stayed again a while. At landing she first stayed, and refused to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customably used to land, neither could she well, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the lords, who shall be nameless, that she should not chuse; and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stairs, said, Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs: and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. What needed all this, said she? It is the use, said some, so to be when any prisoner came thither. And if it be, quoth she, for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace, who the next day were released of their old coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being, said, Madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholsomely. She then replying, answered again, It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentleman usher wept; she demanding of him what he meant by using her so uncomfortably, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which



greatly discomfited and dismayed her grace. At which time she called to her gentlewomen for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Suffex, swearing, said, My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen; for just dealing (quoth he) is always answerable; whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was that she should have mass within her house. One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass stayed for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two abcies provided, and delivered them, so that upon the abcies they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at *Kyrie Eleison*, set the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

It would make a pitiful and a strange story, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out the knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who within five days after came unto her with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Awbridge, between her and sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within a while, well advising herself, she said, Indeed I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then, to enforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower: but, my lords, said she, you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington castle, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you sir James Acroft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have troubled you about so vain matters. She then said, My lords, you do sift me very narrowly: but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and God forgive you all.

At their departure, sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. But I assure your grace, said he, I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which, the Lord knoweth, is very strange to me: for I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common rascal soldiers receiving it; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they desired to speak with the lord-chamberlain, who was then constable of the Tower. On coming into his presence, they declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such common and desperate persons as those who received it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them, who had been appointed for that purpose. Yea, sirs, said he, who appointed you this office? They answered, her grace's council. Council, said he, there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else within this place; and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served by the lieutenant's men, as other the prisoners are. One of the gentlemen on this told him, that they trusted for more favour from his hands, considering her personage: and added, that they imagined the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so; and shewed themselves to be offended at the ungracious words of the lord-chamberlain respecting their lady and mistress.

On this he swore by God, striking himself upon the breast, that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind towards her grace, and departed from him.

Upon which occasion, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some proper persons might be appointed to bring her grace's diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered by the common soldiers of the Tower: which being reasonably considered, was by them permitted; and one of her gentlemen, her clerk of the kitchen, and her two purveyors, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day: the warders, however, continued to wait upon them on these occasions.

The lord chamberlain himself being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and took care that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants, and so guarded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent by the commandment of the council to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her grace's men; which her servants would by no means suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented, for that orders were given, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he broke out into these threatening words, Well, I will handle you well enough. Then he went into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roasted with her grace's, and said, that his cook should come thither and dress it. To that her grace's cook answered, My lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, as long as I live. He said they should. But the cook said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants very grievously; though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they were more courteously used at his hands. And good cause why. For he had good cheer, and fared of the best, and her grace payed well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in close prison, and being on that account uneasy, she sent for the lord-chamberlain and the lord Chandois to come and speak with her. When they were come, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that



that she felt herself not well. To which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break. She then desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might but walk into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that, they answered, could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. Well, said she, my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me; and so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day lord Chandois came unto her grace, declaring unto her that he had applied to the council for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers others dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good-will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which was as much discomfort to her as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out of the windows into the garden, till her grace was gone out again, having their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom be praise therefore.

During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers; which he likewise did to the other prisoners confined there. Whereupon some evil and suspicious persons, thinking to make something out of this, on a time called the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asking him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's often visiting him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, every day. They then asked him what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to her grace. The child said, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the discretion of the child, though only four years of age. This fame is a crafty boy, said the lord-chamberlain. How say you, my lord Chandois? I pray you, my lord, said the boy, give me the figs you promised me. No marry, answered he, thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courtney. The boy answered, I will bring my lady my mistress more flowers. Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy to come no more up into their chambers.

The next day as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, called unto her, Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers. At which she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore the chamberlain highly rebuked his father afterwards, and commanded him to put the child out of the house. Alas, poor infant! said the father. It is a crafty knave, said the lord-chamberlain; let me see him here no more.

The fifth day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged from his office, and one sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which sudden alteration occasioned her no small surprize. He brought with him an hundred soldiers in blue coats, wherewith she was marvellously discomforted, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the lady Jane's scaffold were taken away or not, fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that she need not be apprehensive of any such tyranny; for God

would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what sir Henry Benifield was, and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof.

She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. However they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me thy creature, who am thy servant, and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain.

About which time it was spread abroad, that her grace should be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his soldiers; but whither it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appointed for her guard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence by such a set of rascals. At last, plain answer was made by the lord Chandois, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the manor of Woodstock, as he thought. Being demanded by her, for what cause; For that, quoth he, the Tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He answered, with such matter as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the lord treasurer being there for the lading of her carts, and discharging the place of the same, where sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailor) received her with a company of rake hells to guard her, besides the lord of Darby's band, waiting in the country about for the moon-shine in the water. Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame, joined in commission with the said sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prison; and they together conveyed her grace to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth.

The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night, being deprived of her own men which were lodged in out-chambers, and sir Henry Benifield's soldiers were appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her person. Whereat she being marvelously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be working towards her, called her gentleman usher, and desired him with the rest of his company to pray for her, for this night, said she, I think to die. Wherewith he being struck to the heart, said, God forbid that any such wickedness should be intended against your grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at last he burst out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and sir Henry Benifield.

Then he coming to the lord of Tame (who had professed him much friendship) desired to speak a word or two with him. Unto whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman usher answered. No great matter, sir, but to speak with my lord a word or two.

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise, My lord, quoth he, you have been always my good lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honour unfeignedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my mistress this night, or not, that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly and innocently miscarry. Marry, said the lord of Tame, God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought; and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her feet also: and so (praised be God) they passed that doleful night, with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her grace espied certain of her poor servants



fervants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said, Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, *Tanquam ovis*, that is, Like a sheep to the slaughter.

So she passing forward to Windsor, lodged that night in the dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet for a priest than a prince's.

And from thence her grace was guarded and brought the next night to Mr. Dormer's house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very sore, for shewing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words.

Besides, as she passed through the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking indeed that it had been otherwise than it was, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said sir Henry hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise uncourteously misusing some others for their good wills.

On the morrow, her grace passing from Mr. Dormer's (where was for the time of her abode there, a strict watch kept), came to my lord of Tame's house, where she lay all night, being very princely entertained both by knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat sir Henry Benifield grumbled, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalf, letting them to understand, that she was the queen's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise; That he was well advised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her grace might and should, while in his house, be merry.

The next day, as she should take her journey from Richmond towards Woodstock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing, and dropping vie crowns, the lady Elizabeth passing by, stayed, and said she would see the game played out, which sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing drop vie crowns, Come on, saith he; I will tarry, saith she, and will see this game out.

After this, sir Henry Benifield went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot carpet, very fair and prince-like, wherein presumptuously he sat, and called one Barwick, his man, to pull off his boots. Which as soon as it was known among the ladies and gentlemen, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his indiscreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there such a large company, considering the great charge he had committed to him.

Sir Henry, quoth my lord, content yourself, all shall be avoided, your men and all. Nay, my soldiers, quoth sir Henry, shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, There is no need. Well, said he, need or need not, they shall so do, mistrusting perhaps the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next day her grace took her journey from thence to Woodstock, where she was inclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding both within and without the walls, every day, to the number of sixty; and in the night without the walls forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her to walk

in, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict a manner as they were in the Tower, being at least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailor; and he kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From such officers (quoth she) good Lord deliver me.

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time, by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her grace: who observing the strict and strange keeping of his lady and mistress, by the said sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such a watch and guard about her, as was strange and wonderful, espied a goat in the ward where her grace was; and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her grace therewith as she was going into her lodging.

Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, desiring him to let it alone. The man answered, No, by St. Mary (if it please your grace), will I not; for I cannot tell whether he be one of the queen's friends or not. I will carry him to sir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is: so leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to sir Henry: who when he saw him coming with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the man answered, saying, Sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I understand him not, but he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welshman, for he hath a white frize coat on his back. And forsomuch as I being the queen's subject, and perceiving the strict charge committed to you, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her grace was walking: and therefore for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause; and so he set him down. At this sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said, Well, well, you will never leave this gear, I see; and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her grace had been there a time, she applied to the counsel for leave to write to the queen. This at last was permitted: so sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote (which he strictly observed), she being sometimes weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. When she had finished, he would fain have been messenger to the queen with the same. Whose request her grace denied, saying, One of her own men should carry them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any of his with them.

Then he answered again, saying, None of them durst be so bold (he thought) as to carry her letters for her in her present situation. Yes, said she, I am assured I have none so dishonest as to deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well, said he, my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it. Her grace replying again, said, You charge me very often with your commission. I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealings you use towards me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her majesty; protesting, that if the ease were her's, he would as willingly serve her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For which answer her grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never



never have need of such servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by.

To whom sir Henry replied, and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so to say, was, for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he answered, Yea sir, that I will with all my heart. Whereupon sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was sickly; who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or six days. Then she being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and council of her grace's behaviour and humility towards the queen's highness. Which her majesty hearing, took very thankfully; but the bishops repined thereat, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled much that she submitted not herself to her majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's majesty, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them whom she never offended. For (quoth she) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had before this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him.

About this time there was a great consultation among the bishops and gentlemen, touching the marriage of her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another.

A lord (who shall be here nameless) being there, at last said, That the king should never have any quiet common-wealth in England, unless her head were severed from her shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her grace (praised be God therefore), who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will stay a little to declare in what dangers her life was, during the time she remained there: first through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire getting accidentally into a crevice, or whether for the purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire) verily supposed it to be done for the purpose.

No. 59.

Furthermore it is thought, and affirmed (for truth) of one Paul Penny, the keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian, and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to assassinate the said lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Basset, came to Blandenbridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, who disposeth all things according to his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strict word behind him with his brother, that no man, whosoever he were, though coming with a note of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it so fell out, that Mr. Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to come in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a writ came down, subscribed with certain hands of the council for her execution: which if it were certain, as it is reported, Winchester (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift: and doubtless the same Ahithophel had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly purpose of Almighty God stirred up Mr. Bridges, lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the queen to give certificate thereof, and to know further her consent touching her sister's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Winchester's devilish platform, which he said he had cast, through the Lord's great goodness came to no effect.

There moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smithwike, and others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she the same time lying at Woodstock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mrs. Cleve from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these lines with her diamond in a glass window:

Much suspected by me;  
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth ELIZABETH, Prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth, at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house, and had obtained a grant thereof. Thereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benifield, or by the advice of Winchester her mortal enemy, letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if she hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milkmaid as she was, saying that her case was better, and life more merry than her's, in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, sir Henry Benifield and



his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her cloaths about her: insomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Thereupon she desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained under an hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and so to Colbroke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbroke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threescore, much to all their comforts, who had not seen her grace for a long time before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both their's, and her grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton-Court on the back-side into the prince's lodging; the doors being shut upon her, and she guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at least, before any had recourse unto her: at length came the lord William Haward, who used her grace honourably. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a means that she might speak with some of the council. To whom not long after came the bishop of Winchester, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themselves to her grace. She again likewise saluting them, said, My lords, I am glad to see you; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolote and alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a means to the king and queen, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you my lords is well known.

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her: she made answer, That rather than she would so do, she would lay in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed: and besides this, in yielding (quoth she) I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty, by occasion wherof the king and queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion: and therefore I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace, and kneeling down, declared that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the lady Elizabeth, it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good.

Well, quoth Gardiner, her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before that you be set at liberty.

Her grace answered, that she had as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected by her majesty; and this that I have said, I will stand unto, for I will never belie myself.

Wincheller again kneeled down, and said, Then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long imprisonment.

What advantage I have (quoth she) you know; taking God to record, I seek no advantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me

also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A seven-night after the queen sent for her grace at ten o'clock at night to speak with her: for she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she amazed at the suddenness of the message, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her, for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

At which time sir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Claren- cius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a stairs foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher, and her grooms going before with torches, where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay, all saving one woman, Mrs. Claren- cius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber where her majesty was.

At the sight of whom her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty as ever any did, and desired her majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the queen answered, You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth; I pray God it may so fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the lady Elizabeth) I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands. Well, (said the queen) you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished.

I must not say so (if it please your majesty) to you.

Why then (said the queen) belike you will to others.

No, if it please your majesty (quoth she) I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It was thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he shewed himself a very great friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day seven-night was released of sir Henry Benifield her gaoler (as she termed him), and his soldiers, and so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment went into the country, and had appointed to go with her sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, Mr. Gage, and thus strictly was she looked after all queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lamhevre, Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Noris, gentlemen-ushers, queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace, Mrs. Ashly to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying, that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease (as is partly touched in this story before) the life of this excellent princess, and the wealth of England was preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner, of Winchester, had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way; as both by his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal majesty, but also of the miserable and woful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peevish practices of this wicked Ahithophel prevailed not: but contrariwise,

both



both he and all the snares and traps of his pernicious council laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, "The mischief he designed for another, fell upon his own head."

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and drooping away of other her enemies, where by little and little her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of November, and seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary.

Although this history following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unaptly be inserted, for that it doth discover and shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists to the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary her sister, which is reported, by sundry honest persons, of unquestionable credit. The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the stir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to the lady Elizabeth for that cause, it happened that one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near Newgate-market, in a certain morning was at the Rose tavern, where chanced to meet him one Laurence Shirriff, grocer, dwelling also not far from thence; they drinking together as good friends (as they had been for a long time before), Farrer being a little elevated, and not considering who were present, began to talk at large against the lady Elizabeth, and said, That jilt hath been one of the chief doers in this rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, she and all the heretics shall well understand it. Some of them hope that she shall have the crown, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with faggots before she come to it.

Laurence, the grocer, being sworn servant to the lady Elizabeth, could no longer bear these scandalous expressions of his old acquaintance concerning his mistress, but said to him, Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but in this I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her grace's sworn servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it doth not become thee to call her a jilt; and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain of thee. Do thy worst, said Farrer, for what I said, I will say again; and so Shirriff went out of his company.

Shortly after, the said Shirriff, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complain, who sat then at bishop Bonner's house near St. Paul's, Bonner being then chief commissioner, the lord Mordaunt, sir John Baker, Dr. Darbishire, chancellor to the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others, being present.

Mr. Shirriff coming before them, declared the manner of Farrer's talk against the lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, Peradventure you took him worse than he meant.

Yea, my lord, said Dr. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better catholic, nor an honest man in the city of London.

Well, said Mr. Shirriff, my lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is should call so honourable a princess by the name of jilt: and I saw yesterday at court that my lord cardinal Poole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees and kissed her hand; and I saw also that king Philip meeting her, made her such obeisance, that his knee touched the ground, and then methinketh it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call her jilt, and to wish them to hop headless that shall wish her grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance.

Yea; stay there, quoth Bonner. When God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (said he) the man that spake the words that you have reported, meant nothing against the lady Elizabeth your mistress, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man

feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore (said Bonner), good man, go your ways home and report well of us to your mistress, and we will send for Farrer and will rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again. And thus Shirriff came away, and Farrer had a slap with a fox's tail.

Queen Mary, being long sick before, upon the 17th day of November, in the year above mentioned, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth her sister. Concerning whose death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her great sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might the more readily minister consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king her husband, who was gone from her. To whom she answering, said, Indeed that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind; but what that was, she would not express to them.

However afterward she opened the matter more plainly to Mr. Rife and Mrs. Clarencius (if it be true what they told me, who heard it of Mr. Rife himself), who then being most familiar with her, told her, that they feared she took thought for king Philip's departing from her. Not that only, said she, but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart, &c. And here is an end of queen Mary, and of her persecutions.

Of which queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph, for all kings and queens that shall succeed her to be noted, That before her never was read in the history of any king or queen of England, since the time of king Lucius, under whom in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and imprisoning, so much christian blood was spilled, and so many Englishmen's lives lost within this realm, as under the said queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

*A brief Declaration, shewing the unprosperous Success of Queen MARY in persecuting God's People, and how mightily God wrought against her in all her Affairs.*

**A**S queen Mary during all her reign was such a vehement adversary against the sincere professors of Christ and his gospel; for which there be many who do highly magnify and approve her doings therein: to the intent therefore that all men may understand, how the blessing of God did not only not attend her proceedings, but contrariwise rather how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to survey the whole course of her actions, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any prince in this land, or any other, which did ever shew in it (for the proportion of time) so many arguments of God's wrath and displeasure, as were to be seen in the reign of this queen, whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate events of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in scripture, in shewing mercy and pity, in seeking God's will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatry, how God blessed their ways, increased their honours, and mightily prospered all their proceedings, as we see in king David, Solomon, Josias, Josaphat, Ezechias, with such others; Manasses made the streets of Jerusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects; but what came of it, the text doth testify.



Of queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see, that she in sparing the blood, not only of God's servants, but also of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of queen Mary her sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in queen Mary's time, or of God's favour and mercy in these blessed days of queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel, speaking his mind in the council of the Pharisees concerning Christ's religion, gave this reason, that if it were not of God, it could not stand. So may it be said of queen Mary and her Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers were so detestable and heretical as they make it; how cometh it then, that this so catholic a queen, such a necessary pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary so soon from her throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Further, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, while she thus persecuted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and by the means of the gospellers brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that, the breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy to the pope, by and by God's blessing left her, neither did any thing thrive well with her afterward, during the time of her government.

For first, the greatest and finest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as was not to be matched in these parts of Europe.

Then would she needs bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject to a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, that she either did, or was able to do, she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England on his head. With king Philip came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns to their places, neither lacked there any attempts to the utmost of her power; and yet therein God stopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a famine happened in her time here in her land? The like whereof hath not been in England, insomuch that in sundry places her poor subjects were forced to live upon acorns for want of corn.

Furthermore where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and valour atchieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's days. King Edward the Sixth, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? What a famous victory was got in his time in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God's blessed hand, rather than by any expectation of man? King Edward the Third (which was the eleventh king from the conquest) by princely puissance purchased Calais unto England, which hath been kept English ever since, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, who lost Calais from England again; so that the victories of this queen were very small, and what the losses were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great success, as you have heard: but never had any woman worse success than she had in her childbirth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child, or not with child; if she were with child, why was it not seen? If she were not, how was all the realm deluded? And in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout

masses of the catholic clergy? Why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend? If their masses indeed be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory; how chanced it then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? If not, how then came it to pass that all the catholic church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half dozens. Whereupon God's wrathful indignation, increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things she desired), then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of honour, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company, even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity; but the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to nothing; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she also brought to desolation; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor even the love of her husband; who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could enjoy him whom she had married, nor yet at liberty to marry any other whom she might. Now observe the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn hence what the Lord can do when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly Majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, seasonably to cut her off by death, who in her life so little regarded the lives of others, giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of whose reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the conquest or before (being come to their own government), save only king Richard III.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this story I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and deplorable reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and state-royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forso-much as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefore, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a dangerous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in the christian church, to the effusion of christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

*The severe Punishment of God upon the Persecutors of his People and Enemies to his Word, with such also as have been Blasphemers, Contemners, and Mockers.*

QUEEN MARY being dead and gone, we will now leave her, and treat of those under her who were the chief instruments in this persecution, the bishops and



and clergy, to whom she, as a true catholic, gave all the execution of her power, as did queen Alexandra to the Pharisees after the time of the Maccabees; of whom Josephus thus writeth: She only retained to herself the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power she gave to the pharisees to possess, &c. Touching which prelates and priests, here is to be noted in like manner the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he shortened the reign of their queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited: first beginning with Stephen Gardiner, the arch-persecutor of Christ's church, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign; of whose poisoned life and stinking end, so much as sufficient hath been touched before, I need not here make rehearsal thereof.

After him dropped away others also, some before the death of queen Mary, and some after, as Morgan, bishop of St. David's, who sitting upon the condemnation of bishop Farrer, and unjustly usurping his room, not long after was struck by God's hand in such a strange manner that his meat would not go down, but rise and puke up again, sometimes at his mouth, sometimes blown out at his nose, most nauseous to behold, and so he continued till his death.

Where note moreover, that when Mr. Leyson, being then sheriff at bishop Farrer's burning, had brought away the cattle of the said bishop, from his servant's house, named Matthew Harbottel, into his own custody, the cattle coming into the sheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and so died.

What a stroke of God's hand was brought upon the cruel persecutor of the holy saints of God, bishop Thornton, suffragan of Dover, who after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many pious men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a Saturday from the chapter-house at Canterbury to Borne, and there upon Sunday following looking upon his men playing at bowls, fell suddenly in a palsy, and so had to bed, was willed to remember God: Yea, so I do, said he, and my lord cardinal too, &c.

After him succeeded another bishop or suffragan, ordained by the aforesaid cardinal. It is reported that he had been suffragan before to Bonner, who, not long after being made bishop or suffragan of Dover, broke his neck falling down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's blessing.

John Cooper, of the age of 44 years, dwelling at Watfarnham, in the county of Suffolk, a carpenter by trade, a man of a very honest report, and a good house-keeper, a harbourer of strangers that travelled for conscience, and one that favoured religion, and those that were religious.

This man being at home, there came unto him one William Fenning, a serving-man, dwelling in the said town of Watfarnham, and understanding that the said Cooper had a couple of fat bullocks, and did desire to buy them of him, because he had brought them up for his own use, and if he should sell them, he then must be compelled to buy others, and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them (for he had often tried), he said, he would sit as much in his light, and so departed, and went and accused him of high-treason. The words he was charged with were these, How he should pray, if God would not take away queen Mary, that then the devil would take her away. Of these words did this Fenning charge him before sir Henry Doiel, knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. Timperley, of Hinclesham, in Suffolk, and one Grimwood, of Lowshaw, constable), which words Cooper flatly denied; and said he never spoke them; but that did not avail.

Notwithstanding that, he was arraigned at Bury, before sir Clement Higham, at a Lent assize, and there this Fenning brought two vile men, that witnessed to the speaking of the aforesaid words, whose names were Richard White, of Watfarnham, and Grimwood, of Hitcham, in the said county of Suffolk. Whose testimony

was received as truth, although this good man John Cooper, had said what he could to declare himself innocent therein, but to no purpose, God knows. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by sir Clement Higham's words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all heretics, as indeed he thoroughly performed: for immediately he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was accordingly performed soon after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him a wife and nine children, with goods and cattle to the value of 300 marks, all which substance was taken away by the said sir Henry Doiel, sheriff, but his wife and poor children were left to the wide world in their clothes, and suffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had sore laboured for, unless they made friends to buy it with money of the said sheriff, so cruel and greedy was he and his officers upon such things as were there left.

Now, this innocent man being dead, his goods spoiled, his wife and children left desolate and comfortless, and all things hushed, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless blood, would not still so suffer it, but at length began to punish it himself. For in the harvest following, as the said Grimwood, of Hitcham, one of the witnesses before mentioned, was at his labour stacking up a goss of corn, being in health, and fearing no danger, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and thus most miserably he died: such was the terrible judgment of God, to shew his displeasure against his bloody act, and to warn the rest by these his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercy's sake. Amen.

In the story of Mr. Bradford mention was made before of Mr. Woodroffe, who being the sheriff, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor saints of Christ, and so hard was he in his office, that when Mr. Rogers was in the cart going towards Smithfield, in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; Mr. Woodroffe had the carman's head broken, because of his stopping his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the space of a week, but he was stricken suddenly by the hand of God, the one half of his body was in such a condition, that he lay benumbed and bed-ridden, not able to move himself, but as he was lifted by others; and so he continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewise touching Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought by some, that the said Ralph was afterward attached himself, arraigned, and hanged.

Who, being at the bar, before the judges, and a great number of people, spake these words: This is most justly fallen upon me, for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of that good and just man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary through my procurement, when I sold his blood for a little money.

Among other persecutors, there came also to our hands the cruelty of one Mr. Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames-street, who hearing one Angel's wife, a midwife, that kept herself from their popish church, to be at the labour of one Mrs. Walter, at Crooked-lane end, took with him three more, and beset the house about, and took her and carried her to Bonner's officers, big with child, twenty-eight weeks gone, who laid her in Lollards' Tower; where, the same day she came in, through fear, and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a male child, and could have no women to assist her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under sureties by friendship; and Dr. Story hearing thereof, charged her with felony, and so sent her to Newgate. The cause was, because that she having a woman at her house that died in labour, and the child also, and so charged her with both their deaths.

But when sir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than



ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said Mr. Swingfield, and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, who have such great devotion in setting up the popish mass, I would desire them to mark well the following story. There was a certain bailiff, of Crowland, in Lincolnshire, named Burton, who pretending an earnest friendship to the gospel in king Edward's days, at least in outward shew (although inwardly he was a papist or atheist, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life), set forth the king's proceedings lustily, till the time that king Edward was dead, and queen Mary placed quietly in her estate.

Then perceiving by the first proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewise; and so he moved the parish to shew themselves the queen's friends, and so set up the mass speedily. Nevertheless the most substantial of the parish marvelling much at the bailiff's inconstancy, considering also his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his request, knowing moreover that their duty and friendship to the queen stood not in setting up the mass, spared to provide for it, as long they might, but the bailiff called on them still in the queen's name.

At last, when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his spurs by playing the man in the mass's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon a Sunday morning, when the curate was beginning the English service, according to the statute set forth by king Edward the Sixth; the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and saith, Sirrah, will you not say mass? Buckle yourself to mass, you knave, or by God's blood I shall sheath my dagger in your shoulder. The poor curate for fear settled himself to the mass.

Not long after this, the bailiff rode from home upon certain business, accompanied by one of his neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the Fennebank homeward again, a crow sitting in a willow-tree took her flight over his head, singing after her wonted note, knave, knave, and withal let fall upon his face, so that her excrements ran from the top of his nose down to his beard.

The poisoned scent and savour whereof so annoyed his stomach, that he never ceased vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was so sore, and his body so distempered, that through extreme sickness he got him to bed, and so lying, he was not able for the stink in his stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out still, sorrowfully complaining of that stink, and with no small oaths cursed the crow that poisoned him. To make short, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he desperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

Reported and testified for a certainty, by divers of his neighbours, both honest and credible persons.

As James Abbes was led by the sheriff towards his martyrdom, divers poor people stood in the way, and asked their alms. He then having no money to give them, and desirous yet to distribute something amongst them, did pull off his apparel, saving his shirt, and gave the same unto them, to some one thing, to some another, in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Christ, to stand stedfast unto the truth of the gospel, which he (through God's help) would then in their fight seal and confirm with his blood. While he was thus charitably occupied, and zealously instructing the people, a servant of the sheriff's going by and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blasphemously said, Believe him not, good people, he is an heretic and a mad-man, out of his wits; believe him not, for it is heresy that he saith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, so did this wicked wretch still blow forth his blasphemous exclamations, until they came unto the stake where he should suffer. Unto which this constant martyr was

tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his story more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (such was the fearful stroke of God's justice upon this blasphemous railer), that he was there presently, in the sight of all the people, stricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before most railingly charged that good martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madness casting off his shoes with all the rest of his clothes, cried out unto the people, and said, Thus did James Abbes the true servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned. And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, still crying out, that James Abbes was a good man and saved, but he was damned.

The sheriff then being amazed, caused him to be taken and tied in a dark house, and by force compelled him again to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to some quietness. But (all that notwithstanding) as soon as they were gone, he continued his former raging, and casting off his clothes, cried as he did before, James Abbes is the servant of God, and is saved, but I am damned.

At length he was tied at a cart, and brought home to his master's house, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the priest of the parish was sent for: who coming unto him, brought with him the crucifix, and their houseling host of the altar. Which gear when the poor wretch saw, he cried out to the priest, and defied all that baggage, saying, that the priest, with such others as he was, was the cause of his damnation, and that James Abbes was a good man and saved. And so shortly after died.

Clark, an open enemy to the gospel and all godly preachers, in king Edward's days hanged himself in the Tower of London.

The great and notable papist, called Troling Smith, of late fell down suddenly in the street, and died.

Dale, the promoter, was eaten into his body with lice, and so died, as it is well known of many, and confessed also by his fellow John Avaes, before credible witnesses.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being so swollen, that he was more like a monster than a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hasten the poor lambs to the slaughter, would go to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, and others, crying out, Rid my prison, rid my prison. I am too much pestered with these heretics.

The son of the said Alexander, called James, having left unto him by his father great substance, within three years wasted all to nought: and when some marvelled how he spent these goods so fast: O, said he, evil gotten, evil spent; and shortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down suddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, son-in-law to this Alexander, and an horrible blasphemer of God, and no less cruel to the said prisoners, rotted away, and so most miserably died. Who commonly, when he would affirm any thing, were it true or false, used to say, If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die. Witness the printer hereof, with divers others.

And what a notable spectacle of God's revenging judgment have we to consider in Sir Ralph Ellerker, who as he was desirous to see the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, whom they most wrongfully put to death: so shortly after the said Sir Ralph Ellerker being slain of the French, they fell to mangling him, and after they had cut off his privy members, would not so leave him before they might see his heart cut out of his body.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of judge Hales, after he had drowned himself, taking occasion thereby, called the following and profession of the gospel a doctrine of desperation. But as judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented to papistry; so who so well considereth the end of doctor Pendleton, (which at his death full sore repented that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papists as he did) and likewise the miserable end of the most part of the



the papists besides, and especially of Stephen Gardiner himself, who after so long professing the doctrine of papistry, when there came a bishop to him on his death-bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his master; he answering again, said, that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter, and so both stinking and unrepentedly died, will say, as Stephen Gardiner also himself gave an evident example of the same to all men, to understand that popery rather is a doctrine of desperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

And thus much concerning those persecutors.

The persecuting clergy who died in the time of persecution, we shall take no notice of, but those who remained after the death of queen Mary were deprived, and committed to several prisons.

#### In the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor.

Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely.

Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln.

Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells.

Richard Pates, bishop of Worcester.

Troublefield, bishop of Exeter.

John Fecknam, abbot of Westminster.

John Borall, dean of Windsor and Peterborough.

Of David Pool, bishop of Peterborough, it is not known whether he was in the Tower, or in some other prison.

Goldwel, bishop of St. Asaph, and Maurice, elect of Bangor, ran away.

Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the Marshalsea.

Thomas Wood, bishop elect, in the Marshalsea.

Cuthbert Scot, bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet, from whence he escaped to Louvain, and there died.

#### In the Fleet.

Henry Cole, dean of St. Paul's.

John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich.

Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Anthony Draycot, archdeacon of Huntingdon.

William Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

Concerning which doctor Chedsey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of king Edward's reign he recanted and subscribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully consented and agreed with his own hand-writing to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also the doctrine of the two sacraments then received, denying as well the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, the sacrifice, and veneration of the mass, as also all other like excrements of popish superstition, according to the king's book then set forth.

Wherefore the more marvellous it is, that he, being counted so famous and learned a clerk, would shew himself so fickle and unstable in his assertions, so double in his doing, to altar his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought best, but what he might most safely defend. So long as the state of the lord protector and of his brother stood upright, what was then the conformity of this doctor Chedsey, his own articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, do declare, what I have to shew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not so fast, but his religion turned withal, and he took upon him to dispute with Peter Martyr, in upholding transubstantiation, at Oxford, which a little before with his own hand-writing he had overthrown.

After this ensued the time of queen Mary, wherein doctor Chedsey, to shew his double diligence, was so eager in his commission to sit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the last year of queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, sir Thomas Cornwallis, lord Clinton, and divers others of the council had sent

for him by a special letter to repair to London out of Essex, he writing again to the bishop of London, sought means not to come at the desire of the council, but to continue still in his persecuting progress. The copy of whose letter I have also in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

It happened in the first year of queen Elizabeth, that one William Mauldon was bound servant to one Mr. Hugh Aparry, then a wheat-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who being newly come to him, and having no book there to look upon, being desirous to occupy himself virtuously, looked about the house, and found a primer in English, wherein he read on a winter's evening. While he was reading, there sat one John Apowel, that had been a serving-man, about thirty years of age, born in Wales, whom the said Mr. Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get a service. And as William Mauldon read in the book, the said John Apowel mocked after every word, with contrary and flouting words irreverently, insomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned to him and said, John, take heed what thou dost; thou dost not mock me, but thou mockest God: for in mocking of his word, thou mockest him; and this is the word of God, though I be simple that read it; and therefore beware what thou dost.

Then Mauldon fell to reading again, and still he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Mauldon had read certain English prayers, in the end he read, Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us, &c.

And as Mauldon was reciting these words, the other with a start suddenly said, Lord have mercy upon me.

With that Mauldon said, What ailest thou, John?

He said, I was afraid.

Whereof wast thou afraid? said Mauldon.

Nothing now, said the other: and so he would not tell him. After this, when Mauldon and he went to bed, Mauldon asked him what he was afraid of.

He said, when you read, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. methought the hair of my head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon me.

Then said Mauldon, John, thou mayest see, the evil spirit could not abide that Christ should have mercy upon us. Well, John, said Mauldon, repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jest at his word, he will punish us.

Also you use ribaldry words, and swearing very much: therefore, for God's sake, John, amend thy life. So I will (said he) by the grace of God; I pray God I may. Amen, said the other, with other words, and so went to bed.

On the morrow, about eight o'clock in the morning, John came running down out of his chamber in his shirt into the hall, and wrestled with his mistress as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat she shrieked out, and called her servants to help her, and took by strength and carried him up unto his bed, and there bound him; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almost a day and a night, his tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever still, O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell, I would see the devil of hell, there he is, there he goeth, &c.

Thus he lay without amendment about six days, that his master and all the family being weary of the noise, agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and sent him thither.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witness hereof, William Mauldon, of Newington.

The same William Mauldon chanced afterwards to dwell at a town six miles from London, called Walthamstow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord, 1563, and the fourth year of queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this school, amongst other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.



As these children were talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be busy with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reason among themselves, after their childish discretion, what he should be. Some answered one thing, some another. Among whom, when one of the children had said, He was a good old Father, Dennis Benfield said, He is an old doating fool.

What wretched and blasphemous words were those you heard? Now mark what followed.

When Mauldon heard of these abominable words of the girl, he desired his wife to correct her for the same; which was appointed to be done the next day; but when the morrow came, her mother would needs send her to London market: the girl greatly intreated her mother that she might not go; however, through her mother's compulsion, she was forced to go. And what happened? Her business being done at London, as she was returning again homeward, a little beyond Hackney, she was suddenly struck on one side, which turned black, and she speechless. Whereupon she was carried back to Hackney, and there died the same night. Witness of the same, William Mauldon and his wife, also Benfield her father, and mother.

A dreadful example, no doubt, both to old and young, what it is for children to blaspheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to suffer their young ones to grow up in such blasphemous blindness, and not to nurture them betimes in the rudiments of the christian catechism, to know first their creation, and then their redemption in Christ our Saviour, to fear the name of God, and to reverence his Majesty. For what else do they deserve but to be taken away by death, who contemptuously despise him they derive the benefit of life from?

Therefore let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched creature, not only to avoid blaspheming the sacred Majesty of the omnipotent God their creator, but also not once to take his name in vain, as they are taught in his commandments.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to see to the instruction and catechising of their children, for whom they have bound themselves in promise both to God and to his church: for if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers, had done their duty by this young girl, this destruction might not have fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind atheists, epicures, mammonists, belly-gods of this world, and sons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, who say in their hearts, there is no God, learn also hereby not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but also in this miserable creature here punished in this world, behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come, unless they will be warned betimes by such examples as the Lord doth give them.

Fourthly and lastly, here may also be a spectacle for all those who are blasphemers and abominable swearers, or rather tearers of God, abusing his glorious name in such a contemptuous and despiteful manner as they frequently do: whom if neither the command of God, nor the calling of the preacher, nor remorse of conscience, nor rule of reason, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs, will admonish, yet let these terrible examples of God's strict judgment somewhat move them to take heed to themselves. For if this young maiden, who was not full twelve years old, for her irreverent speaking of God (and that but at one time) did not escape the stroke of God's terrible hand, what then have they to look for, who being men grown in years, and often warned by the preacher, yet cease not continually with their blasphemous oaths, not only to abuse his name, but also most contumeliously to tear him (as it were) and all his parts to pieces?

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, give sentence against the lord Cobham, and died himself before him, being so mortified in his tongue, that he could neither swallow nor speak for some time before his death?

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was shortly after so plagued of God, that all the hair of his head, and nails of his fingers and toes, went off, his eyes almost closed up, that he could scarce see.

I trust, however, the gospel of Christ being now received in the queen's court amongst the courtiers and servants of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion towards their own christians, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet forasmuch as examples frequently operate more effectually on the minds and memories of men; and also partly considering with myself how these, above all other sorts of men in the whole realm, in time past ever had most need of such wholesome lessons and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of drunkenness, and their heathenish prophaneness of life, I thought it may not be improper here to set before their eyes a terrible example, not of a strange and foreign person, but of one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guards, not feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all courtiers, and of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord 1568: and as the story is true, so is the name of the party not unknown, being called Christopher Landesdale, living in Hackney, in Middlesex: the order of whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is as follows.

This Landesdale, who was married to an old woman of considerable property, lived notwithstanding in a state of whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, whom he kept in his own house till his decease. It was customary for him, when he should have been serving God on the sabbath-day, to be riding or walking about his fields, neither he nor any of his house coming to church after the English service was again received. Besides this, he was a great swearer, and a great drunkard, and also took great delight in making other men drunk, whom, when he had made drunkards, he would have to call him father, and he would call them his sons; and of these sons, by report, he had above forty. If he saw a man that would drink freely, he would take great notice of him, and spend his money cheerfully with him in ale or wine, but mostly in wine, to make him the sooner drunk. These blessed sons of his would have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and at taverns: and not long before his death, he was so very much disguised with liquor, at a tavern opposite his own house, that he fell down in a state of insensibility; nor could he arise till helped up, and carried home.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others, so his poor neighbours and tenants fared little the better for him, except it were with some broken meat, which, after his feasts his wife would send unto them, or some alms given at his door.

Besides all this, he did much injury to his poor neighbours, in turning his cattle on the adjoining commons, which eat up all from the poor without pity or mercy.

About two years before he died, a poor man, who was ill of a flux, happened, through weakness, to lie down in a ditch of the said Landesdale's, a small distance from his house, where he had a little straw brought him. Notwithstanding the said Landesdale had out-houses and barns enough to have laid him in, but would not shew him so much pity. In that situation the poor man lay night and day about six weeks before he died.

Certain good neighbours hearing of this, procured things necessary for his relief, but he was so far spent that he could not be recovered; lying in the hot sun, with a horrible smell, most pitiful to behold.

A little before this poor man died, he desired to be moved to another ditch more shady. Whereupon one of the neighbours coming to Landesdale's wife for a bundle of straw for him to sit upon, she required to have him removed to Newington side, because, she said, if he should die, it would be very far to carry him to the church.

Besides



Besides this, there was a marriage in Landesdale's house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they passed, and repassed him, but Landesdale disdained to contribute any thing to his relief, notwithstanding that he had promised to Mr. Searles, one of the queen's guard, who had more pity on him, to minister to him things necessary.

To be short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney church-yard; upon whom Landesdale did not so much as bestow a winding-sheet towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.

About two years after, the said Landesdale being full of liquor (as his custom was), came riding in great haste from London on St. Andrew's day, 1568, and as was reported by those who saw him, reeling to and fro, with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch, tumbled headlong into it. Some say that the horse fell upon him, but that is improbable. True it is, however, that the horse, more sober than his master, came home, leaving him behind. Whether he broke his neck with the fall, or was drowned, (though the water was scarce a foot deep) is uncertain; but certain it is, he was there found dead. Being thus found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as is the custom) sat upon him: and how the matter was managed to save his goods, the Lord knoweth; but the goods were saved, and the poor horse indicted for his master's death.

The neighbours hearing of this man's death, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justly fallen upon him, that, as he suffered the poor man to lie and die in a ditch near his own house, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise. And thus, christian reader, in this story, I have set before your eyes the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus; by which we may discover what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous epicures and atheists, who, being void of all sense of religion, and fear of God, yield themselves up to all profaneness of life, neither regarding honesty at home, nor shewing mercy to their neighbours abroad.

Christ our Saviour saith, Matt. v. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:" but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have shewed no mercy, &c. and St. John saith, 1 John iv. "He that seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him." Again, Isaiah crieth out against such profane drunkards, "Woe be unto them that rise up early to follow drunkenness, and to them that so continue until night, till they be set on fire with wine. In those companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes, and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands," &c. Woe be unto them that are strong to spue out wine, and expert to set up drunkenness.

The punishments of such as are dead, are wholesome documents to such as are alive. Therefore, as the story above exemplified may serve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard; so by what followeth, I would admonish all gentlemen to take heed in time, and forsake their outrageous swearing and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the reign of king Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain lusty young gentleman, who rode in company with other gentlemen, and their servants, to the number of about forty horsemen. This youngster entering into conversation with some of them, began to swear most horribly, blaspheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words besides. One of the company, not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abomination, told him in gentle words, that he should give answer and account for every idle word.

The gentleman, offended thereat, said, Why takest thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding-sheet. Well, said the other, amend, for death giveth no warning; for as soon cometh a lamb's skin to the market as an old sheep's. God's wounds, saith he, care not thou for me; raging still after this manner worse and worse in words, till at length, on their journey,

they came riding over a large bridge, standing over a piece of an arm of the sea. Upon which bridge this gentleman swearer spurred his horse in such a manner, that he sprang clean over with him on his back; who, as he was going, exclaimed, Horse and man, and all to the devil. This terrible story happening at a town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid to have related here, but for the testimony of Mr. Heynes, a minister, who was both the reprehender of his swearing, and witness of his death. Ridley, then bishop of London, also preached and declared the same fact and example at Paul's Cross. The name of the gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witness aforesaid, for dread of those (as he said) of his kindred who yet remained in the said county.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first the courtiers, then the gentlemen, now thirdly, for a brief admonition to the lawyers, we will here insert the strange end and death of one Henry Smith, a student of the law.

Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman for his father, and an ancient protestant, living at Camden, in Gloucestershire, was virtuously brought up by him in the knowledge of God's word and sincere religion; wherein he shewed himself in the beginning such an earnest professor, that he was called by the papists prattling Smith. After these good beginnings, he went to be a student of the law in the Middle Temple, London, where, by ill company, he began to be perverted to popery, and afterwards going to Louvain, was more deeply grounded in the same. Inasmuch that, returning from thence, he brought with him pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray; besides divers other popish trash, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed this I should be unwilling to declare; but that the notoriety of the fact was such, as amazed almost the whole city of London. The end was this.

A short time after his return, this Henry Smith became a foul jeerer, and a scornful scoffer of that religion which he once professed. In his bed-chamber, in St. Clement's parish without Temple-bar, as he was going to bed in the evening, having stripped himself naked, he tied his shirt (which he had torn for that purpose) about his privities, and with his girdle or garter strangled himself; having his Agnus Dei in a silver table, with his other idolatrous trash, in a window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the church-yard, he was buried in a lane called Folskew-lane.

#### FOREIGN EXAMPLES.

**H**OIMEISTER, the great arch-papist, and chief master-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was on his journey towards the council of Ratisbon, to dispute against the defenders of Christ's gospel, suddenly in his journey, not far from Ulmes, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand, and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

Another example we have of one Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the university of Louvain, well commended for his flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who, whilst he favoured the cause of the gospel, and took part with the same against the enemies of the truth, prospered and went well forward; but after he drew to the company of Tyleman, master of the pope's college in Louvain, and framed himself after the rule of his unfavourable doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his salvation by merits and deeds of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind; as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a man's mind from all certainty and true liberty of spirit, to a servile doubtfulness, full of discomfort and bondage of soul.

Thus the young man, seduced and perverted through this blind doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wrestling



in himself a long time, till at length being overcome with despair, and not having in the popish doctrine wherewith to raise up his soul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied by three other students of the same university, his special familiars. As they returned home again, Arnoldus, through fatigue, as it seemed, sat down by a spring side to rest himself: the others thinking no ill, went forwards, and in the mean time Arnoldus suddenly took out his dagger, and struck himself into the body.

His fellows seeing him shrinking down, and the fountain to be coloured with the blood that issued out of the wound, came running to him, took him up, and brought him into an house near at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could, to repent his fact; who then by outward gesture seemed to give some sign of repentance. Notwithstanding, he espying one of his friends there busy about him, to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with main force stabbed himself to the heart.

Johannes Sleidanus, in his 23d book, giveth a relation of Cardinal Crescentius, the chief president and moderator of the council of Trent, Anno 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was strange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other men's evils.

The twenty-fifth day of March, in the year aforesaid, Crescentius, the pope's legate, and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was sitting all day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself, he began to rise; behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes shining with fire, and his ears hanging down well near to the ground, and strait began to come towards him, and couched under the table. The cardinal, not a little surprised at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his servants, who were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to seek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other chamber about, the cardinal thereupon struck with a sudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into such a sickness, that his physicians, which he had about him, with all their art and industry could not cure him. And so in the town of Verona died this popish cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and president of this council, wherein his purpose was (as Sleidan saith) to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romish see, and to set it up for ever.

There were in this council of Trent, besides the pope's legates and cardinals, 24 bishops, doctors of divinity 62. And thus was the end of this popish council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, dispatched and brought to nought.

The council of Trent, being then dissolved by the death of this cardinal, was afterward notwithstanding collected again about the year of our Lord 1562, against the erroneous proceedings of which council other writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to my story, I thought proper hereunto to add an account of two adulterous filthy bishops belonging to the said council, one of whom resorting to an honest wife, was slain by the just stroke of God with a boar-spear. The other bishop, who used to creep through a window, in the same window was subtilly taken and hanged in a gin laid for him on purpose, and so contrived, that in the morning he was seen openly in the street hanging out of the window, to the wonder of all that passed by.

In the city of Antwerp lived one, named John Vander Warfe, of good estimation amongst the chief of that place. Who, as he was of a cruel nature, so he was of a perverse and corrupt judgment, and a sore persecutor of Christ's flock, with greediness seeking and shedding innocent blood, and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for which he was much commended by the bloody generation. By some he was called a blood hound, or bloody dog. By others he was called a shilpad, that is to say, sheltoad, for he being a short

grundy, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a country churl.

This man being weary of his office, (wherein he had continued above twenty years) he gave it over; and because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pass the residue of his life in ease and pleasure.

About the second year after, he came to Antwerp, to the feast called our lady's Oumegang, to make merry; which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the assumption of our lady. The same day about four o'clock in the afternoon, he being well loaden with wine, rode homewards in his waggon, with his wife and a gentlewoman waiting on her, and his fool. As soon as the waggon was come without the gates of the city, upon the wooden bridge being at that time made for a shift, with rails or barriers on each side for the safety of the passengers (about half the height of man), the horses stood still, and would by no means go forward, whatsoever the driver of the waggon could do.

Then he cried out to him that guided the waggon, saying, Ride on, in the name of a thousand devils ride on. The poor man answered, that he could not make the horses go forward. By and by, while they were yet talking, suddenly arose, as it were, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noise (the weather being very fair, and no wind stirring before), and tost the waggon into the town-ditch, the ropes that tied the horses being broke afunder, in such a manner as if they had been cut with a sharp knife, the waggon being also cast upside down, by the fall whereof he had his neck broke, and was swallowed up in the mire. His wife was taken up alive, but died in three days after. But the gentlewoman and the fool, by God's providence were preserved from harm. The fool hearing the people say his master was dead, said, And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This happened in the year 1553. Witness hereof not only the printer of the same story in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whose name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterwards through hatred was put to death by the papists, but also divers Dutchmen here in England, and a great number of English merchants who were at that time in Antwerp.

In the year 1565, there was in the town of Gaunt, in Flanders, one William de Wever, accused and imprisoned by the provost of St. Peter's, in Gaunt (who had in his cloister a prison and place of execution), and the day the said William was called to the place of judgment, the provost sent for Mr. Giles Brackleman, principal advocate of the council of Flanders, and burgh-master and judge of St. Peter's, in Gaunt, with other rulers of the town, to sit in judgment upon him; and as they sat in judgment, Mr. Giles Brackleman reasoned with the said William de Wever upon divers articles of his faith. One whereof was,

Why he denied that it was lawful to pray to saints; and he answered, For three causes, the one was, That they were but creatures, and not the Creator. The second was,

That if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it and hear it; and therefore he durst give the glory to none other but God. The third and chief cause was,

That the Creator had commanded in his holy word to call upon him in trouble, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from.

He also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a purgatory which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed.

He answered, That he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his purgatory: with many other questions, proceeding after their order, till he came to pronounce his condemnation. But before it was read, he was struck with a palsy, that his mouth was almost drawn up to his ear, and so he fell down, the rest of the lords standing before him, that the people might not see him: and the people were desired to depart. Then they took him up and carried him to his house, where he died the very next day. Yet notwithstanding all this, they burnt William de Wever, within three hours after.

About



About the borders of Suevia, in Germany, there was a monastery of Cistercian monks, founded in the days of pope Innocent the Second, by a noble baron, about the year 1110. This cell, in process of time, was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many great and liberal benefactors contributing to the same; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons.

The earls of Montford had bestowed upon it great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any strangers, either horsemen or footmen, for one night's lodging. But this hospitality did not long so continue, through a subtle and devilish device of one of the monks, who took upon him to play the part of the devil, rattling and raging in his chains, near the room where the strangers lay, in a frightful manner, in the night time to terrify the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide; and thus he continued for a long time.

At length it happened, that one of the earls of Montford, a benefactor to that abbey, coming to the monastery, was there lodged; when night came, and the earl at rest, the monk after his wonted manner began to play the devil. There was stamping, ramping, and spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bouncing of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make a man stark mad. The earl hearing the sudden noise, and peradventure afraid at first, though he had not the art of conjuring, yet taking a good heart, and running to his sword, he laid about him so well, and still followed the noise of the devil so close, that at last the jesting devil was slain by the earl in earnest.

### A L E T T E R,

*Written to HENRY II. King of France.*

**C**ONSIDER, I pray you, sir, and you shall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, since you have set yourself against those who are called Lutherans.

When you made the edict of Chasteaubriant, God sent you war; but when you ceased the execution of your said edict, and as long as you were an enemy to the pope, and going into Almany for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs prospered as you would wish or desire.

On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joined with the pope again, having received a sword from him for his own safeguard? And who was it that caused you to break the truce? God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not only the state of your own person, but of your kingdom also.

To what end came the enterprize of the duke of Guise in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing after his return to destroy the vailies of Piedmont, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our councils and enterprizes; as he overturned of late the enterprize of the constable of France at St. Quintin's, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory.

Have you not heard of L. Ponchet, archbishop of Tours, who made application for the erection of a court called Chamber Ardent, wherein to condemn the protestants to the fire? Who afterwards was struck with a disease called the fire of God; which began at his feet, and so ascended upward, that one member after another was obliged to be cut off, and so he miserably died without remedy.

Also one Castellanus, who having enriched himself by the gospel, and forsaking the pure doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to persecute the christians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a disease unknown to the physicians, the one half of his body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as ice; and so most miserably lamenting and crying, ended his life.

There are other infinite examples of God's judgments

worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legat du Prat, who was the first that opened to the parliament the knowledge of heresies, and gave out the first commissions to put the faithful to death, swearing and horribly blaspheming God. When dead, his stomach was found pierced and gnawed asunder with worms.

Also one named Claude de Affes, a counsellor in the said court, the same day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful christian (although it was not done indeed as he would have it), after he had dined, committed whoredom with a servant in the house, and even in the very action he was stricken with a disease called an apoplexy, whereof he immediately died.

Peter Liset, chief president of the said court, and one of the authors of the aforesaid burning-chamber, was deposed from his office, for being known to be out of his wits and bereaved of his understanding.

Likewise John Andrew, bookbinder to the palace, a spy for the president Liset, and of Bruscard the king's solicitor, died in a fury and madness.

The inquisitor John de Roma, in Provence, his flesh fell from him by piece-meal, so stinking that no man could come near him.

Also John Mincrius, of Provence, who was the cause of the death of a prodigious great number of men, women and children, at Cabriers, and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaspheming and despising God: besides many others whereof we might make recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

It may please your majesty to remember yourself, that you had no sooner determined to set upon us, but new troubles were moved by your enemies, with whom you could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was grounded upon the persecution which you pretended against God's servants: as also your cardinals cannot subvert through their cruelty the course of the gospel, which hath taken such root in your realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy the professors thereof, you should be almost a king without subjects.

Tertullian hath well said, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel. Wherefore to take away all these evils coming of the riches of papists, which cause so much whoredom, sodomy, and incest, wherein they wallow like hogs, feeding their idle bellies, the best way were to put them from their lands and possessions, as the old sacrificing Levites were, according to the express commandment which was given to Joshua. For as long as the commandment of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aspire to principalities, riches and worldly honours, then began the abomination and desolation that Christ foretold.

It was even so in the primitive church, for it flourished and continued in all pureness, as long as the ministers were of small wealth, and sought not their particular profit, but the glory of God. But since the pope began to be prince-like, and to usurp the dominion of the empire under the colour of a false donation of Constantine, they have turned the scriptures from their true sense, and have attributed the service to themselves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your majesty may seize with good right upon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe conscience to employ them to their true and right use.

First, For the finding and maintaining of the faithful ministers of the word of God, for such livings shall be requisite for them, according as the case shall require. Secondly, For the entertainment of your justices that give judgment. Thirdly, For the relieving of the poor, and maintainance of colleges to instruct the poor youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own estate and affairs, to the great easement of your poor people, which alone bear the burthen, and possess in a manner nothing.

In doing this, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, who live by the crucifix, would employ



ploy themselves to your service; and the common-wealths so much the more diligently, as they see that you recompense none but those that have deserved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your kingdom, which occupy the chief and greatest benefices, who never deserved any part of them. And thus much touching the superfluous possessions of the pope's lordly clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth.

But when the papists see that they have not any reason to alledge for themselves, they endeavour to make the Lutherans (as they call us) odious to your majesty, and say, if their sayings take place, you shall be fain to remain a private person, and that there is never a change of religion, but there is also a change of principedom. A thing as false as when they accuse us to be sacramentaries, and that we deny the authority of magistrates, under the shadow of certain furious Anabaptists, whom Satan hath raised in our time to darken the light of the gospel. For the histories of the emperors who have begun to receive the christian religion, and that which is come to pass in our time, shew the contrary.

Was there ever prince more feared and obeyed, than Constantine in receiving the christian religion? Was he therefore put from the empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and established in the same, and also his posterity who ruled themselves by his providence. But such as have fallen away, and followed men's traditions, God hath destroyed, and their race is no more known in the earth, so much doth God detest them that forsake him.

And in our time the late kings of England and Germany, were they constrained in reproving superstitious, which the wickedness of the times had brought in, to forsake their kingdoms, and principedoms? All men see the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience, the people in our time that have received the reformation of the church, do under their princes and superiors. Yea, I may say that the princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received so readily the dispensations of the pope, to drive out their own kings and natural lords.

The true and only remedy, sir, is, that you cause to be holden a holy and free council, where you should be chief, and not the pope and his, who ought but only to defend their causes by the holy scriptures; that in the mean while you may seek out men not corrupted, suspected, nor partial, whom you may charge to give report faithfully unto you of the true sense of the holy scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kings, Josaphat, Ezechias, and Josias, you shall take out of the church all idolatry, superstition, and abuse, which is founded directly contrary to the holy scriptures of the old and new Testament, and by that means you shall guide your people in the true and pure service of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the papists, who say that such questions have been already answered at general councils: but it is known well enough, that no council hath been lawful since the popes have usurped the principality and tyranny upon men's souls, but they have made them serve to their covetousness, ambition and cruelty, and the contrary which is among those councils, maketh enough for their disproof, besides a hundred thousand other absurdities against the word of God, which be in them. The true proof of such matters is in the true and holy scriptures, to which no times, nor age, hath any prescription to be alledged against them; for by them we receive the councils founded upon the word of God, and also by the same we reject that doctrine which is repugnant.

And if you do thus, sir, God will bless your enterprise, he will increase and confirm your reign and empire, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which shall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart as he did Pharaoh's, and take off the crown from your head, as he did to Jeroboam, Nadab, Baza, Achah, and to many other kings, which

have followed men's traditions, against the commandment of God, and give it to your enemies to triumph over you and your children.

And if the emperor Antonine the Meek, although he were a pagan, and idolater, seeing himself bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutions which were in his time against the christians, and determined in the end to hear their causes and reasons, how much more ought you that bear the name of the most christian king, to be careful and diligent to cease the persecutions against the poor christians, seeing they have not troubled nor do trouble in any wise the state of your kingdom, and your affairs; considering also that the Jews be suffered through all Christendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we hold by common accord and consent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour, and that until you have heard lawfully debated, and understand our reasons, taken out of the holy scriptures, and that your majesty have judged, if we be worthy of such punishments. For if we be not overcome by the word of God, the fires, the swords, and the cruellest torments shall not make us afraid. These be exercises that God hath promised to his, which he foretold should come to pass in the last times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come upon them.

Translated out of the French book, intituled, Commentaries of the State of the Church and Public Weal, &c. page 7.

#### *The Story and End of the French King.*

**W**HOSOEVER was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou seest (good reader) good counsel given to the king; if he had had the grace to receive and follow the same, no doubt but God's blessing working with him, he had not only set the realm in a blessed state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. But instead of that, he was so outrageous against the protestants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would see him burn with his own eyes. But how he came short of his purpose, the sequel of the story will make appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament-house, which was kept at the Friar Augustine's at Paris, because the palace was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter, and his sister, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Eaux, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of count Montgomery, who carried them to prison. Against whom the king being full of wrath and anger, among other things, said to the said Anne du Bourg, These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt: and so on the 19th of June, commission was given to judges to make their process.

In the mean while, great feasts and banquets were preparing at court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the king's daughter and sister, against the last day of June save one. When the time was come, the king employed all the morning in examining the presidents and counsellors of the said parliament against these prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was solemnly made in St. Anthony's-street, near to the prison where the foresaid prisoners were committed, entered into the lists; and therein engaging as the manner is, had broken many staves very valiantly, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as divers others. Whereupon he was highly commended by the spectators. And because he was thought to have done enough, they desired him to leave off with praise: but he being



the more inflamed with the hearing of his praise, would needs run another course with Montgomery: who then refusing to run against the king, and kneeling on his knees for pardon not to run; the king being eagerly set, commanded him on his allegiance to run, and (as some affirm) he also put the staff in his hand, unto whose hand he had committed the aforesaid prisoners a little before. Montgomery being thus enforced, whether he would or no, to run against the king, prepared himself after the best manner to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together so fiercely, that in breaking their spears the king was struck with the counter blow, so right in one of his eyes, by reason that the visor of his helmet suddenly fell down at the same instant, that the splinters entered into his head; so that the brains were touched, and thereupon so festered, that no remedy could be found, although physicians and surgeons were sent from all parts of the realm, and also from Brabant, from king Philip; but nothing availed, so that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July 1559, he miserably ended his life, having reigned 12 years, 3 months, and 10 days.

*The lamentable History of JOHN WHITMAN, Shoemaker, who suffered most cruel Torments at Ostend, in Flanders, Anno 1572.*

**J**OHAN WHITMAN, Shoemaker, about the age of 49 years, born in Tinen, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye, in the county of Suffex, being married 23 years; always a professor of the gospel, as well in the time of freedom as in the time of persecution. About Candlemas, in the year 1572, unknown to his friends in Rye, understanding of shipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Ostend in Flanders, he went on board the Saturday morning, and arrived at Ostend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinsmen dwelling there. The next day being Sunday, in the morning, he, accompanied with his said kinsman, took his journey, at it were to have passed into the higher country.

When they were about three miles on their journey out of the town, Whitman immediately returned back to Ostend, whither so soon as he was come, he immediately went to church, and at the time of the heave-offering, stepped to the sacrificer, and took from his head the idol, saying these words in the Dutch tongue, Is this your God? And so breaking it, cast it down under his feet. The people laid hold on him, and he was carried immediately to prison. The next day the judges and other counsellors being assembled, he was brought forth into the common-hall, and examined of this fact, the intent, the counsel, and abettors thereof, and also of his faith; where he very constantly in defence of his christian faith, and great detestation of idolatry, behaved himself in such a manner, that he wrung tears from the eyes of several, both of the chief, and others present. So he was committed again to prison. The next day being Tuesday, he was brought out again before the judges into the same place, and being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his constancy. Whereupon sentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his body scorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being Wednesday, he was brought out of prison to the townhall, standing in the market-place, all things being prepared there for the execution. The hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied his hands, and came out leading him thereby. As soon as Whitman was out of the house, he made such haste, and as it were ran to the place of execution, so that he drew the hangman after him. There was a post set up with spars from the top thereof, a slope, down to the ground, in the manner of a tent, to the intent that he should be only scorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman commanded him to lay down his right hand upon a block, which he immediately with a hatchet smote off: the good man still continuing con-

No. 60.

stant, the hangman stepped behind him, and bid him put out his tongue, through which he thrust a long instrument like a packing-needle, and so let it stick. Then the judges, standing by in the common-hall, read again his crime and sentence. Whereunto he could make no answer, his tongue hanging out of his head: then he was stripped to his waistcoat, and put within his tent, and made fast with two chains, and fire was put round about, which broiled and scorched his body most miserably, till he was quite black, he not being seen, but heard to make a noise within the tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a gibbet near the town.

*The Oration of JOHN HALES to her Majesty Queen ELIZABETH, on her Accession to the Throne.*

**A**LTHOUGH there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any person, on whom it should please his goodness to bestow it; yet is none of them either separated by itself, or joined with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be companied to this one, That it hath pleased God of his mercy to deliver this realm, our country, from the tyranny of malicious Mary, and to commit it to the government of virtuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treasure of Solomon, and might not be suffered to have the use thereof, in what better case was he than miserable Tantalus, over whose head the apples continually hung, yet being starved with hunger he could never touch them? If a man had as strong a body as Sampson had, and besides, were as whole as a fish, as the proverb is, yet if he were kept in bands, what should it avail him? Yea, rather, if it be well considered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

If a man had as many children as Gideon the judge had, and might not be so suffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good manners and knowledge, had he not been more happy without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as St. Paul had, and durst not profess it openly with his mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death should declare the contrary, slander the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, should it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwise?

And to be short, if any man had all these gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the body, the mind, and of grace, yet if he might not have the use of them, what should they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in using; not in possessing, but in occupying; not in knowledge, but in doing.

But alas, our natural mother England, which hath been counted the surest, the richest, and of late the most godly nation of the earth, hath been these whole five years most violently by tyrants forced to want the use of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and nature hath indued her. Her natural and loving children would not be suffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and succour her or themselves; but whatsoever they had, was either by open force, or by crafty dealing pulled from them. And surely this had been tolerable, if none other mischief had been therewith intended.

He is a gentle thief (if thieves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his person. For such loss, with labour and diligence, may be recovered. He may be called a merciful murderer, that only killeth the aged parents, and useth no force on the children.

Nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like space; and to kill the parents, is as it were a prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoyed. But these tyrants were more ungentle than common thieves, more devoid of mercy than common murderers. For they were contented not only to have the goods of the people, but they would have it delivered to them by the

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owners'



owners' own hands, that it might be said to the world they gave with their heart; and they were not therewith pleased, but they would have their lives, that they should not betray them; and yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progeny and nation of Englishmen, that none should be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our country into the Spaniards' dominion.

It is an horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for children to lay violent and murdering hands on their parents, but most horrible of all to murder the children in the sight of their parents, or the parents in the sight of their children, as these most cruel tormentors have done.

But what do I stand in these things which have some defence, because the Turks perchance used so to do, and heathens kill one another, to make sacrifice of men to their fantastical gods?

It was not enough for these unnatural English tormentors, tyrants, and false christians, to be the lords of the goods, possessions, and bodies of their brethren and countrymen; but being very Antichrists, and enemies of Christ's cross, they would be gods, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word openly; abhor Christ in their deeds; slander his gospel with word and deed; worship and honour false gods, as they would have them, and themselves did; and so give body and soul to the devil their master; or secretly fly; or after inward torments be burned openly. O cruelty! cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by those ancient and famous tyrants and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Dioclesian, and Decius, whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their own tyranny practised on the people, have been, are, and ever shall be, in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torment in hell. If any man would take upon him to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years, by this unnatural woman, (no, no woman, but a monster, and the devil of hell, covered with the shape of a woman) as it is most necessary, for the glory of God, and the profit of his church and this realm, it should be done; he shall find it a matter sufficient for a perfect great history, and not to be contained in an oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of one man; but to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words, behold, whatsoever malice in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction, could do, that all this poor English nation this full five years suffered already, or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and lost their lives to shake off this most rough brake, (wherewith this viragin, rather than virgin, as she would be called and taken, boasted herself to be sent of God, to ride and tame the people of England) albeit there have been many that have gone about to loose their brethren out of the yoke of this most miserable captivity, and albeit some have proved to break the bands of this most cruel tyranny, yet could they never bring to pass that which they so earnestly laboured, and so manifestly attempted.

And it is not to be wondered, let the papists boast thereof what it pleaseth them. For Almighty God being a most righteous governor, punishing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his justice suffer his scourge so soon to be taken from this our land, if he meant the salvation of the people, as most manifestly it appeareth he did. For having once given to this realm the greatest jewel that might be, that is, the free use of his lovely word (which, if they had embraced and followed it, would have reformed all disorders and sins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked) the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abused it; and many made it a cloak and colour to cover their mischief. So that if he should suddenly have withdrawn this plague, (as tyrants and evil governors be the plague of God) they

would never have passed on his justice, nor yet should they have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warned by exceeding extremities.

Besides this, it is most evident, that he had determined to make this noble conquest alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it should be done by man, lest man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own policy, or that fortune should seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so be partaker, in men's opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

Neither did this almighty power work this when man would have it dispatched, that is, as soon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not so great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed people, as it is to destroy a perfectly united army; but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischiefs by smile, banishment, imprisonment, hanging, heading, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

Neither would this most provident wisdom do it out of season: but as the good husbandman doth not crop his tree, till he hath rendered his fruit; so would he not root out these pestilent tyrants, till the most profit might be taken thereof.

When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of men to declare themselves who were crocodiles, sometime lying in water, sometime on land, that is, both gospellers and papists; who were sponges, suspected whether they had life or not life, whether they were christians or epicures; who were camelions, that could turn themselves into all colours, with protestants, protestants; with papists, papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Englishmen, Englishmen; who were Gnathos, that could apply themselves to every man's appetite that was in authority: who were marigolds, that followed Mary's mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were mastives, that could bite and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cains, that sought the innocent Abels' deaths; who were the wolves that worried the lambs; and finally when he had suffered the spiritual shavelings to spue out their venom, and every man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this most victorious conquest. And with his works he seemeth plainly to say thus unto us: Ye see, my people, what I have done for you, not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plentifully poured on you, and have deserved most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness; but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glory's sake, which I will have opened to all the world in these latter days, to the fear of evil doers, and to the comfort of the well doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye see what will follow it: be hereafter more prudent and wise than ye were before: ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: ye may, if ye list, put me to less trouble, and keep yourselves in more safety. I have not only discovered mine, your's, and my land of England's enemies, and all the crafts, subtilties, and policies that have been or may be used by them, or any like hereafter, but I have also taken away their head and captain, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them, and some of them have I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples, to the terror and fear of their posterity. Love me, and I will love you: seek my honour and glory, and I will work your commodity and safety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever. Surely, if we consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to use towards us, in the delivering of the realm and us his people, out of the hands of those most cruel tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare



declare ourselves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be compared, but also far to exceed the deliverance of the children of Israel out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and Senacherib. For it is not read that either Pharaoh or the other two sought any other thing, than to be the lords of the goods and bodies of the Israelites; they forced them not to commit adultery, and to serve false gods, as these English tyrants did.

But, besides, if we will note the wonderful works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his church and people, than perchance all men at the first do see. For he hath not only dispatched the realm of the chief personages and head of these tyrants, but also, as it were declareth, that he minded not that either they or their doings should continue. For albeit that all acts, done by tyrants tyrannously be by all laws, reason and equity, of no force; yet because no disputation should follow on this, what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffered them to build on false grounds, which can no longer stand than they are propped up with rope, sword, and faggot. For her first parliament, whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever king Edward had for the advancement of God's glory brought to pass, was of no force or authority. For she perceiving that her enemies' stomach could not be emptied, nor her malice spued on the people by any good order, she committeth a great disorder. She by force and violence taketh from the commons their liberty, that, according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm, they could not have their free election of knights and burgesses for the parliament. For she well knew, that if either christian men, or true Englishmen, should be elected, it was not possible for that to succeed which she intended. And, therefore, in many places divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious affections. Wherefore that parliament was no parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of tyrants and traitors: for the greater part, by whose authority and voices things proceeded in that court, by their acts most manifestly declared themselves so: the rest both christians and true Englishmen, although they had good wills, yet were not able to resist or prevail against the multitude of voices and suffrages of so many evil, false to God, and enemies to their country. Also divers burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, (as in some places the people did what they could to resist her purposes) were disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of law put in their places. Doctor Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, a christian bishop and a true Englishman, being lawfully and orderly called to the parliament, and placed in the lords' house in his degree, was in his robes by violence thrust out of the house. Alexander Nowell, with two others, all three being burgesses for divers shires, and christian men and true Englishmen, and lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the house of commons: for which cause, the said parliament is also void, as by a president of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th year of king Henry the sixth, it most manifestly appeareth. And the third parliament, called in the name of her husband, and of her evil grace, wherein they would have undone what her noble father and the realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and for extinguishment of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, is also void, and of none authority. For that the title and stile of the supreme head of the church of England, which by a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of the said king Henry, was ordained that it should be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm, was omitted in the writs of sum-

moning. Wherefore as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, so cannot those writs bring forth good and sure fruit, because this part of the title, which was ordained by the parliament for the form to be always used in the king's stile, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter. And where the foundation is bad, there can nothing built thereon be good. There is no law, spiritual or temporal, (as they term them) nor any good reason, but allow these rules for infallible principles. And if any man will say, that it was not in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the king of this realm, and the queen, whether they would express the said title in their stile or not, as that subtle serpent, Gardiner, being chancellor of the realm, and traiterously sending out the writs of parliament without the same stile, perceiving he had overshot himself in calling the parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and most mischievous acts, would have excused it, as appears by a piece of a statute made in the same parliament, in the eighth chapter, and two-and-twentieth leaf, it may be justly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For although every person may by law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person.

And this title and stile more touched the commonwealth of England, than the king. For, as I said before, it was ordained for the conservation of the liberty of the whole realm, and to exclude the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. And therefore no king nor queen alone could renounce such title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by act of parliament, sufficiently called and summoned. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordained. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been mere tyranny. O most marvellous providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth what is best for the wealth of his people! O most mighty Power, that so suddenly overwhelmeth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to naught! O infinite Mercy, that so gently dealeth with his people, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most glorious, and never-to-be-forgotten Hope-Wednesday, in which it hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy church, this realm, and thy people from so horrible a tyranny! No tongue can express, no pen can indite, no eloquence can worthily set out, much less exornate these thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodness sufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped for this most joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy most sharp visitation, and utter destruction of this realm, as of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Jerusalem.

But we see and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all men's sins, and far above all thy works. And albeit, there is no christian, and natural Englishman, woman or child, either present or that shall succeed us, who is not, or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God; and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him: yet, there is not one creature that is more bound so to do, than you, noble queen Elizabeth. For in this horrible tyranny and most cruel persecution, your grace hath been more hunted for, than any other. Divers times they have taken you; sometimes they have had you in strong hold, secluded from all liberty; sometimes at liberty, but not out of the custody of cruel gaolers; and many times they determined, that without justice ye should be privily murdered. They thought, if your grace had been suppressed, they should have fully prevailed: if you had been destroyed, their doings for ever should be established: if you had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo what they had



had ordained. But he that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madnes, would not suffer that the malicious purposes, and most cruel devised injustice should have success. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our Jeoseba, that preserved you from this wicked Athalia. He only was the Joiada that destroyed this cruel Athalia. He only hath made you queen of this realm, instead of this mischievous Marana. No earthly creature, therefore, can claim the smallest merit: no man's force, no man's counsel, no man's aid, hath been the cause thereof. Therefore, the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his glory, and to set forth his honour. You see his power, what he is able to do; he alone can save, and he can destroy; he can pull down, and he can set up: If you fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all enemies, as he did king David. If you now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than Saul hath shewed to him. But I have a good hope, that both his justice and benefits be so printed in your heart, that you will never forget them, but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I trust also, your wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most sharp visitation, but also to your uttermost power endeavour to out-root them.

And forasmuch as besides this infinite mercy poured on your grace, it hath pleased his divine providence to constitute your highness to be our Deborah, to be the governess and head of the body of this realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requisite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietness and safety, to labour that the same body now at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For, if the body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his things at home, much less to do any thing abroad: so if the body of the realm be corrupt and out of order, it shall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if necessity should require, nor yet prosper in itself. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobbling and botching, as was used in time past, whilst your most noble father and brother reigned. For, if a man cut off one head of the serpent Hydra, and destroy not the whole body, many will grow instead of that one; and as in a corrupt body that hath many diseases, if the physician should labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: so, unless the body of a realm, or commonwealth, be clean purged from corruption, all the particular laws and statutes that can be devised shall not profit it.

We need no foreign examples to prove it: look upon this realm itself, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the body from its corruption, but there must be also preservatives ministered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of itself it is disposed to putrify: so, after the body of a realm is purged, unless there be godly ordinances for the preservation thereof ordained, and duly ministered, it will return to the old state. For this body, which is the people, is universally naturally disposed to evil; and without compulsion will hardly do what is their duty.

Thus must your grace do, if you mind the advancement of God's glory, your own quietness and safety, and the wealth of this your politic body. And they be not hard to bring to pass, where good-will will vouchsafe to take to her a little pain. The realm will soon be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good state preserved, if these three things—God's word truly taught and preached, youth well brought up in godly and honest exercises, and justice rightly ministered, may be perfectly constituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaseth them, the spiritual house of God shall never be well framed or builded, nor the public state of your realm well ordered. For in what body God's word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is soon extinguished. Where the youth

is neglected, there can no good success be hoped; no more than the husbandman can look for a good crop where he sowed no seed. And where justice is not truly and rightly ministered, there the more laws and statutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And surely, if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compassed, (and God forbid that charges should be weighed, be they ever so great, where God's glory and the wealth of the realm may be furthered) yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did David, and Solomon his son, employ to build the stony house of God? How much more charges should a christian prince employ to build and set up the lively house of God? But verily, I am fully persuaded that it shall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of superfluous charges, which otherwise your grace shall be forced to sustain, shall thus be clean cut away, and so your revenues, by means most profitable, and to no good person hurtful, increased.

Therefore, for God's sake, noble queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offered, be by your grace omitted. A physician can in nothing so much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchase himself so great estimation, as when he findeth his patient thoroughly sick and weakened, and doth restore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewise, if a prince should desire of God, a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could desire nothing so much, as to come into a state corrupted, as this realm of England at present is, not to destroy it, as did Cæsar, but to make it, as did Romulus.

If your grace can bring this to pass, (and I am out of all doubt you may quickly) you shall do more than any of your progenitors did before you. All men shall confess, that you are not only for proximity of blood preferred, but rather of God specially sent and ordained. And as the queen of Sheba came from far off to see the glory of king Solomon, a woman to a man, even so shall the princes of our time come, men to a woman, and kings marvel at the virtue of queen Elizabeth. Thus shall we, your subjects, be most bound to praise God, and to think ourselves most happy, that coming so suddenly from the worse, be forthwith preferred to the best, rid from extremest calamity, and brought to the greatest felicity; and it shall be, besides, an example for all evil princes, to leave their persecution of Christ and his members, to cease from their tyranny, wherewith they continually oppress their poor subjects: And so all people, not only we of this your realm, but of all other nations, shall have just cause to pray for your grace's health, and increase of honour.

This oration of Mr. Hales being premised, now let us prosecute the disputation between the papists and protestants at Westminster. The copy whereof here followeth.

*The Conference or Disputation, had and begun at Westminster the last Day of March, upon certain Questions or Articles of Religion proposed, and also of the breaking up of the same, by the Papists' Default, at the First Beginning of Queen ELIZABETH.*

SO it pleaseth the queen's most excellent majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and christian concord, (by the advice of the lords, and others of the privy council, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York (being also one of the same privy council), and required him that



that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also they declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matter should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soon as possible might be agreed upon. And then, after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed, by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine persons, that is to say, five bishops and four doctors. The names of whom here follow underwritten:

The Papiſts.

The bishop of Winchester.	Dr. Cole.
The bishop of Litchfield.	Dr. Harpsfield.
The bishop of Chester.	Dr. Langdale.
The bishop of Carlisle.	Dr. Chedsey.
The bishop of Lincoln.	

The Protestants.

Dr. Scory, bishop of	Mr. Horne.
Chichester.	Mr. Sands.
Dr. Coxe.	Mr. Gest.
Mr. Whitehead.	Mr. Aelmer.
Mr. Grindall.	Mr. Jewell.

These were content, at the queen's command, to shew their opinions, and, as the said archbishop termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that especially in writing, although he said, he thought the same so determined; as there was no cause to dispute upon them. The matter they were to talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions hereunder specified:

1. It is against the word of God; and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.
2. Every church hath authority to appoint; take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites so the same be to edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the mass offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead,

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops would, because they were in authority of degree superior, first declare their opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, being also nine men of good degree in schools, and some having been in dignity in the church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner, and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the nobility and states of the realm understanding that such a meeting and conference was intended, concerning such matters as were to be confirmed by parliament according to the decision of these learned doctors; they petitioned her majesty that the parties of this conference might be put to read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them, of the nobility, and others of her parliament-house, for the better satisfaction, and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend hereupon.

This, also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting to be on Friday in No. 60.

the forenoon, being the last day of March, at Westminster church. Where were present by the queen's command, the lords and others of the privy council, and a great part of the nobility, both to honour and see good order in the conference. And notwithstanding this former order appointed, and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alledged they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book saying, their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which themselves had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to the subversion of the hearer, seemed to the queen's council somewhat strange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, deliver it to the other part; and so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, appointed doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds; who partly by speech only, and partly by reading of written authorities and at certain times being informed by his colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition: which being ended, they were asked by the privy council if any of them had any more to say, and they said, No. So as the other part was licenced to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a book written, which, after a prayer and invocation, made most humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church built upon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horne, bachelor of divinity, late dean of Durham, and after bishop of Winchester. The copy of which their protestation here followeth, according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their preface also before the same.

*The PROTESTATION.*

**F**ORASMUCH as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent majesty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us to do herein, most gladly obey.

Seeing that Christ is our only Master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breath, and against which (as the apostle saith) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves unto this truth, and do protest that we will affirm nothing against the same.

And forasmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is of Christ the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds, that is to say, of the apostles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

And seeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy canonical scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, unto which our doctrine and faith the most part also of our adversaries did subscribe not many years past (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the same), we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and shew some cause wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which



they have before professed, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's most excellent majesty, we shall in these disputations be treated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily after the common manner of men: As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most holy scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred): notwithstanding by the catholic church we understand not the Romish church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm, ought to be sought in the holy scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

By these words (the word of God) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical scriptures.

And by the custom of the primitive church, we mean the order most generally used in the church for the space of 500 years after Christ, in which times there lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierom, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

This assertion above written hath two parts. First, That the use of the tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

The second, That the same is against the use of the primitive church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter. In which chapter St. Paul treateth of this matter *Ex professo*, purposely. And although some do cavil that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any speech in the church or congregation. For of praying he saith, I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; and of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer) thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest? and in the end descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the words of St. Paul, and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierom, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies which shall follow afterward.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following.

First, All things done in the church or congregation ought so to be done as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reasoning is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First by this similitude, If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared for battle? Even so likewise when you speak with tongues, except you speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? For you shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward in the same chapter he saith, how can

he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.

These are St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood, doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

Secondly, Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For saith St. Paul, if there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, let him hold his tongue in the church. And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, nor interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

The minister in prayer or administration of the sacraments, using language not understood by the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which by St. Paul is counted a great absurdity.

It is not to be counted by a christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of assent.

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as before.

Therefore it is no christian common prayer where the people understand not what is said.

Paul would not suffer in his time a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now amongst christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue, in common prayer or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul says to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification; he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: If any man be spiritual or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in prayer and administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation for this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the scriptures and otherwise.

In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the second book of Chronicles, chap. 29, it is written, That Ezechias commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet; which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Christ saith) must pray in spirit and in truth.

The final end of our prayer (as David saith) is, "That the people assembled together, may declare the name of the Lord in Sion, and his praise in Jerusalem."

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand, therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, is, That common prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues, which definition is approved by St. Augustine.

The ministration of the Lord's supper and baptism are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But sermons to the people must be had in such language



guage as the people may perceive, otherwise they would be had in vain.

It is not lawful for a christian man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the tongue serveth only to expresse the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, in his Christian Doctrine, book 4, chap. x. There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were they ever so wild, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue; which is a manifest declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the scriptures, joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church; it is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either from great ignorance, or else from wilful malice.

For first of all, Justin Martyr describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus: Upon the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and country men, whereat the writings of the apostles and of the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards, when the reader doth cease, the head minister giveth an exhortation, exhorting them to follow such honest things. After this we rise all together and offer prayers, which being ended (as we have said), bread and water are brought forth. Then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgiving, as much as he can, and the people answer, Amen.

These words of Justin, who lived about 160 years after Christ, considered with their circumstances, declare plainly, that not only the scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and administration of the Lord's supper were done in a tongue understood.

The liturgies both of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes Amen, sometimes, Lord have mercy upon us, sometimes, And with thy Spirit, and, We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c. Which answers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæsaria. As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodes and songs, where-with our slanderers do fray the simple, I have thus to say, that our customs and usages in all churches be uniform and agreeable.

For in the night the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God, and at the last rising again, go to their songs or psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers songs and prayers passing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.

If you will fly us from henceforth for these things, you must fly also the Egyptians, and both Libians, you must eschew the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms, are had in honour.

*Testimonies of St. AMBROSE, written upon the 14th Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.*

**T**HIS is it that he saith; because he who speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh to God. For he

knoweth all things, but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

The same author afterwards upon these words, If thou blest or give thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? That is (saith Ambrose), if thou speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not Amen. That is as much as to say, (true) that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.

Afterward, in the same place, upon these words, If any infidel or unlearned come in.

For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he seeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he seeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they seeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falsehood seeketh darkness, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can understand, or of whom he can be tried, he may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in tongues (not understood, he meaneth) because it is a shame to open it.

Upon this place, Let all things be done to edify.

This is the conclusion, that nothing should be done in the church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit, lest any part of the body should be dark through ignorance.

Again, if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church.

That is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, who heareth all dumb things: for in the church he ought to speak that which may profit all men.

*Testimonies out of Saint HIEROM, upon the aforesaid place of St. PAUL.*

**I**T is the lay-man, saith he, whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man, which hath no ecclesiastical office. How shall he answer Amen to the prayer that he understandeth not?

And a little after upon these words, For if I pray in an unknown tongue, &c.

This is Paul's meaning, saith Hierom, if any man speaketh in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

And in the end of his commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, he saith thus:

That Amen signifieth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing of the truth. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, saying, But if thou shalt blest in spirit, who supplieth the place of the ignorant? How shall he at thy prayer say Amen, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned man cannot answer, that that which is spoken is true, unless he understand what is said.

The same Hierom saith, in the preface of St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of Amen soundeth in the Roman church like unto an heavenly thunder.

As Hierom compareth this sound of common prayer to thunder, so Basil compareth it to the sound of the sea, in these words, If the sea be fair, how is not the assembly of the congregation much fairer? In which the joined sound of men, women, and children, as it were the waves beating on the shore, is sent forth in our prayers unto our God.

When



When the people once hear these words World without end, they all forthwith answer, Amen.

And the same writer upon the same chapter, upon these words, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen? Behold again, he applieth the stone unto the square (as the proverb is), requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and sheweth that it is no small discommodity, if they cannot say, Amen.

And again, the same Chrysostom saith, Yea, in prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray all together commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priests' limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all in one manner lie down upon the earth, and all again after one manner rise up together. Now when the peace is giving, we all in like manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wisheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for [And with thy Spirit] is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all; but he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.

Hereby it may appear, that not the priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the priest, which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

Dionysius, describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord's supper, saith, That hymns were said by the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian saith, The priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, saying, [Lift up your hearts:] that while the people doth answer, [We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,] they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.

St. Augustine: What this should be we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of man, not with chattering of birds, for ouzles and popinjays, and ravens, and pies, and other such like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.

The same Augustine: There needeth no speech when we pray, saving perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them, and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, may hang upon God.

To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Christ, which saith, We command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard by the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teacheth in his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, Truly, if thou only blest or give thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned say, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? For he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the epistle to the Romans he saith, With the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that amongst other prayers those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken by the most religious bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ our God, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither will the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, nor will we, when we know it, rest, and leave it unrevenge.

Out of this constitution of Justinian, the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

First, That the common prayer and ministration done with a loud voice, so as they may be heard and understood by the people as a means to stir up devotion in the people, contrary to the common assertion of Eckius and other adversaries, who affirm, that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, That Justinian maketh this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers, so as it may be understood by the people, not a matter of indifference, but such a thing as must be answered for at the day of judgment.

Thirdly, That this emperor, being a christian emperor, doth not only make constitution of ecclesiastical matters, but also threateneth revenge and sharp punishment to the violaters of the same.

These are sufficient to prove that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood by the people, in common prayer and ministration of the sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly at this day, and upon what ground these, that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church, are so loth to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

John Scory,  
David Whitehead,  
John Jewell,  
John Aelmer,

Richard Coxe,  
Edmund Grindall,  
Robert Horne,  
Edmund Gest.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience; certain of the bishops began to say contrary to their former answer that they had now much more to say to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon by both parties in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same: and that done, the other party should bring likewise their's to the same. And being read, each of them should deliver to the other the same writings. And in the mean time the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which doctor Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same: and as soon as they might possibly, to send the same book touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receive of them that writing which Mr. Horne had there read that day and upon Monday it shall be agreed what day they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition. Thus both parties assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

#### *The Order of the Second Day's Conversation.*

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Norfolk, and all the Council being set, the Bishops on the one Side, and the Protestants, that is, the late banished Preachers, on the other side, thus began the Lord Keeper:

**M**Y lord and masters, I am sure ye remember well, what order of debate and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both sides ye should bring in English writing, what ye had to say



say in the second question, and in this place appointed to read the same. Therefore begin, my lords.

*Winch.* I am determined, for my part, that there shall be now read, that which we have to say for the first question.

*L. Keeper.* Will you not then proceed in the order appointed you?

*Winch.* I am, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition: and we should suffer prejudice, if you permit us not to treat of that first, and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge that all my brethren are so disposed.

*Bishops.* We are so determined.

*L. Keeper.* I know not what you would do for your determined order: but you ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which you by this means do break and little regard.

*Winch.* Since our adversaries part, if it please your grace and honours, have so confirmed their assertion and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if you permit us not the like. Hereat Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being at this talk very desirous to have spoken, said now to the bishop of Winchester, I pray you let me speak; which was permitted him: we are not used indifferently, since that you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, inasmuch, as that which you take for the information of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose, for that which Mr. Cole spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration of himself, and *ex tempore*, that is, without being studied.

At these words of the bishop, the nobility and others of the audience frowned, and seemed much displeased, as they all knew well enough that Mr. Cole spake out of a writing which he had in his hand, and often read out of the same, and in the same places which the bishops informed him, and pointed out unto him with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done extempore, for Mr. Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon this of the bishop of Lincoln was the worse taken, notwithstanding he went onward complaining, and said, We are also evil ordered touching the time, our adversaries having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the utmost of our power, as we ought so to endeavour by all manner of means. But now we have no impartial hearing.

*L. Keeper.* Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourselves when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that ye complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reason therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

*Litch. Cov.* Let us suffer no misorder or injury herein, but be heard impartially, that is convenient and meet we should have here.

*L. Keeper.* I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it well. It was concluded on by my lords of the council, who you well know of, that their writing, which you are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day, and then we understood that Mr. Cole had said what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to say. I judge ye were asked in the end of Mr. Cole's rehearsal, whether that which he spake, was what you would have him say, and you granted it. Then, whether you would that he should say any more in the matter, you answered no, whereupon the other side was heard, which you hearing, then indeed without all good indifferency or plain dealing, you pretended that you had more to say. So mark you with what little equity you used yourselves.

No. 60.

*The Bishop.* We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard.

*L. Keeper.* Give me leave to say, and look what gains you should have if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of indifferent using, how should you wish to use those other men? For many who are here present, were then away, so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark you whether it had not been more fit that you had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read their's, since to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one time. However, to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honourable council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the first, so that when the day cometh that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day you shall have time to read this your first writing, which you now so fain would read. To this order all the council willingly agreed.

*Litch. Cov.* Nay, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

*L. Keeper.* For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience. At which words there was a general shout, saying, Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

*Lincoln.* We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am sure) would require an hour and an half, if so be it be so long as their last was, and then our answer would require no less time.

*L. Keeper.* I have shewed you we would be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore you need not be so curious therein, and we granting you thus much, and yet you will obey no orders; I cannot tell what I shall say unto you.

*Lincoln.* We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation. For first it was appointed us by my lord the archbishop, that we should dispute in Latin, and then we were commanded to bring a Latin writing, and now at last we are ordered to bring our writing in English.

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council, mused much, and many murmured at such a base and false report of the order well taken. Whereupon with much admiration the lord keeper answered, I marvel much of the using of yourself in this point, since I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing what you had to say for your purpose.

Hereupon the bishops of Litchfield and Chichester, to excuse my lord of Lincoln, said, We so understood the order, my lords.

*L. Keeper.* How likely is that, since it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to treat of the second question.

*Litch. Cov.* We were appointed this day by your honours to bring in what we had to say to the first question.

At which words the audience murmured much, especially those who heard the former discourse, contrary to such his report.

*L. Keeper.* The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that you should yield the same to these men (meaning the protestants), as soon as you might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have their's, and this day you should treat of the second question, and likewise of the third, if that you had leisure time enough. This was the substance of the order, my lords, except my memory fail me much. The same all the council can affirm.

8 M

Lincoln.



*Lincoln.* We are willed then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also.

*L. Keeper.* Ah, sirs, if you be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here say what was then determined.

*B. York.* You are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you to treat of the second question. Wherefore, leave you your contention herein, and shew what you have to say in the second question.

*L. Keeper.* Go to now, begin, my lords.

*Litch. Cov.* It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin.

*Chester.* We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin.

*Litch. Cov.* They must first speak what they can bring in against us, since we are the defending party.

*Chester.* So is the school manner, and likewise the manner in Westminster-hall, that the plaintiff's part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer.

*Litch. Cov.* I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin.

*L. Keeper.* The order was taken that you should begin.

*Litch. Cov.* But then we should do against the school order.

*L. Keeper.* My masters, you much inforce the school orders. I wonder much at it, since divers of those orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to set forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we could, which lieth not in my power to change.

*Carlisle.* We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and stand in the possessions of the truth; and therefore they must say what they have to alledge against us, and so we maintain and defend our cause.

*Litch. Cov.* Yea, even so must the matter be ordered.

*Chester.* When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it. Therefore they must begin.

*Litch. Cov.* And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behoveth them to shew first what they affirm, and for what cause or purpose.

*L. Keeper.* Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, since it was determined you should begin.

*Litch. Cov.* We heard of no such order.

*L. Keeper.* No? Yes, and in the first question ye began willingly. How cometh it to pass that ye will not do so now?

*Chester.* Then had we the affirmation, which since that our adversaries have now, they should now begin.

This the protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein, they did not yet refuse to begin.

*L. Keeper.* If you have any thing to say, my lords, to the purpose, say on.

*Litch.* A particular sort of men can never break an universal church, which we now maintain: and as for these men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as named themselves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we.

*Protestants.* We do so, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof.

*Lincoln.* Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order.

*Horne.* I wonder that you stand so much who should begin.

*Lincoln.* You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands in that manner as you have assigned them.

*Litch. Cov.* Yea, even so we be driven to do now.

*L. Keeper.* Nay, I judge, if ye mark the matter well,

the questions are neither of their propounding to you, nor of your device to them, but equally offered to you both.

*Horne.* Indeed, my lords of the queen's most honourable privy council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your honours, and they then having the pre-eminency, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first; now, again, why do they not the like?

Litchfield being very angry that he should so speak against them, went from the matter, saying, My lord keeper of the great seal, and you the rest of the queen's most honorable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majesty herself, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must and will do to the utmost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who is of the true catholic church, they, or we.

*L. Keeper.* Tarry, now you go from the matter, and make questions of your own.

Litchfield, going on with his digression, said thus: We must needs go to work, and try first, what church they be of; for there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you, which of these churches are you of?

*Horne.* I am of Christ's catholic church.

*L. Keeper.* You ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to devise now questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; ye ought not so to do. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter.

*Litch. Cov.* Nay, we must first thus go to work with them, as I have said, if we will search the truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretend to be doubtful. Therefore, they should begin what they have to impugn or withstand us withal.

*Winch.* Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter.

*Chester.* Otherwise, my lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then would the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they would depart speaking last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.

*Winch.* Therefore, I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing.

*Chester.* I am sorry, my lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency, if they begin not; and surely, we think it meet that they should, for their parts, give us place.

*Litchfield.* Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used.

*Aelmer.* We give you the place, do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops; therefore, I pray you begin.

*The Bishop.* A goodly giving of place, I assure you: yea, marry, ye gave place: such words they used, with more scoffs.

*L. Keeper.* If ye make this assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart.

*Winch.* Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you, my lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hinderance to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we should do if we gave over to them, which in no wise we may, or will do.

*L. Keeper.* Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With these words the bishops were rising. But then, said the lord keeper, let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say you, my lord of Winchester; will you not begin to read your writing?

*Winch.* No, surely; I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do.

Then the lord keeper asked the bishop of Exeter his mind herein: who answered, that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the others in order; and first



first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was of: as likewise answered Litchfield and Coventry, Dr. Cole and Dr. Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his mind, said, My lords, I say not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it; yet, I desire your honours not so to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not so.

*L. Keeper.* How say you to it, my lord Carlisle?

*Carlisle.* If they should not read their's this day, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that our's shall be first read.

*L. Keeper.* So would ye make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you.

*Abbot.* Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind, who said, If it please your honours, I judge that my lords here stay most on this point, that they fear when they shall begin first, and the other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak, which my lord disliketh.

*L. Keeper.* How can it otherwise be, in talk appointed in such assembly and audience? think you that there can be continual answering one another? When should it, after that sort, have an end?

*Litch. Cov.* It must be so in disputation to seek out the truth.

*L. Keeper.* But how say you, my lord Abbot; are you of the mind it shall be read?

*Abbot.* Yea, forsooth, my lord; I am very well pleased withal. Harpsfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

*L. Keeper.* My lords, since that ye are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us.

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this conference at Westminster, between these two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge (good reader) where the fault was; and consider withal what these papists be, from whom, if ye take away their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust, or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they, or durst they not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we say ignorance or stubbornness to be in them more, or both together? Who first being gently (as is said) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being, secondly, (as appeared by the lord keeper's words) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the authority, &c. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And, finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein, they all, except one, (which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the rest) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them more earnestly than others, as also some of them more undiscreeitly and more unreverently than others. Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobility and commons, besides the presence of the queen's majesty's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most christian purpose of the queen's majesty made frustrate. And afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln having obstinately both disobeyed common authority, and varied manifestly from their own order, and especially Lincoln, who shewed more folly than the others, were indignantly committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (saving the abbot of Westminster) stood bound to make their personal appearance daily before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further orders were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

Besides the former protestation or libel written and exhibited by the protestants concerning the first question, there was also another writing of the protestants made of the second question, but not published.

As these bishops above-named were committed to the Tower, so Bonner, bishop of London, about the same time was committed to the Marshalsea, where he, both in his blind bloody heresy, and also in his deserved captivity, long remained, even till his death.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of queen Elizabeth, was a parliament summoned and held at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters of religion, and great study on both parts employed, the one to retain still, the other to refute the doctrine and faction which in queen Mary's time had been established. Yet, notwithstanding the great industry of the papists, by the providence of God their designs were frustrated, and the true catholic religion restored. Many of the pope's champions having been cut off by death, their power was much diminished; Dr. Story was one of the chief that was left to stand up for his master's cause, as may be seen by his impudent expressions (I can term them no better) in the parliament-house.

The sum of which shameless talk was to this effect: First, beginning with himself, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a setter forth of such religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late sovereign that is dead, queen Mary, were set forth in this realm, he denied nothing of the same, protesting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conscience did lead him to, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the same, being no less ready now also to do the like, and more, in case he by this queen were authorized likewise, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I see (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of, so less I see to be sorry for; but rather said that he was sorry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those laws they had not been more vehement and severe. Wherein, he said, there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both often and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have stricken at the root, and have rooted it clean out, &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but said he was once at the burning of an earwig (for so he termed a protestant) at Uxbridge, where he tost a faggot at his face as he was singing psalms, and set a whinbush of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In which words he named moreover sir Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsel was to pluck at, and to bring them under coram, wherein (said he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wisely. This, or much like, was the effect of the shameless and tyrannical excuse of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a beast than a man.

Although in this parliament there was some diversity of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of God, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the papists, hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion was revived again, the supremacy of the pope abolished, the articles and bloody statutes of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution, which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for that they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and not subscribing to the queen's just and lawful title. In whose rooms and places, first, for cardinal Poole, succeeded Dr Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath, succeeded Dr. Young; instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London; for

Hopron.



Hopton, Thurlby, Tonstall, Pates, Christopherson, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Featie, White, Oglethorpe, &c. were placed, Dr. John Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewel in Salisbury, Pilkenton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worcester, Mr. Downam in Westchester, Bentam in Coventry and Litchfield, David in St. David's, Ally in Exeter, Horne in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Best in Carlisle, Bullingham in Lincoln, Scamler in Peterborough, Bartlet in Bath, Gest in Rochester, Barlo in Chichester, &c.

*A Treatise of Mr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, in the Name of the whole Clergy, to King EDWARD the Sixth, concerning Images not to be set up, nor worshipped in Churches.*

Certain Reasons which move us that we cannot with safe Consciences give our Assent, that the Images of Christ, &c. should be placed and erected in Churches.

**F**IRST, the words of the commandment, Exod. xx. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c. And the same is repeated more plainly, Deut. xxvii. Cursed is the man which maketh a molten image, &c. and setteth it in a secret place; and all the people shall say, Amen.

In the first place, these words are to be noted, Thou shalt not make to thyself; that is, to any use of religion.

In the second place, these words, And setteth it in a secret place; for no man durst then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, that images both for use of religion, and in place of peril for idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, sheweth the reason why he made this general prohibition, lest peradventure thou being deceived, shouldst bow down to them and worship them.

This general law is generally to be observed, notwithstanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the example following.

God forbade the people to join their children in marriage with strangers, adding the reason; For she will seduce thy son, that he shall not follow me, Deut. vii.

Moses was not deceived or seduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet, for all that, the general law was to be observed, Thou shalt join no marriage with them. And so, likewise, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.

Deut. iv. God giveth a special charge to avoid images. Beware, saith he, that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and so make to thyself any graven image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God.

If thou hast children and nephews, and do well in the land, and being deceived, do make to yourselves any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witness, that you shall quickly perish out of the land which ye shall possess, ye shall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will destroy you, and scatter you amongst all nations.

Note what solemn obtestation God useth, and what grievous punishments he threateneth to the breakers of the second commandment.

In the tabernacle and temple of God, no image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

If, by virtue of the second commandment, images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then by the

same commandment they are not lawful in the churches of christians. For, being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial, (for by consent of writers, only a part of the precept of observing the sabbath is ceremonial) it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would consent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that images should be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, but rather offered themselves to death, than to assent unto it. Who, besides that they are commended by Josephus for observing the meaning of the law, would not have endangered themselves so far, if they had thought images had been indifferent in the temple of God. For, as St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. vi. What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 8. lib. xviii. cap. 5 and 15.

God's scripture doth in no place commend the use of images, but in a great number of places doth disallow and condemn them. They are called in the book of Wisdom, The trap and snare of the feet of the ignorant.

It is said that the invention of them was the beginning of spiritual fornication; and that they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end. In the 15th chapter of the aforesaid book, it is said to be a labour without fruit. And again, They are worthy of death both that put their trust in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worship them.

The Psalms and prophets are full of like sentences, and how can we then praise the thing which God's Spirit doth always forbid?

Furthermore, an image made by a father (as appeareth in the same book) for the memorial of his son departed, was the first invention of images, and occasion of idolatry, Wisdom xiv.

How much more then shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of religion, occasion the same offence? Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 18. Images have their beginning from the heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to christians. Whereunto Athanasius agreeth: writing of images against the Gentiles, The invention of images, saith he, came of no good, but of evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught.

St. John saith, My little children, beware of images: but to set them in the churches, which are places dedicated to the service and invocation of God, and that over the Lord's table, being the highest and most honourable place, where most danger of abuse both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to fly from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertullian, expounding the same words, writeth thus: Little children, keep yourselves from the shape itself, or form of them.

Images in the church either serve to edify or destroy. If they edify, then there is one kind of edification which the scriptures neither teach nor command, but always disallow; if they destroy, they are not to be used; for in the church of God all things ought to be done to edify, 1 Cor. xiv.

The commandment of God is, Thou shalt not lay a stumbling-block or a stone before the blind: and cursed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way.

The simple and unlearned people, who have been so long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore, to set images before them to stumble at, (they be snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant) or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the commandment of God, but deserveth also the malediction and curse of God, Wisd. xiv.

The use of images to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, is neither necessary nor profitable. To the superstitious, a confirmation in error; to the simple and weak, an occasion of fall, and very offensive and wounding to their consciences; and therefore very dan-



dangerous. For St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. ix. Offending the brethren, and wounding their weak consciences, they sin against Christ. And Matt. xviii. Woe be to him by whom offence or occasion of falling cometh; it were better that a mill-stone were tied about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Christ. And where objection may be made, that such offence may be taken away by sincere doctrine and preaching; it is to be answered, that that is not sufficient, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And though it should be admitted as true, yet would it follow, that sincere doctrine and preaching should always, and in all places, continue as well as images; and so wheresoever an image to offend were erected, there should also of reason a godly and sincere preacher be continually maintained: for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poison; but it is not possible in the realm of England that images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

As good magistrates, who intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all licentious persons, especially out of such places as are suspected; even so images, being whores, (for the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery) ought to be banished, and especially out of churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication hath been most committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greatest number; but in all churches and commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, that images in churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered, that contrariwise they do rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditations, as we read, that in the council-chamber of the Lacedemonians, no picture or image was suffered, lest in consultation of weighty matters of the commonweal, their minds by the sight of the outward image might be occasioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this present time doth declare, that those parts of the realm which think, and are persuaded, that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, do most desire the restitution of images, and have been most diligent to set them up again: restitution, therefore, of them, by common authority, shall confirm them more in their error, to the danger of their souls, than ever they were before. For, as one man writeth, nothing is more certain or sure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.

The profit of images is uncertain; the peril, by experience of all ages and states of the church (as before) is most certain.

The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very small; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now, to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting of God, and grievous offence.

#### PROBATIONS out of the FATHERS, COUNCILS, and HISTORIES.

FIRST, it is manifest, that in the primitive church, images were not commonly used in churches, oratories, or places of assembly for religion; but they were generally detested and abhorred, insomuch, that the want of imagery was objected to the christians for a crime.

Origen reporteth, that Celsus objected the lack of images, lib. iv. *contra Celsum*.

Arnobius saith also, that the heathens accused the christians that they had neither altars nor images.

Zephirus, in his commentary upon the apology of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullian's words, which No. 61.

place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always, that christians in those days did hate most of all images with their trim decking and ornaments.

Ireneus, lib. i. cap. 4. reproveth the heretics called Gnostici, for that they carried about the image of Christ made in Pilate's time after his own proportion, (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now,) using also for declaration of their affection towards it, to set garlands upon the head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly, Inst. ii. cap. 19. That it is not to be doubted, that there is no religion, wheresoever is any image. If christians then had used images, he would not have made his proposition so large.

St. Augustine De Civitate Dei, lib. iv. cap. 31. commendeth Varro the Roman in these words: When Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who doth not see how near he came to the truth? So that not only by M. Varro's judgment, but also by St. Augustine's approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of religion, and nearest the truth, is to be without images.

The same St. Augustine, in Psal. cxiii. hath these words: Images have more force to bow down and crook the silly soul, than to teach it.

And upon the same psalm he moveth this question; Every Child, yea, every beast, knoweth that it is not God which they see; why then doth the Holy Ghost so often give warning to beware of that thing which all do know?

#### ST. AUGUSTINE'S ANSWER.

FOR when they are set in churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway springeth up a most filthy affection of error.

This place of St. Augustine doth well open how weak a reason it is to say, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in churches. And therefore saith St. Paul, Have you not houses to eat and drink in? Do you condemn the church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, not only in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

Tertullian saith, he used sometimes to burn frankincense in his chamber, which was then used by idolaters, and is yet in the Romish churches; but he joineth withal, but not after such a rite or ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the idols.

So that images placed in churches, and set in an honourable place of estimation, as St. Augustine saith, and especially over the Lord's table, which is done (using the words of Tertullian) after the same manner and fashion which the papists used, especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many souls.

Epiphanius, in his epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, (which epistle was translated from the Greek by St. Jerom, being a likelihood that Jerom disliked not the doctrine of the same) doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned bishop concerning the use of images; his words are these: When I came to a village called Anablatha, and saw there, as I passed by, a candle burning, and inquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a veil, or cloth, hanging at the door of the same church, dyed and painted, having on it the image of Christ, as it were, or of some saint, (for



I remember not well whose it was): then, when I saw this, that in the church of Christ, against the authority of the scriptures, the image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c. and commanded that such manner of vails, or clothes, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the church of Christ.

Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be observed.

First, That by the judgment of this ancient father, to permit images in churches is against the authority of the scriptures, meaning against the second commandment, Thou shalt not take to thyself any graven image, &c.

Secondly, That Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but also painted images: forsomuch as he cut in pieces the image painted in a vail hanging at the church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's table?

Thirdly, That he spareth not the image of Christ: for no doubt that image is most perillous in the church of all other.

Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good king Ezechias, who broke the brazen serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

Last of all, That Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant bishops to be careful, that no kind of images be permitted in the church.

Serenus, bishop of Massilia, broke down images, and destroyed them when he saw them begin to be worshipped, Greg. in regist. epist. 109.

Experience of the times since hath declared, whether of these two sentences were better. For since Gregorius's time, the images standing in the west church, it hath been overflowed with idolatry, notwithstanding his or other men's doctrine: whereas, if Serenus's judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened. For if no images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped: and consequently no idolatry committed by them.

It is manifest to them that read histories, that not only emperors, but also divers and sundry councils in the east church, have condemned and abolished images, both by decrees and examples.

Petrus Crinitus, in his book of honest discipline, book ix. chap. 9. wrote out of the emperors' books these words: Valens and Theodosius, the emperors, wrote to the high Marshal, or lieutenant, in this sort: Whereas we are very careful that the religion of Almighty God should be in all things kept, we permit no man to cast, grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, stone, or other matter; but wheresoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and empire.

Leo the Third, a man commended in histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, who (as is judged by some men) was the author of the book *De re militari*, that is, of the feat of war, being translated from the Greek by John Cheeke, and dedicated to king Henry the Eighth, your highness's father, by public authority commanded abolishing of images; and in Constantinople caused all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them to ashes.

Constantine the First's son assembled a council of the bishops of the east church: in which council it was decreed as followeth: It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ, to have any images, either of the Creator, or of any creatures set up in temples to be worshipped, but rather that all images, by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches. Which decree was executed in all places where any images were, both in Greece and Asia. But in all these times, the bishops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighing, like christian bishops, the peril of the church, always in their assemblies allowed images.

Not long after, the bishop of Rome, practising with Tharasius, patriarch of Constantinople, obtained of Irene the empress, her son Constantine being then

young, that a council should be called at Nice, in which the people's legates were presidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that council it was decreed, that images should not only be permitted in churches, but also worshipped: which council was confuted by a book written by Carolus Magnus, the emperor, calling it a foolish and an arrogant council.

Soon after this council, arose a sharp contention between Irene the empress, and her son Constantine the Sixth, the emperor who destroyed images. And in the end, as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her father-in-law, Constantine the Fifth, so afterward unnaturally she put out the eyes of her son Constantine the Sixth.

About which time, as Eutropius writeth, the sun was darkened most terribly for the space of seventeen days, God shewing, by that dreadful sign, how much he disliked that kind of proceeding.

To be short, there was never a thing that made more division, or brought more mischief into the church, than the controversy of images: by reason whereof, not only the east church was divided from the west, and never since properly reconciled, but also the empire was cut asunder and divided, and the gates opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great part of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the patrons of images, who could not be contented with the example of the primitive church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the scripture: (for as Tertullian saith, That that is first, is true, and that that is latter, is counterfeit.) But with all extremity maintained the use of images in churches, whereof no profit nor conveniency did ever grow to the church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of images used in places of religion, and no history can record, that ever any one soul was won unto Christ by having of images. But lest it might appear that the west church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted, that in a council holden in Spain, called *Consilium Eliberinum*, the use of images in churches was clearly prohibited in this form of words: We decree, that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that be painted upon the walls which is worshipped or adored.

But this notwithstanding experience hath declared, that neither assembling in councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of laws, prescribing of punishments, hath holpen against images, to which idolatry hath been committed, nor against idolatry whilst images stood. For these blind books and dumb school-masters (which they call laymen's books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of idolatry, than all other written books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your highness a few causes of many which do move our consciences in this matter; we beseech your highness most humbly not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry: and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day, Hebrews xii. 1 Pet. v. We pray your majesty also not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

Saint Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: But neither is it the part of an emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor the duty of a priest not to speak what he thinketh. And again; In God's cause whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the priest, to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth unto thee, if the priest dare not? These and such like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius, and Valentinianus, the emperors, did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your grace will do



do the like, not only of whose clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your majesty also, in these and such like controversies of religion, to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a synod of our bishops, and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Maximus, and other christian emperors, that the reasons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly, as in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of your honourable counsellors, the establishment of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministers, as builders up of the things which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most god-like father, and such notable fathers as have given their life for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

The almighty and everlasting God plentifully indue your majesty with his Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your highness's loving subjects.

Note, Dr. Ridley, some time bishop of London, was a man so revered for his learning and knowledge in the scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent scholar, whose life, if it might have been redeemed with the sum of 10,000 marks, yea, 10,000. the lord Dacres of the North, being his kinsman, would have given it to queen Mary, rather than he should have been burned. And yet was she so unmerciful, for all his gentleness in king Edward's days, that it would not be granted for any interest that could be made. Oh, that she had remembered his labour for her to king Edward the Sixth, with archbishop Cranmer, in such sort that even she had yielded but the reward of a publican, Matt. v. then had the earth not so been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord forgive us our sins, which were the cause thereof, and grant that we never so provoke his anger again, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

*The ORATION of Sir NICHOLAS BACON, Knight,  
LORD KEEPER of the GREAT SEAL of ENGLAND,  
spoken in the STAR-CHAMBER, the 29th of DECEMBER,  
1567, in the 10th YEAR of the REIGN of QUEEN ELIZABETH, and in the PRESENCE of*

Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury.

William, marquis of Northampton.

Francis, earl of Bedford.

Lord Clinton, admiral of England.

William Howard, lord chamberlain.

Bishop of London.

Lord Gray, of Wilton.

Sir Edward Rogers, knight.

Sir Ambrose Cave, knight, chancellor of the duchy.

Sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary.

Sir Francis Knolls, knight, vice-chamberlain.

Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the exchequer.

Lord Cattelene, chief justice of the king's-bench.

Lord Dyer, chief justice of the common pleas.

Sir William Cordale, knight, master of the rolls.

Justice Weston, Justice Welch, Justice Southcotes,

Justice Carowes.

IT is given to the queen's majesty to understand, that certain of her subjects by their evil dispositions do sow and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour of Almighty God, in the state of religion established by the laws of this realm, and also to the dishonour of her highness, in disproving her lawful right of supremacy amongst her subjects. And this that

they do, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly avouched, and in all companies disputed on. And thus by their bold attempts they seem not to obey or regard the authority of laws, nor the quiet of her subjects. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad divers lewd libels, and seditious books from beyond the seas, and in such boldness, that they do commend those writers in their seditious books, containing manifest matter against the state established. Which boldness of men, so universally and every where seen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least winked at by them whom the queen's highness hath placed in authority to repress those insolencies. And the queen's highness cannot more justly charge any for this disorder, than such who be in commissions chosen to repress those disorders. If it be answered me, that they cannot see such open boldness and factious disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see: and if they hear not of such contemptuous talk, I may say that they have no ears. I would have those men judge what will come of those unbridled speeches in the end, if reformation be not had thereof. What cometh of factions and seditions, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not redressed by law, then must force and violence reform. Which when they take place, may happen to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then you know that law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. If it be replied against me, that to the suppressing of these open talks there is no law, which by special letter can charge any man as an offender; I must say, that whatsoever the letter of the law may be, the meaning of the law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of these doings. If it be said, that no man can be charged by the law, except it can be proved against him, that his speech and deeds be done maliciously; what you call malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of these seditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh sedition, sedition bringeth in tumults, tumults work insurrections and rebellion, insurrections make depopulation and desolation, and bring in utter ruin and destruction of men's bodies, goods, and lands; and if any sow the root whereof these men come, and it be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both public and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously: and further, if it be said to me, that the man who should be charged with offence, must be proved to have done his act advisedly; to that I answer, If any bring in those books, distribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done advisedly, I have no skill of their advisedness. If it be said, that the law treateth of such acts as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct overthwarting the law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the truth by arguments condemned? It may be said again, that the world doth not now like extremity in laws penal, and calleth them bloody laws. As for extreme and bloody laws, I approve not of them: but where the execution of such laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the non-execution may bring in danger half an hundred, I think this law nor the execution thereof may justly be called extreme and bloody: in such like comparison I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may escape hanging, in this respect, not whipping bringeth in this bloodiness and extremity, and not the execution of the law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped than once hanged: the pains do differ, but wise men will soon consider the diversity. The truth is, to suffer disobedient subjects to take boldness against the laws of God and their prince, to wink at the obstinate minds of such as be unbridled in their affections, to maintain a foreign power of the bishop of Rome, directly against the prince's prerogative established by laws, is not this



to hatch diffention, and to cherish sedition? To extol the writings of such, who by their wits devise to supplant the prince's lawful authority. If these doing be not meant to the disturbance and utter ruin of this realm, I know not what is good government. If these be not the sparks of rebellion, what be they? Thus much having spoken to your wisdoms, I doubt not of your assenting with me; the rather also because I utter them unto you as from the queen's majesty by commandment, who doth require of us all more diligence in the execution of the laws, than commonly hath been observed: whereby we shall do our duty to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our sovereign, regard the majesty of the laws, love the quiet of our country, and procure the safety of ourselves.

God save the QUEEN.

*An Account of the MARTYRDOM of one RICHARD ATKINS, an ENGLISHMAN, at ROME.*

**A**BOUT the month of July, Anno 1581, one Richard Atkins, an Englishman, born in Hertfordshire, came to Rome, and having found the English college, knocked at the door, to whom divers of the students there came out, to welcome him, understanding that he was an Englishman. They willed him to go to the hospital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he answered, I come not (my countrymen) to any such intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great disorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewise to let your proud Antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and poisoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies, making them do homage to stocks and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol. When they heard these words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, and student in the college, caused him to be put in the inquisition; where, how they examined him, and how he answered them, I know not, but after certain days he was set at liberty again; and one day going in the street, he met a priest carrying the sacrament; which offending his conscience, to see the people crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down; but missing of his purpose, and it being judged by the people, that he did catch at the holiness that (they say) cometh from the sacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him: a few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, and the priest at the elevation; he using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the priest's hands; for which divers rose up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him: so that in brief he was carried to prison, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed such a heinous offence; whereunto he answered, That he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedness and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which sentence (he said) he was right willing to suffer, and the rather, because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in prison, sundry Englishmen came unto him, willing him to be sorry for what he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the means they used were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of scripture, and willed them to be sorry for their wickedness; while God did permit them time, else they were in danger of everlasting damnation; these words made the Englishmen depart: for they could not abide to hear them. Within a while after, he was set upon an ass without any saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having some English priests with him to talk with him, but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in as good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and willed them for

Christ's sake to have regard to the saving of their souls. All the way as he went, there were four who did nothing else but thrust at his body with burning torches, whereat he never moved, nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured to persuade the people, often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thrust at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning still upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs first, which they did, he not dismayed any whit, but suffered all marvellous cheerfully; which moved the people to such a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a cross, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a christian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them, that they were evil men to trouble him with such matters, when he was preparing himself for God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest. They seeing him in this mind, departed, saying, Let us go and leave him to the devil, whom he serves. Thus ended this faithful soldier and martyr of Christ, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Master: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time, and a good while after in Rome, in the service of his master, doctor Morton; who seeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of Mr. Smith, his son, Mr. Creed, and the said John Young, spake as followeth: Surely this fellow was marvellously obstinate, he nothing regarded the good counsel which was given to him, nor shrunk all the time when the torches were thrust at his naked body. Beside, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, although they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his legs first, to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtless, but that the word of God cannot be but true, else we might judge this fellow to be of God; for who could have suffered so much pain as he did? But truly I believe the devil was in him.

*The LIFE and DEATH of Dr. STORY, a cruel PERSECUTOR of CHRIST in his MEMBERS.*

**T**HIS Dr. Story, being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancy being not only nursed in papistry, but also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat in riper years, in the days of queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel persecutor of Christ in his members (as all the histories in this book almost do declare). Thus he raging all the reign of the aforesaid queen Mary against the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceasing till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the testimony of his truth; and thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Christ, such was his hatred to the truth of Christ's gospel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel blood-shedding of his servants, took away queen Mary, the great pillar of papistry. After whom succeeded lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who staying the bloody sword of persecution from raging any further, caused the same Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many others his accomplices, sworn enemies to Christ's glorious gospel. The said Story having been a while detained in prison, at last, by what means I know not, got out and conveyed himself over the seas, where he continued a most bloody persecutor, still raging against God's saints with fire and sword. Inasmuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to the duke of Alva, in Antwerp, received special commission



commission from him to search the ships for goods forfeited, and for English books, and such like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a time, by which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman into trouble and extreme peril of life through his blood-thirsty cruelty: but at last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the report thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hostility, if by any means he might encompass it; but also daily and hourly murdered God's people; there was this platform laid (by God's providence no doubt) that one Mr. Parker, a merchant should sail unto Antwerp, and by some means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, suborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him, that there was an English ship come, loaded with merchandize, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English books, and other things for his purpose. Story hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the ship, thinking to make the same his prey; and coming on board, searched for English heretical books (as he called them); and going

down under the hatches, because he would be sure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoisted up their sail, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away unto England. Where they arriving, presented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel, Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was importuned and solicited daily by wife and learned fathers to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was a sworn subject to the king of Spain, and was no subject to the queen of England, nor she his sovereign queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the queen's majesty, and the realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon an hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tyburn, where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy members, he rushing up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod's wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

### C H A P. III.

Containing an HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS, SUFFERINGS, and cruel DEATHS of PROTESTANT MARTYRS in FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

A brief RELATION of the horrible MASSACRE in FRANCE, Anno 1752.

AND first for brevity's sake to overpass the bloody butchery of the Roman catholics in Orange against the protestants, more fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom some being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smoke, with sword and weapon sparing none, the carcases of some they threw to dogs, which was in the year 1570, in the reign of Charles IX. Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rhone, where the protestants being at a sermon without the city walls, upon the king's edict, the papists in fury ran upon them coming home, and slew of them above 40 at least, many more they wounded. This example at Rhone, stirred up the papists at Dieppe, to practise the like rage also against the christians there, returning from a sermon likewise; whose slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided with weapons for their own defence if needed. All which happened about the same year aforesaid, viz. 1570. But these with such like I briefly overslip, to enter now into the matter above promised, that is, briefly to treat of the horrible and most barbarous massacre committed in Paris, such as I suppose never was heard of before in any civil dissention amongst the very heathens. In a few words, to touch the substance of the matter:

After long troubles in France, the papists foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them, and that by two manner of ways: the one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain; not that the king so meant indeed, but only to understand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a certain marriage suborned between the prince of Navarre, and the king's sister. To this pretended marriage, it was

advised, that all the chief protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince that was to marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to gain her consent thereunto. She being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where she, after much ado, was at length won over to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly upon the same fell sick, and within five days departed, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could there be found, save only but that a certain apothecary made his boast, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and smells by him confected.

After this, notwithstanding the marriage still going forward, the admiral prince of Navarre and Conde, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris, where with great solemnity they were received, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of August, 1572. Which marriage being solemnized by the cardinal of Borbonne, upon an high stage set up on purpose without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister, she being then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace to dinner. In the evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the 22d of August, the admiral coming from the council table, by the way was shot at with a pistol, charged with three bullets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watch-word at the command of the prince, upon which watch-word given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, first beginning with the admiral himself, who being wounded with many sore wounds, was



cast out of the window into the street, where his head being first struck off, and embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his arms and privy members, and so drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him to the place of execution, out of the city, and there hanged him up by the heels, to the greater shew and scorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all the others of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew, or could find within the city gates inclosed. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, as the story writeth, above 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river: so that not only the river was all stained therewith, but also whole streams in certain places of the city did run with the blood of the slain bodies. So great was the outrage of that hellish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain whom they thought indifferent papists, they put to the sword instead of protestants. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapesius, with others.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Thoulouse, and Rouen. In these cities it is almost incredible, and scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was shewed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; insomuch, that within the space of one month, thirty thousand at least of religious protestants are numbered to be slain, as is credibly reported in the commentaries of them who testify purposely of the matter.

Furthermore there is to be noted, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he, with his cardinals, made such joy at Rome, with the procession, with their gun-shot, and singing of *Te Deum*, that in honour of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope, with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what spirit and charity these papists are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France no less rejoicing there was upon the 28th day of the month, the king commanding public processions through the whole city to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and singing; where the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting together to the church, gave thanks and praise to God, for that so worthy victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the realm for ever.

And, indeed, to man's thinking, it might appear no less, after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, returned to the pope; divers fled out of the realm, such as would not turn, keeping themselves secret, durst not be known nor seen, so that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel should ever have any more place in France: but such is the admirable working of God, where man's help and hope most faileth, there he most sheweth his strength, and helpeth, as here is to be seen. For whereas the little remnant of the gospel side, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already against conscience, yielding to time; yet, the Lord of his goodness so wrought, that many were stayed and reclaimed again through the occasion first of them in Rochelle: who, hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and slaughter at Thoulouse, most constantly, with valiant hearts, (the Lord so working) thought to stand to their defence against the king's

power, by whose example certain other cities, hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like; namely, Montalbane, the city called Nemanium, Sanser in Occitania, Millialdum, Mirebellum, Fuduzia, with other towns and cities more: who, being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices not to be trusted of the merciless papists, intending nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, the king hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to captains Strozzius and Gardius to see to Rochelle. After this, he sendeth a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochelle men to receive him for their governor, under the king. A great consultation being held, at length the Rochelle men began to condescend, upon certain conditions; which being not easily consented to, and especially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of their fellows, who had submitted themselves, thought it better to stand to the defence of their lives and consciences, and to hazard the worst. Whereupon began great siege and battery to be laid against Rochelle, both by land and sea, which was in the year 1572, about the fourth day of December. It would require another volume to describe all things during the time of this siege, that passed on either side, between the king's part and the town of Rochelle. Briefly to run over some parts of the matter: In the beginning of the year following, which was 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king, to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in a most forcible manner to the assaulting of Rochelle. Whereupon, a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there assembled; amongst whom was also the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, (who, there, not long after, was proclaimed king of Poland) accompanied by his other brother, duke Alanfon, Navarre, Conde, and a great number of states besides. Thus the whole power of France being gathered against one poor town, had not the mighty hand of God been on their side, it had been impossible for them to escape. During the time of this siege, which lasted seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on, both sides, it were endless to recite. To make short, seven principal assaults were given to the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make. In all which assaults the pope's catholic side had the worst. Concerning the first assault, thus I find written—that within the space of 26 days were charged against the walls and houses of Rochelle, to the number of thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city: but such was the courage of them within, (not men only, but women, matrons, and maidens, with spits, fire, and such other weapons as come to hand) that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers: only of the inhabitants were slain and wounded to the number of sixty persons. Likewise, in the second assault, 2000 great field-pieces were laid against the town; whereupon the adversary attempted the next day to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly faster than they came. No better success had all the assaults that followed: whereby, consider (gentle reader) with thyself, in what great distress these good people were, not of Rochelle only, but of other cities also, during these seven months above-mentioned, had not the powerful hand of the Lord Almighty sustained them. Concerning whose wonderful operation for his servants in these distresses, three memorable things I find in history to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of Sanser; which city being terribly battered and razed with the shot of great cannons and field-pieces, having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gun stones flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced; their sleeves, their hose, their hats pierced; their weapons in their hands broken, their walls shaken, their



their houses rent down; yet not one person slain nor wounded with all this, save only at the first a certain maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was struck down, and died.

The second thing to be noted is, that in the same city, during all the time of the siege, which lasted seven months and a half, notwithstanding all the ordnance and battering-pieces discharged against them, which are numbered to six thousand, not so much as 25 persons in all were slain.

The third example, no less memorable, was at Rochelle: whereas the poorer sort began to lack corn and victuals, there was sent to them every day in the river, (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fish, called sardones, which the poorer people used instead of bread. Which fish, the same day the siege broke up, departed and came no more. Testified by them who were present in Rochelle all the time.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven months war, is not certainly known. The number of captains slain of the king's camp, however, leaves room for conjecture; which was no less than 132, of whom the chief was duke Damoule.

To close up this tragical story, respecting the breaking up of this seven months siege: Thus it fell out, that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was in the year 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that duke Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland; at which great joy was in the camp. By occasion whereof, the new king more willing to have peace, entered talk with them of Rochelle: who, as he shewed himself to them not ungentle, so found he them again to him not unconformable. Whereupon, a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them, upon conditions. Which agreement, the new king of Poland soon preferred to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. The king also himself, partly being weary of these chargeable wars, was the more willing to assent thereunto. And thus, at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal consent, under form of an edict, was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing 25 articles. In which also were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them the benefit of peace, and liberty of religion. This edict, or mandate sent down from the king by his herald at arms, Bironius, in the king's name, caused to be solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle, in the year 1573, the tenth day of June.

The year following, which was 1574, for two things seemeth fatal and famous; first, for the death of Charles the Ninth, the French king; also, most of all, for the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to Guise. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in stories. Touching the king's death, although Ric. Dinothus saith nothing, likely from fear, because he being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known: but another story, (whom the said Dinothus doth follow) bearing no name, saith thus: that he died the 25th day of May, upon Whitsun-eve, being aged 25 years: and addeth more, Certain it is, that his sickness came of bleeding. And saith further: The constant report so goeth, that his blood gushing out of divers parts of his body, he tossing in his bed, and uttering many horrible blasphemies, laid upon pillows, with his heels upward and head downward, voided so much blood at his mouth, that in a few hours he expired. Which story, if it be true, as is recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes, polluted with the blood of christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the terrible persecution in France.

#### To the CHRISTIAN READER.

Whereas that excellent man, both for learning and godliness, Mr. John Fox, of blessed memory, ended this worthy work with his short de-

claration of that horrible massacre and murder of God's saints and servants in France; we have thought good to set down the same more particularly and largely, and afterwards to add thereto a declaration of other outrageous cruelties, committed in France by the favourers and followers of the church of Rome upon faithful christians, both before and after the said massacre: all faithfully collected and taken out of the history of that honourable man, James August Thuanus, president of the parliament of Paris, and counsellor of state to the late French king, Henry the Fourth. And thus we have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhor that bloody Babylon of Rome, and to take better heed, that by our sins and contempt of God's holy word, by his great mercy committed unto us, we do not again fall into the cruel claws thereof, and into the bloody hands of her followers; as most certainly we had done, if God in great mercy had not prevented that savage, barbarous, and most monstrous Powder-Treason; of which great and merciful deliverance, God make us mindful and truly thankful in glorifying his name, and serving him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, Amen."

WHEN the admiral was wounded in both his arms, he immediately thereupon said to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre, O my brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy name's sake I do suffer these wounds. Then he whispered in the ear of one of them that bore up his arm, that he should deliver an hundred crowns to Marlin his preacher, to be given to the poor of the church of Paris.

The admiral was slain by Bernjus, of whom Alineus (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never saw man in so present peril, so constantly and confidently suffer death.

Many honourable men, and great personages, were then murdered, as count Rochfulcaud; Telinius, the admiral's son-in-law; Antonius Claromontus, marquis of Ravely; Lewis Buffius, Bandineus, Pluvialius, Bernius, &c.

Francis Nomparr Caumontius, being in bed with his two sons, was slain, with one of them: the other was strangely preserved, who after came to great honour and dignity.

Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief treasurer to the king in Poictiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a good sum of money, was cruelly murdered by some cut-throats, whom Stephen Fargon Parandery (who gaped for his office) had sent for that purpose.

Magdalen Briffonet, an excellent woman, and learned, the widow of Ivermus, master of requests to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the river.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued certain days after.

Peter Placie was repeatedly stabbed with daggers, and killed.

At Meldis two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain.

At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children, were murdered.

The citizens of Augustobona, when they heard of the massacre at Paris, shut the gates of their town that no protestants might escape, and cast all that they suspected into prison, which afterward were brought forth and murdered.

At Avaricum, in like manner, the suspected for religion were cast into prison, and afterwards murdered.

At the town of Charite, a troop of Lewes Gonzaga's horsemen killed 18 persons.

At Lyons there were 800 most miserably and cruelly murdered; the children hanging at their fathers' necks, and the fathers embracing their children, &c. Three hundred



hundred were slain in the archbishop's house. The monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried.

At Romanium seven were killed.

At Tholossa 200 were murdered.

At Roan 500 were put to death. At last Thuanus writeth thus; this example passed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdom above 30,000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed; although I think the number was somewhat less.

A little before this massacre, a man, nurse, and infant, carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

There was wonderful great joy in Rome for this massacre, and the pope with his cardinals went in solemn procession to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God for this great benefit bestowed upon the see of Rome and the Christian world. And the Monday following there was solemn service in the church of Minerva, at which the pope and the cardinals were present. A jubilee also was published, and in the evening the great ordinance was shot off in the castle of St. Angelo. The cardinal of Lorrain gave a thousand crowns to him that brought news of it.

Bricamotius, an old man of seventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution: and being in the way reviled and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. Bricamotius might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confess, that the admiral had conspired against the king; which he refused to do.

Caster, a city in the county of the Albingens, held by the protestants, being upon the king's great promises of their safety, delivered up into the hands of Crucete a nobleman, was notwithstanding with murders and spoil cruelly wasted.

At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, called Enimund Angerius, were 264 cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked them in his sermons to this slaughter.

At Agendicum in Main, a cruel slaughter of the protestants was committed by the instigation of Æmarus, inquisitor of criminal causes. A rumour being spread abroad, that the protestants had taken secret counsel to invade and spoil the churches, above an hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Igonna, which runneth by the city; the houses of many were spoiled; the church without the city, where the protestants assembled, was pulled down and made level with the ground, and their vines pulled up by the roots.

The duke of Guise entered into Blois; which although he got without any fight, yet all furious liberty was permitted to the soldiers, houses were spoiled, many protestants which had remained were slain, or drowned in the river; neither were women spared, of whom some were defiled, and more murdered. Amongst whom one matron of good birth, having escaped drowning in water, could not escape from the hand of the murderers. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Blois, where protestants had frequent assembly at sermons; which for many days together was spoiled, and many killed, and Caslebonius, the pastor, was drowned in the next river.

At Anjou, Albiacus, the pastor, was murdered; certain women slain, and some defiled: amongst whom, two sisters were abused in the sight of their father, who was bound to a well to behold that sight.

John Burgeolus, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was notwithstanding taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and flaves, and being stripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and was hanged by his feet upward, and head downward in the water up to his breast; then (he yet alive) they opened his belly, plucked out his guts, and threw them into the river, and taking his heart, put it upon a spear, carrying it with contumelious words about the city.

The town of Barre, being taken by the papists, all

kind of cruelty was there used, children were cut up, and the gurs of some of them and hearts pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their teeth. They that were in the castle, when they had yielded themselves to the will of the conqueror, were almost all hanged. One Ralet spared not his own son, but suffered him in that tumult to be hanged.

When the city Matiscou was taken, by corrupting the keeper of the keys, whom yet they killed, great cruelty was shewed, so that they counted it a sport to cut off men's legs and arms.

Sapontius inviting gentlewomen to supper, would walk with them, and having his soldiers about him, used to cast some of his prisoners (of which he had many) from the bridge into the river, and with that spectacle did satisfy the eyes of his guests; of whom he would often ask, whether they did ever see men leap better.

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December, the papists at the ringing of a bell broke open the doors, where the protestants were assembled, and killed without difference, some in the place, some as they were getting away, were here and there slain, among whom was one Guacerius, a rich merchant; who being drawn into his house, was with his wife and children murdered, and his house spoiled. About forty-five were in that tumult murdered, and their bodies contumeliously used.

In a town called Penna, 300 (notwithstanding the safety of their lives was promised them) were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, which were newly come to serve the French king; who also killed certain women there: scoffingly saying, that they were Lutheran men, dissembling their sex by their apparel.

The town of Nonne being yielded to the papists, upon condition that the foreign soldiers should depart safe with horse and armour, leaving their ensigns, and that the enemy's soldiers that were footmen should not enter into the town, and that no harm should be done to the townsmen; but that they might (if they would) go into the castle; after the yielding of it, the gates were set open, and straight they came to murdering and spoiling, without any regard of the foresaid conditions. Men and women without difference were killed; the streets founded with miserable mourning, blood flowing in the ways, and the lascivious soldiers' swords shining in the flames of fire, which they had cast upon the houses. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, this example of inordinate filthiness and cruelty is reported: a certain woman being drawn out of a private place, into which to avoid the rage of the soldiers she had fled with her husband, was in his sight shamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a sword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her husband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the soldiers not being content to defile her body, but also to make her to defile her hand with the slaughter of her husband.

At Samarobridge, in Picardy, in the time of peace, above 100 protestants were murdered: and at Antissiodore, which the protestants having held in the last war, had now yielded up, 150 were cruelly killed, and their dead bodies were drawn, and cast partly into jakes, and partly into the river.

Bordis, a captain under the prince of Conde, at Mirabellum, was contrary to promise cruelly killed, and his naked body cast into the street, that, being unburied, the dogs might eat it.

The prince of Conde being taking prisoner, and his life promised him, was shot in the neck by Montisquius, captain of the duke of Anjou's guard, of whom Thuanus writeth thus: This was the end of Lewis Bourbon, prince of Conde, of the King's blood, a man above the honour of his birth, most honourable in courage and virtue; who in valour, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confession of his enemies, superior to him.



Robert Stuart (a valiant Scottish gentleman) being taken prisoner, was notwithstanding stabbed with daggers, and killed.

At Orleans, 100 men and women being committed to prison, were, by the furious people that rushed in, most cruelly murdered.

Hitherto, out of the history of Jacobus Augustus Thuanus (who is reported to be a catholic), which endeth in the year 1578, wherein I have for shortness sake omitted sundry particular outrages and murders committed by that bloody Babylonical generation; from whose bloody hands, God in mercy defend and preserve us.

*The HISTORY of ROBERT OGUIER and his WIFE, BAUDICON and MARTIN their two SONS, who were burned at LISLE, in FLANDERS.*

UPON Saturday, March 6, 1556; between nine and ten o'clock in the night, the provost of the city with his serjeants, armed themselves to make search, if they could find any met together in houses; but then there was no assembly. Therefore they came to the house of Robert Oguier, which was a little church, for all both great and small, men-servants and maids, were familiarly instructed there in the knowledge of God.

Being entered into the said house, and seeking here and there for their prey, they found certain books which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not then in the house; namely, Baudicon, the son of the said Robert Oguier, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the word of God with some of the brethren, as he often used to do. Returning home, he knocked at the door; Martin, his younger brother, watching his coming, bade him be gone: but Baudicon, thinking his brother mistook him for some other, said, It is I, open the door: with that the serjeants opened the same, and let him in, saying, Ah, sir, you are well met; to whom he answered, I thank you, my friends, you are also welcome hither. Then said the provost, I arrest you all in the emperor's name; and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the husband and his wife with their two sons, leaving their two daughters to look to the house, and confined them in several prisons. Within a few days after, the prisoners were presented before the magistrates of the city, and examined concerning their course of life, who directed their speech first to Robert Oguier, in these words: It is told us that you never come to mass, yea, and also dissuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain conventicles in your house, causing erroneous doctrines to be preached there, contrary to the ordinance of our holy mother the church, whereby you have transgressed the laws of his Imperial majesty.

Robert Oguier answered, Whereas first of all you lay to my charge that I go not to mass; I refuse so to do indeed, because the death and precious blood of the Son of God, and his sacrifice, is utterly abolished there, and trodden under foot; "For Christ by one sacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." The apostle saith by one offering. For do we read in all the scriptures, that either the prophets, Christ, or any of his apostles, ever said mass? For they knew not what it meant. Christ indeed instituted the holy supper, in which all christian people do communicate together, but they sacrificed not. If you please to read the Bible over, you shall never find the mass once mentioned therein. And therefore it is the mere invention of men. You know then what Christ saith, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." If either myself, or any of mine had been at mass, which is ordained by the commandment of men, Christ would have told us, "We had worshipped him in vain."

As for the second accusation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my house honest people fearing God; I assure you not with intention to wrong

or harm any, but rather for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew also that Christ in his gospel had commanded it. "Where two or three, saith he, are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Thus you see I could not well obey the emperor, but I must disobey Christ. In this case then, I chuse rather to obey my God, than man.

One of the magistrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon, the eldest son, answered, If it please you, my masters, to give me leave, I will open the business at large unto you.

The sheriffs seeing his promptness, looking one upon another, said, Well, let us hear it then. Baudicon lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus: When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to hear the word of God, we first of all prostrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our spirits do make a confession of our sins before his Divine Majesty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honourable counsellors, that the common-wealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forgot not you whom we acknowledge our superiors; intreating our good God for you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have exactly related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended so highly in this matter of our assembling.

Whilst they were thus examined, each of them made an open confession of the faith which they held. After this, being returned again to prison, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confess who they were that frequented their house, but they would discover none, unless such as were well known to the judges, or else were at that time absent. About four or five days after, they were convened again before their judges, namely, the father and his two sons; and after many words passed, they asked them whether they would submit themselves to the will of the magistrates. Robert Oguier, and Baudicon his son, with some deliberation said, Yea, we will.

Then demanding the same of Martin, the younger brother, he answered, That he would not submit himself thereto, but would accompany his mother; so he was sent back again to prison, whilst the father and the son were sentenced to be burnt alive to ashes. Now as they went to receive the sentence, one of the judges sitting in his place, after sentence pronounced, said, To-day you shall go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire (which he spake as one transported with fury in beholding the great patience of these two servants of Christ); having received the sentence of death, they were returned to the prison from whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honour to be enrolled in the number of his martyrs. They no sooner entered the prison, than a band of friars came thither: one amongst the rest told them, the hour was come in which they must finish their days. Robert Oguier and his son answered, We know it well; but blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile prison, will receive our souls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom.

One of the friars, whose name was Lazard, endeavoured to turn them from their faith, saying, Father Robert, thou art an old man, let me intreat thee in this thy last hour to think of saving thine own soul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou shalt do well.

The old man answered, Poor man, how darest thou attribute that to thyself which belongs to the eternal God, and so rob him of his honour? For it seems by thy speech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my saviour. No, no, I have one only Saviour, Jesus Christ, who by and by will deliver me from this miserable world. I have one doctor, whom the heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpose to hearken to none other.



A friar, called the father of St. Clare, exhorted him to take pity of his soul which Christ hath redeemed: Thou willest me, said Robert, to pity mine own soul, dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the name of Christ I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Christ, his death and passion, he will direct me the right way to his kingdom. I believe whatsoever the holy prophets and apostles have written, and in that faith will I live and die.

The friar hearing this, said, Out, dog, thou art not worthy the name of a christian; thou and thy son with thee are both resolved to damn your bodies and souls with all the devils in the bottom of hell.

As they were about to separate Baudicon from his father, he said, Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus; he is an old man, and hath an infirm body, hinder him not, I pray you, from receiving the crown of martyrdom.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being stripped of his clothes, was fitted to be sacrificed; now as one brought him gunpowder to put to his breast, an odd fellow standing by, said, Wert thou my brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy faggots to burn thee, thou findest but too much favour. The young man answered, Well, sir, the Lord shew you more mercy. Some that were present, saying, Good God, is it not a pitiful sight to behold these poor men? a doctor standing by, answered, And what pity would you have shewed toward them? I would, instead of allowing them this powder, have them fried on gridirons, as St. Laurence was.

Whilst they spake thus to Baudicon, some of the friars closed in with the old man, persuading him at least to take a crucifix into his hands, lest the people (said they) should murmur against you; adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, because you know, said they, it is but a piece of wood.

Thus they fastened it between his hands, but as soon as Baudicon was come down, and espied what they had done to his father, he said, Alas, father, what do you now, will you play the idolator even at our last hour? And then pulling the idol out of his hands which they had fastened therein, he threw it away, saying, What cause hath the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jesus Christ of wood? We bear upon our hearts the cross of Christ the Son of the ever-living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of gold.

As they were led to execution, a band of soldiers were attendant upon them, no less than if a prince had been conducted into his kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended up the scaffold which was there prepared for them. Then Baudicon asked leave of the sheriffs to make a confession of his faith before the people. Answer was made, that he was to look unto his spiritual father and confessor: Confess yourself (said they) to him. He was then hauled rudely to the stake, where he began to sing the 16th Psalm. The friar cried out, Do you not hear, my masters, what wicked errors these heretics sing, to beguile the people with. Baudicon hearing what he said, replied thus; Now, simple idiot, callest thou the psalms of the prophet David errors? But no wonder, for thus you are wont to blaspheme against the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be chained to the stake, he said, Be of good courage, father, the worst will be past by and by. As the executioner was fastening him to the post, he happened to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him stand nearer to the same. The old man being sensible of the blow, said, Friend, thou hurtest my foot, why dost thou abuse me thus? The friar hearing this, said, Ah, these heretics; they would be counted martyrs forsooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as though they were killed. To which Baudicon thus replied: Think you then that we fear the tormentors? No such matter; for had we feared the same, we had

never exposed our bodies to this so shameful and painful a kind of death.

Then he often reiterated these short breathings, O God, Father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of our bodies, for thy well beloved Son Jesus Christ's sake. One of the friars cried out, Heretic, thou liest, he is none of thy Father, the devil is thy father. And thus, during these conflicts, he bent his eyes to heaven, and speaking to his father, said, Behold, I see the heavens open, and millions of angels ready prest to receive us, rejoicing to see us thus witnessing the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the joys of heaven are set open to us.

Then said one of the friars, I see hell open, and millions of devils present to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forsakes any that put their trust in him, stirred up the heart and opened the mouth of a poor man who stood among the multitude, beholding this spectacle, who being moved with compassion, cried aloud, Be of good comfort, Baudicon, stand thou to it, thou fightest in a good quarrel, I am on thy side; after which words he departed thence; and a way being made for him, saved himself from danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the straw and wood, which burnt beneath, whilst they (not shrinking from the pains) spake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his father's ears, "Faint not, father, nor be afraid; yet a very little while, and we shall enter into the heavenly mansions."

In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, the last words they were heard to pronounce, were, Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our spirits. And thus these two slept sweetly in the Lord.

In eight days after, Jane the mother, and Martin her son, were executed in the same city.

But before we come to describe their happy ends, we will, as briefly as we can, take notice by the way, of the very great conflicts of spirit which both of them sustained.

There were sent unto them many of the popish rabble, to turn them from their faith. Now that this their devilish enterprize might the better be effected, they separated the one from the other, by the politic advice of a monk; the poor woman began to waver, and let go her first faith. At this their enemies rejoiced not a little, whilst the poor little flock of Christ, hearing such sad news, were in continual perplexity, but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

On a day one of the monks waited on her in the prison, counselling her to win her son Martin, and to draw him from his errors; which she promised to do. But when he was come to his mother, and perceived that she was not only fallen, but also quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miserable state.

O mother, said he, what have you done? Have you denied him who hath redeemed you? Alas, what evil hath he done you, that you should requite him with this so great an injury and dishonour? Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have most feared. Ah, good God, that I should live to see this, which pierceth me to the very heart.

His mother hearing these his pitiful complaints, and seeing the tears which her son shed for her, began again to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me a miserable sinner, and cover my transgression under the righteousness of thy blessed Son; Lord, enable me with strength from above, to stand to my first confession, and make me to abide stedfast therein even unto my last breath.

It was not long before this change, that the same instruments of Satan, who had seduced her, came in, supposing to find her in the same mind wherein they left her: whom she no sooner espied, but with detestation said, Away, Satan, get thee behind me: for henceforth thou hast neither part nor portion in me. I will, by the help of God, stand to my first confession; and, if I may not sign it with ink, I will seal it with my blood.



blood. And so, from that time, this frail vessel, who for a while relented, after her recovery, grew stronger and stronger.

The judges, seeing their constancy, delayed not to dispatch them out of the way, condemning them to be burned alive, and their bodies being reduced to ashes, the same to be scattered and dispersed in the air. The mother and the son having heard their sentence read, in the way as they were going back again to prison, said, Now blessed be our God, who causeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: this is the wished-for hour, our gladsome day is come; let us not then, said Martin, forget to be thankful for the honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the image of his Son. Let us remember those who have traced this path before us: for this is the high-way to the kingdom of heaven. Let us then, good mother, go on boldly out of the camp with the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his holy martyrs; for so we shall find passage into the glorious kingdom of the everlasting God.

Some of the company hearing, but not being able to brook these words, said, We see now, thou heretic, that thou art wholly possessed, body and soul, with a devil; as was thy father, and thy brother, who are both in hell. Martin said, Sirs, as for your railings and curfings, our God will this day turn them into blessings, in the sight of himself and of his angels.

A certain temporizer said to Martin, Thou silly youth, thou sayest thou knowest not what; thou art too much conceited of thyself, and of thy cause. Seest thou not all these people here about thee? what thinkest thou of them? They believe not as thou dost, and yet I doubt not but they shall be saved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to pass, though you pretend ever so much that you are in the faith, and have the scriptures for you.

The good woman hearing this, answered, Sir, Christ Jesus our Lord saith, that it is the wide gate and broad way which leads to destruction, and therefore many go in thereat: but the gate, saith she, is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the straight way or no, when ye behold our sufferings? Would you have a better sign than this, to know whether we are in the right way or no? Compare our doctrine with that of your priests and monks: we, for our parts, are determined to have but one Christ, and him crucified; we only embrace the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy prophets and apostles have taught?

Soon after, Martin and his mother were bound and brought to the place of their martyrdom: his mother having ascended the scaffold, cried to Martin, Come up; come up, my son. And as he was speaking to the people, she said, Speak out, Martin, that it may appear to all that we do not die heretics. Martin would have made a confession of his faith, but could not be suffered. His mother being bound to the stake, spake in the hearing of the spectators, We are christians; and that which we now suffer, is not for murder nor theft, but because we will believe no more than that which the word of God teacheth us: both rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the same.

The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing cool or abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued constant in the faith, and with lifting up their hands to heaven, in an holy accord said, Lord Jesus, into thy hand we commend our spirits. And thus they blessedly slept in the Lord.

*A brief RELATION of the MASSACRE at VASSY, in the COUNTRY of CHAMPAIGNE, in FRANCE.*

THE duke of Guise being arrived at Joinville, asked some that he was familiar with, whether those of Vassy used to have sermons preached constantly by their minister. It was answered, they had, and that they increased daily more and more. At the hearing

of which report, he fell into a grievous passion; and upon Saturday, the last day of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath against the religious sort at Vassy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the cardinal of Guise, his brother, and those of their train, and lodged in the village of Dammartin the Free, which is distant from Joinville about two French miles and an half.

The next day, being Sunday, after he had heard mass very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred men, armed with harquebusses, pistols, and cutlasses, he left Dammartin, passing along to Vassy. As he went by the village of Bronzeval, which is distant from Vassy a short quarter of a mile, the bell (after the usual manner) rang for sermon. The duke hearing it, asked those he met, why the bell rang so loud at Vassy; they told him it was to give the people warning of the sermon which was to be preached there. Then one, called La Montague, said, It is for the assembling of the Hugonots; adding moreover, that there were many in the said Bronzeval who frequented the sermons preached at Vassy; and, therefore, that the duke would do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the duke answered, March on, march on, we shall take them amongst the rest of the assembly. Many who followed the duke, namely, pages and footmen, rejoiced not a little concerning this bloody enterprise, not sticking to say, that the booty and pillage would fall to their shares; swearing by blood and wounds, that there would be good store of Hugonots there.

Now, there were certain soldiers and archers accompanying the duke, who compassed about Vassy; for having been mustered at Monthierender, instead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the muster was ended, they took their way thence to Vassy, most of them being lodged in the houses of papists. The Saturday before the slaughter, they were seen to make ready their weapons, harquebusses, and pistols; but the faithful not dreaming of such a conspiracy, thought the duke would offer them no hard measure, being the king's subjects; also, that not above two months before, the duke and his brethren passing by near unto the said Vassy, gave no sign of their displeasure.

The duke of Guise being arrived at Vassy, with all his troops, a young man, a shoemaker, stepped out of his house, not far from the door where the assembly was, Montague, pointing to him with his finger, said he was one of the ministers. Whereupon the duke called this shoemaker to him, and asked him, whether he was a minister, and of what university he was. He answered, that he was not of that calling, neither was he a scholar. Notwithstanding, he hardly escaped from this troop, which had environed him round about: only one of the company told him, that if he had been a minister, he had taken upon him a very base calling.

From thence, the duke La Brosse, and La Montague, passed on in the said city with their soldiers, as if they intended to take their way towards the village of Esclairon, where it was given out they meant to dine. But passing by the market-house of Vassy, which is near the monastery, in the way leading to Esclairon, he turned and went directly towards the common-hall, or market-house, and then entered into the monastery; where, having called to him one Desfalses, the prior of Vassy, and another whose name was Claud le Sain, being provost of the said Vassy, he talked a while with them, and issuing hastily out of the monastery, was attended by many of his followers. Then command was given to such as were papists, to retire into the monastery, and not to be seen in the streets, unless they would venture the loss of their lives. The duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the sermon was, being in a barn, about an hundred paces distant from the monastery, quite opposite to that way which the duke should have taken to Esclairon. This command was by and by put in execution by such of the



the company as went on foot going directly thither. He that marched foremost of this rabble, was La Brosse, and on the side of these marched the horsemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own followers, likewise those of the cardinal of Guise, his brother.

By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the minister, after the first prayer ended, and having begun his sermon before his auditors, which might amount to about 1200 persons, consisting of men, women, and children; the horsemen first approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, shot off two harquebusses right upon those who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within perceiving that, endeavoured to shut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians rushing in upon them, who drawing their swords, furiously cried out, Death of God, kill, kill these Hugonots.

The first they seized on was a poor crier of wine, that stood next the door, asking him if he were not a Hugonot; and in whom he believed. Having answered, that he believed in Jesus Christ, they smote him twice with a sword, which felled him to the ground. Having got up again, thinking to recover himself, they struck him the third time; whereby, being overcharged with wounds, he fell down, and died instantly. Two other men, at the same time, were slain at the entry of the said door, as they were pressing out to escape.

Then did the duke of Guise, with his company, violently enter in among them, striking the poor people down with their swords, daggers, and cutlasses, not sparing any age or sex: besides, they within were so astonished, that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither, fell one upon another, flying as poor sheep before a company of ravening wolves entering in among the flock.

Some of the murderers shot off their pieces against them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces such as they lighted upon; some had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off; so that many of them gave up the ghost even in the place. The walls and galleries of the said place were dyed with the blood of those who were every where murdered: yea, so great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roof of the house, in hopes they might save themselves upon the top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of these cruel tygers, some of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongst the vines, which with most expedition they could soonest attain unto; some hurt in their arms, others in their heads, and other parts of their bodies. The duke presented himself in the house with his sword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill especially the young men. Only, in the end, women with child were spared. And pursuing those who went upon the house tops, they cried, Come down, ye dogs, come down, using many cruel threatening speeches to them.

The cause why women with child escaped, was, as the report went, for the duchess's sake, his wife, who, passing along by the walls of the city, and hearing so hideous outcries amongst these poor creatures with the noise of the pieces and pistols continually discharging, sent in all haste to the duke her husband with much intreaties to cease his persecution, for frightening women with child.

During this slaughter, the cardinal of Guise remained before the church of the said city of Vassy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were busied in killing and slaying whom they could. Many of this assembly being thus hotly pursued, did in the first brunt save themselves upon the roof of the house, not being discerned by those who stood without: but at length, some of this bloody crew espying where they lay hid, shot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and slain. The household servants of Dessalles, prior of Vassy, shooting at the people on

the roof, caused them to fall down like pigeons: one of that wretched company was not ashamed to boast, after the massacre was ended, that he for his part had caused six at least to tumble down in that pitiful plight, saying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could possibly have escaped.

The minister, in the beginning of the massacre, ceased not to preach, till one discharged his piece against the pulpit where he stood, after which, falling down upon his knees, he intreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himself, but also upon his poor persecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himself unknown: but whilst he approached towards the door, in his fear he stumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a sword upon his right shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and feeling himself mortally wounded, he cried, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of truth.

While he thus prayed, one of this bloody crew ran upon him, with an intent to have ham-stringed him; but it pleased God his sword broke in the hilt. Now, to let you understand by what means he was delivered from so terrible a death: two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, said, He is the minister, let him be conveyed to my lord duke. These leading him away by both the arms, brought him before the gate of the monastery, from whence the duke, and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, said, Come hither; and asked him, saying, Art thou the minister of this place? Who made thee so bold to seduce this people thus? Sir, said the minister, I am no seducer, for I have preached to them the gospel of Jesus Christ. The duke perceiving that this answer condemned his cruel outrages, began to curse and swear, saying, Death of God, doth the gospel preach sedition? Provost, go and let a gibbet be set up, and hang this fellow.

At which words the minister was delivered into the hands of two pages, who misused him vilely. The women of the city, being ignorant papists, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries, said, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cause of the death of so many. Much ado there was to hold off the women from being revenged upon the poor minister.

Whilst the pages had him thus in their handling, the duke went into the barn, to whom they presented a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother the cardinal, said, Lo, here the title of the Hugonot books. The cardinal viewing it, said, There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the holy scriptures. The duke being offended, that his brother suited not to his humour, grew into a greater rage than before, saying, Blood of God, how now? What! the holy scripture. It is one thousand five hundred years ago since Jesus Christ suffered his death and passion, and it is but a year since these books were imprinted, how then say you that this is the gospel? By the death of God, you say you know not what. This unbridled fury of the duke displeased the cardinal, so that he was heard secretly to mutter, An unworthy brother.

This massacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters sounding the while two several times. When any of these desired to have mercy shewed them for the love of Jesus Christ, the murderers in scorn would say unto them, You use the name of Christ, but where is your Christ now? And when they said, Lord God, they blasphemously would say, Lord devil.

There died in this massacre, within a few days, fifty or threescore persons; besides these, there were about two hundred and fifty, as well men as women, that were wounded and spoiled, whereof some died, one losing a leg, another an arm, another his fingers. The poor's box, which was fastened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, was wrested thence, with twelve



twelve pounds therein, and never restored again. Nothing was to be seen in the streets but women with their hair hanging about their ears, faces besmeared with blood, being wounded in many places with swords and daggers, with weeping and lamentations. Barbers and surgeons were set on work, that he that had least had threescore under his hand to be dressed, and many perished for want thereof.

The minister was kept close prisoner, so that for four and twenty hours none were permitted to supply him with any necessities at all, nor any suffered to see him or speak with him, and was often threatened by his keepers to be sewed up in a sack and drowned. Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his Easter after the popish manner, under fair promises of his enlargement; but he would by no means consent thereto. Thus he continued a prisoner until the 8th day of May, 1563, at which time he was set free at the suit of the most illustrious prince of Portien.

Whilst the duke was at Esclairon, the lackeys and others of his servants put to sale, unto such as would give most, cloaks, hats, girdles, coifs, handkerchiefs, with other things which they had robbed the massacred of; crying them with a loud voice, as if a common crier had cried household goods to be sold.

*Of the Coming of JANE, QUEEN of NAVARRE, to the CITY of PARIS, in FRANCE, with the MANNER of her SICKNESS and DEATH there.*

THIS good queen, before she could be drawn to come to Paris to solemnize the marriage of her son the prince of Navarre, with the sister of Charles the Ninth, then king of France, received letters upon letters from the said king, to accompany the prince her son in that solemnity: now, whereas she had some doubts concerning her son's marriage with one of another religion, the king assured her that all things should be so wrought, as should give her good satisfaction and content; promising that he would get a dispensation from the pope to that end. But when the queen understood that the king was minded to have this marriage solemnized at Paris, she would by no means hear of it; For I will not, said she, put any confidence in so mutinous a people, being the sworn enemies both of myself and mine.

Still the king persisted in his suit for the obtaining of the same at her hands. Also having intelligence by some of his agents, that the queen of Navarre began a little to waver, he solicited her yet once again to come, assuring her that all things should be carried in such a peaceable manner, that she should have no cause to complain. At length the queen came from Rochelle to Blois, in the month of March, 1572, with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what a welcome she received on all sides, especially from the king and his brothers, &c. who yet, when all was done, could say to his mother, Now, madam, have I not acquitted myself well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net.

In April following the articles were concluded concerning the marriage of the prince of Navarre with the king's sister. In the beginning of May, the king solicits the queen of Navarre again to come to Paris, for preparing of things fitting for this marriage; which she accordingly yielded unto, and parting from Blois on the sixth of the said month, came to Paris on the fifteenth of the same.

The queen-mother could by no means abide this good queen; and therefore not finding with what colour she could dispatch her with the rest, and yet fearing the height of her spirit if she should survive, as also that she could not then so work upon the flexibility of the prince her son as she intended, she consulted with one Rene, an apothecary, whose practice it was to poison things; who by such means ventured to poison the prince of Conde by the scent of a poisoned apple, which upon some suspicion was first tried upon a dog; and it had almost cost the prince's surgeon his life, by smelling too

nigh thereunto. This Rene, selling to the queen of Navarre his perfumed drugs, found the way how to poison her therewith, although others thought the contrary. But the said Rene was heard afterwards to make his brags, that he had the like in store for two or three more, who suspected no such matter.

On Wednesday, June the 4th, the queen fell sick of a continual fever, and kept her bed; which proceeded, as it was given out, from her incessant grief, which by long continuance brought on an imposthume, she being also distempered with the heat of the season and her extraordinary long journies. This burning fever grew so strong upon her, that within five days after she died, to the great grief of the better sort, but the joy of the secret council.

The malady indeed was in her brain, which was not searched: in which the queen-mother had an hand, though she seemed much to mourn for the affliction of her good friend. Now forasmuch as in the time of her sickness, she manifested with what spirit she was guided, we will here set down the true narration of her behaviour, both in sickness, and at her death.

Perceiving that she could not long continue, she made herself ready to receive from the hand of God that which he had appointed concerning her: and to that end requested she might have such about her, as might comfort her in this case out of the word of God, as also to pray with her and for her, according to that which St. James saith, Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over such a one, knowing that the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much with God.

Thus, according to her desire, a minister resorting unto her, shewed out of the scriptures, That christians ought in all things to submit themselves to the will of God as to the Father of spirits, that they might live. And although the rigour of his chastisements doth sometimes seem to our flesh, as if they were sent for no other end but our ruin and destruction; yet ought we to consider, that because he is just, he can do nothing but justly; and being a Father, he cannot but therein seek the welfare of his afflicted children.

To which she replied, I take all this as sent from the hand of God, my most merciful Father; nor have I, during this extremity, feared to die, much less murmured against him for inflicting the same upon me; knowing, that whatsoever he doth, he doth the same so as all in the end shall turn to my everlasting good.

The minister continuing in his speech, added, That the cause of sickness and diseases must be sought beyond the course of physick, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or to the more noble parts of the body any way distempered: for howsoever it was not amiss to have respect to these things, as to second causes, yet ought we to ascend higher, namely, to the first, even to God himself, who disposeth of all his creatures as it pleaseth him. He it is that makes the wound and heals, that kills and makes alive. And therefore to him we ought to direct our prayers for comfort in all our griefs and sufferings, and in the end for full deliverance; seeing it is no hard matter with him to restore health unto us, if his good pleasure be such.

To this she answered, That she depended wholly upon God's providence, knowing that all things are wisely disposed by him, and therefore besought him to furnish her with all such graces as he saw to be necessary for her salvation. As for this life, said she, I am in a manner weaned from the love of it, in regard to the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto, but especially because I cannot live without daily offending my good God, with whom I desire to be with all my heart.

The minister told her, that long life, how full of trouble soever it were, was notwithstanding to be esteemed among the blessings of God, seeing his promise implies so much; and not only so, but because our life may many ways serve to his glory, and is both an honour and a pledge of his favour, even as it is to him whom his prince employs long in his service, having had experience of his fidelity for many years together. In which



respect she was earnestly requested to pray, That if it were the will of God to employ her yet longer in his service, for the further enlargement of his gospel, that he would grant unto her such recovery of health, and good disposition of body, that with renewed strength she might be encouraged to finish her course much more nobly than heretofore.

Whereupon she protested, that in regard of her own particular, her life was not dear unto her, seeing so long as she lived in this frail flesh, she was still prone and apt to sin against God: only her care was somewhat for her children (which God had given her), in respect they should so soon be deprived of her now in their young years; yet not doubting (though it should please God to take me from them) but that God himself will be a father and protector over them, as he hath been to me in my greatest afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and fatherly care. These were her very words.

The minister blessed God to find her majesty in this assurance of faith; advising her to make choice of such, who, for their sincerity both in life and doctrine, might continue to water in these young princely plants the seeds of piety, which had been sown in them by her indefatigable care and industry; telling her, that it was to be hoped, that the example of her faith and constancy in the service of God, which she had set before them, would serve as a perpetual inducement to imitate her so noble virtues.

She again declared, That death was not terrible unto her, because it was the way by which we pass hence to our eternal rest. Upon this expression the minister told her, That christians had little cause to fear death, in regard they should not die at all, according to Christ's words in the gospel of St. John, "He that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." For death (to speak properly) is no death to them, but a sleep, being often so called in the scriptures; and therefore Christ for their sakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own person: so as now we may cry out with St. Paul, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?"

She was often admonished by him to make confession of her sins before God, shewing, That bodily diseases tended to the dissolution of nature, and that death was the wages of sin; declaring moreover, that by this her chastisement she might discern what she had deserved, if God should now enter into judgment with her, not only in regard of the fall of our first parents, in which guilt she was enwrapped, as well as others, but also by her own personal sins, seeing the best of men or women in the world are in themselves but poor, miserable, and wretched offenders; yea, if the Lord should punish us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands but eternal death and condemnation.

At these words she began, with her hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, to acknowledge that her sins which she had committed against the Lord were innumerable; but yet she hoped that God for Christ's sake, in whom she put her whole trust, would be merciful unto her.

The minister, fearing his long discourse might be too tedious for her (and especially because the physicians thought it might be hurtful), held his peace; but her majesty earnestly requested him not to forbear speaking to her about these matters of life and eternal salvation; adding, that she now felt the want of it, in regard that since her coming to Paris, she had been somewhat remiss in hearing such exhortations out of the word of God: and therefore I am now the more glad (said she) to receive comfort out of it in this my so great extremity.

The minister then endeavoured to set before her the happiness of heaven, and what those joys are which the faithful there possess in the presence of God: which when the scriptures intend to discover unto us, they only tell us, that "The eye hath not seen, nor hath the ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what those things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him." To which pur-

pose he used this similitude, That if a king, intending greatly to honour some noble personage, should bring him to his court, and there shew him his state and attendance, his treasures, with all his most precious jewels: even so, said he, will the Lord one day reveal to all his elect and faithful people, his magnificence and glory, with all the treasures of his kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himself, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption, and immortality.

This happiness therefore being so great, her highness, he said, ought to be the less careful about the leaving of this transitory life, seeing that for an earthly kingdom, which she was now to forego, she should inherit an heavenly; and for temporal good things, which vanish and come to nothing in the using, she should for ever enjoy those that were eternal and everlasting: for her faith being now firmly settled upon our Lord Jesus Christ, she might be suffered to obtain everlasting salvation by him. On which words he took occasion to direct his speech more particularly unto her, saying:

Madam, do you verily believe that Jesus Christ came into the world to save you? And do you expect the full forgiveness of all your sins, by the shedding of his blood for you?

To which she readily answered, She did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for salvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly satisfied for the sins of the whole world, and therefore was assured that God for his sake, according to his gracious promises in him, would have mercy upon her.

Thus you have in part the godly speeches which passed from this religious lady in the beginning of her sickness; all which was within the space of three or four days.

In the end, feeling her strength to decay more and more, she gave order to have her last will and testament made, wherein she above all wished, that her children might have but the grace to honour and fear the Lord, exhorting them constantly to continue in the profession of the gospel, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordaining especially that her daughter, the princess, should be educated and instructed therein, by the four ladies which she had appointed, and brought with her out of Berne for that end and purpose. And being come to age, her desire was that she might be joined in marriage to some prince of the same religion, by the counsel and advice of the cardinal of Bourbon and Gasper, count of Colligny, admiral of France, whom she made executors and overseers of her said testament.

This good queen departed this life, to take possession of a far better, June 9, 1572, sweetly yielding up her spirit into the hands of God, the sixth day after she fell sick, and in the 44th year of her age.

After the death of the queen, certain princes were solicited by the king to give their attendance at Paris for the solemnizing the marriage of the prince of Navarre (now made king by the death of his mother), according to the ceremonies which were thereunto appertaining. Amongst the rest, letters were directed to the admiral by the king himself, to come to this marriage; wherein the king assured him he would not tarry long after him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Parisians, nor of their threats, which they had formerly uttered against him: for he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bore him, and therefore wrote unto the mayor of the city, to look unto it at his peril, that the admiral had no wrong offered him by the citizens, either at his entrance, or continuance in the city.

The queen-mother and the duke of Anjou wrote unto the mayor also, and likewise to the rest of the magistrates, to the same effect, but especially to their servants, some whereof had a little light given them touching that device. To be short, they endeavoured to take all impediments out of his way, that he might with the less mistrust fall into the same.

The admiral, not fearing any perils, resolved to take his journey to Paris. Although he lacked not sundry adver-



advertisements from his own followers, and others his well-wishers in the kingdom, who honoured him much, desiring him, that howsoever he had no sinister opinion of the king, of his mother, or any of their's, yet at the least he was to take into his consideration the place whither he went, and amongst what enemies he was now to venture himself. But he always leaning upon the testimony of a good conscience, and being confident in God's providence, not moved by these advertisements, took his journey to Paris with very few attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received by the king and his brethren, and by the queen-mother, with others also.

The marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's sister, being solemnized on the 17th and 18th of August, 1572, and all the triumphs and feastings accompanying the same being finished, the admiral determining to take his leave at court, and so to return homewards, the deputies of the reformed churches brought him their requests on a sudden, to present the same to the king, in regard of many wrongs the said churches had sustained; and therefore they instantly besought him, that he would not leave the court till some order might be taken for redress thereof.

This, with other impediments, were the occasion of detaining him still there.

Mauravell, coming to Paris whilst these feasts lasted, having presented his service first to the king and his mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise; after some speech had with the king and queen-mother, one named Chaill, had a command to direct him to the house whence the blow should be given; who left him with a woman in the house, which woman was forbidden not only to ask his name, but also so much as to inquire for what cause he was lodged there.

On Friday, the 22d of August, in the morning he trimmed up his harquebuss, watching secretly the admiral's coming.

The admiral at his going forth out of the Louvre, meeting the king coming out of a chapel which is before the same, passing thence to play at tennis, he scarcely had gone a hundred paces from the place, but as he returned to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended by twelve or fifteen gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the window of a lodging (where Villemur, tutor to the duke of Guise, usually lay) he was shot with an harquebuss, charged with three brass bullets, one of which took off the fore-finger of his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himself thus wounded, he asked some of his followers to enter that house, and to inquire who it was that had done that, or who set him on work to do it; and then to inform the king thereof, giving him to understand how well his commandment was observed.

Now whilst they were busy to force open the door, the murderer fled out by a back way, escaping thence out of the gate of St. Anthony; where one attended him, holding a Spanish gennet, brought out of the duke of Guise's stable; whereon he galloped away, yet not without some difficulty: for flying thus in some fear, he fell off his horse twice or thrice.

A gentleman seeing the admiral hurt, came to support his left arm, binding up the hurt thereon with his handkerchief. And thus was he conducted to his lodging, which was distant from thence about twenty paces. In his passing, a gentleman said, It was to be feared the bullets were poisoned: to which the admiral replied, All must be as it pleaseth God.

The king hearing of the admiral's hurt, left his game, where he was playing till then with the duke of Guise, and throwing away his racket as it seemed in an anger, with a sad and heavy countenance withdrew himself into his chamber: the duke of Guise followed him within a little while after.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, with many other of their religion, having notice of the admiral's hurt, complained to the king of this untimely accident; intreating they might have leave to depart out of the city, seeing they could expect little safety there. The king made great lamentations to them of the mischance

that had happened, swearing and protesting that he would execute such impartial justice upon the offender, and on all the complotters, as should give the admiral and all his friends content; only he willed them to stay, promising them ere long to provide for their security.

The surgeons and physicians were presently sent for, amongst whom was Ambrose Pare, the king's surgeon, a man very expert. He began first with the admiral's finger, which put him to much pain, because the scissors were not sharp enough to cut it off at once; besides he was obliged to stop and open the wound thrice; then he began on the left arm, making incisions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience; whilst those which stood by and saw him so mangled, could not refrain from tears. Captain Monins held him with both his arms about the middle; and Cornaton held his hands. He seeing them astonished, My friends, said he, why weep you? I think myself happy to be thus handled in the cause of God. And now casting his eyes upon a minister, called Merlin, he said, Here you see, my friend, God's blessings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to pass by the will of my heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majesty in that he is pleased to honour me so far, as to suffer any thing for his holy name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of perseverance.

Then looking upon the said minister, who wept over him; Oh, master Merlin, said he, what, will you not comfort me? Yes, sir, said he, for wherein may you take greater comfort, than in calling to mind how greatly God hath always honoured you, in esteeming you worthy to suffer reproach for his name's sake, and true religion? The admiral replied, Alas! if God should deal with me according to my deserts, he might have put me to worse torments than these. But blessed be his holy name, in that he is pleased to take pity on me his poor and unworthy servant. Be of good cheer then, sir, said another unto him; for seeing God hath spared your more noble parts, you have cause therein to magnify his goodness. In these wounds you have received from God a testimony of his love, rather than of his displeasure, seeing he hath preserved your head and understanding safe.

Then said Merlin, Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed this outrage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath smitten you: therefore for the present, cease to think of the malefactor. I assure you, said the admiral, I do freely forgive him, from the bottom of my heart, and those also that are his abettors; being fully persuaded that none of them all could have done me the least hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death itself to God's children, but an assured passage to an eternal rest and life.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the admiral (as you heard before), about two o'clock in the afternoon, the king, accompanied with the queen-mother, his brother, and other of the lords, went to visit the admiral.

The king with tears seemed to be exceeding sorry for that which was come to pass, promising him, with one blasphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no less than if it had been committed upon his own person: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him, in the Louvre, for his greater security and safety. Whereupon, the admiral, after some discourse made to the king in secret, gave him most humble thanks for so great a favour, as to visit him in his own person.

Upon the motion made by the king, Mazilles, his chief physician, was called, demanding of him, whether the admiral might safely be removed thence into the Louvre, or no? His answer to the king was, That it could not be done without danger. Some of the admiral's friends thought it fitting to request a guard of soldiers to be assigned by the king unto him for his better security. The king answered, he liked well that advice, being fully determined to provide for the admiral's safety as his own, and



and would preserve him no less than the apple of his eye. After the king called for the bullet of brass, wherewith the admiral was hurt, that he might see it, asking whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, as likewise touching the dressing of his arm; now as Cornaton shewed the bullet, having his sleeve all bloody (because he was appointed to hold the admiral's arm, while it was in dressing), the king asked if that were of the admiral's blood? And whether so much blood issued out of his wounds? Adding (after Cornaton's answer), he never saw man in his life shew greater constancy and magnanimity of spirit than the admiral did.

Then was the queen-mother desirous to see the bullet, saying, I am glad the bullet is taken out. For I remember when the duke of Guise was killed before Orleans, the physician told me, that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death, though it were poisoned.

Then Cornaton answered, We have foreseen that, madam; for being careful to prevent that danger, the admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poison, if peradventure any such thing should be.

The Saturday before the admiral was slain, he began to be somewhat cheered, so that the surgeons and physicians gave out, they would warrant the admiral's life: because his arm, having lost but little of it's strength, would soon be healed. This news was brought to the king, who seemed to entertain the same joyfully. The new-married wife came also to visit the admiral. But all this was but a lightening before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of armour in the city, and many torches lighted every where, borne by many of the people. Some gentlemen, whose lodgings were nigh to the admiral's, rose, and went out, asking some of their acquaintance the reason why there were so many up in arms at that hour of the night: they answered, that the king much desired to see a castle assailed and defended, devised only in sport to give him content. They passing yet further, came to the Louvre, where they likewise saw many torches lighted, and troops of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themselves, but began to pick a quarrel with them; and as one of the said gentlemen was about to speak, a Gascoine soldier struck him with a partizan, and then they fell upon the rest. The noise hereof spreading, the queen-mother said, Seeing it is not possible to retain the fury of the soldiers any longer from breaking out, let the bell of the church of St. Germain be tolled; which was the signal to begin the massacre.

The admiral coming to the knowledge of this uproar (though he had but few of his followers about him) was not much moved thereat; trusting (as he often used to say) upon the king's favour, whereof he had large experience. Also he knew that when the Parisians should understand how much the king disliked their folly, though they had an intention of doing him some mischief, yet would they be quieted as soon as they saw Cossens and his guard.

This Cossens was appointed by the duke of Anjou to defend the admiral's lodgings, wherein the old proverb was verified, That the wolf was set to keep the sheep.

About break of day, August the 24th, 1572, being St. Bartholemew's-day, they began to knock at the door where the admiral lay. La Bonne, who lay not far from him, having the keys, perceiving there were some who came on a message from the king to the admiral, came down quickly and opened the door; presently Cossens fell upon him and stabbed him with his dagger, so that he died. Then with his harquebussers rushing into the house, killing such as they met, others fled. Cornaton awaking with the noise that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next chamber), ran thither, causing the Switzers and other officers to fortify it. Cossens hearing that, cried to him to open it in the king's name, and he so handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and after gained the stairs. The admiral and those that were with him, taking notice how they shot off pistols and guns, finding themselves in-

closed in their enemy's hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their sins.

The admiral rising out of his bed, and putting on his night-gown, commanded Merlin, the minister, to make the prayer. He also, earnestly calling upon Jesus Christ his God and Saviour, commended his spirit into his hands. He that testified these things, and made report thereof, coming into the chamber, and being asked by the admiral what that tumult meant; Sir, saith he, God is now summoning us to look to our end. The admiral seeing what would be the issue, answered, I have long since expected death: save yourselves if it be possible, for you cannot secure me; I commend my soul into the hands of the merciful God. Those who were present and escaped, have affirmed, that the admiral was no more affrighted at death, which he saw present before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood thereof at all.

Forthwith every one in the chamber getting up to the top of the house, and having found a window near the roof, saved themselves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next room to the admiral, were slain, others miraculously escaped. In the meanwhile Cossens having made his way, caused certain Switzers of the duke of Anjou's guard to enter into the house.

Besine, Cossens, and Sarlabour, with their targets in one hand, and their naked swords in the other, broke open the admiral's chamber-door, and Besine (who was afterwards slain himself by one Bertoville upon the way, after he had escaped out of prison) coming towards the admiral, holding the point of his sword to his breast, said thus, Art not thou the admiral? I am the man, said he, with an undaunted courage, as the murderers afterwards confessed. Then beholding the naked sword, Young man, said the admiral, thou oughtest somewhat to respect my years, and my infirmity of body, but it is not thou that canst shorten my days. Besine desperately thrust the admiral into the body with his sword, and then smote him therewith on the head; the rest had every one a blow at him; so that he presently fell down wounded to death.

Whilst this mischief was acting, the duke of Guise being below in the base court, with other Romish catholic lords, cried to the murderer above, Besine, hast thou done? It is done, saith he. Then the duke replied, Monsieur, our knight, (meaning king Henry's bastard) will not believe unless he see it with his eyes; throw him down out of the window.

Then Besine and Sarlabour, lifting up the body of the admiral, cast him down unto them, where he lay naked on the ground, exposed to all sort of scorn and mocks of the multitude, some trampling on him with their feet. Now because the blow which Besine had given the admiral on his head, had so covered his face with blood issuing thence, that his visage could not be discerned, the duke of Guise stooping down took his handkerchief, and wiping his face therewith, said, It is he, I know him well enough; and giving this poor dead body a spurn on the head with his foot (whom all the murderers in France feared whilst he lived), he passed thence, encouraging his soldiers, saying, We have made a good beginning; now let us go on to the rest, for the king hath so commanded, the king hath so commanded, repeating it twice over.

An Italian of the duke of Nevers' guard cut off the admiral's head, and brought it to the king and queen-mother: which being embalmed, was sent to Rome to the pope, and to the cardinal of Lorraine, being there at that time. The common people on the next day cut off his hands and privy members, and then in this woful plight being dragged up and down three days in the channels throughout the streets, he was at last carried out of the city to a gibbet in mount Faucon, where they hanged him by the feet; from whence some that were well disposed, going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the body of the admiral; which they interred in so secret a manner, that the papists could never find it out, and it remains buried still, so that they were obliged to make a body of straw, and



and hung that up instead of the body itself, rather than none at all.

The following is the sentence which the court of parliament in Paris denounced against Gasper Coligni, admiral of France, after he was massacred.

1. First, That for his conspiracy against the king and state, in the year 1572, the said court hath condemned him for high treason.

2. That his memory shall be utterly rased out.

3. If his body, or any figure thereof, shall be taken, that the same shall be first drawn upon a hurdle to the place called Le Grene, and there hanged on a gibbet.

4. After which a gibbet shall be set upon Mount-Faucon, and he there to be hanged in the most eminent place.

5. His arms and armour to be drawn at a horse's tail through the streets of the said city, and other cities where they shall be found, and there to be broken in pieces, as a sign of his perpetual ignominy.

6. All his goods and possessions to be forfeited to the king's use.

7. All his children to be pronounced ignoble; as also held unworthy of any honour or dignity whatsoever.

8. His house and castle of Chastillon, upon the Loin, the Base Court, and all appurtenances thereunto appertaining, to be defaced and demolished to the ground.

9. Then in the said place this sentence shall be set up engraven in brass.

10. Lastly, That on the 24th of August, 1572, general processions be made through the city of Paris, by way of thanksgiving to God for this punishment inflicted upon the conspirator.

Pronounced and executed at Paris, the 27th and 29th of October, 1572.

Signed, MALON.

At Rome solemn masses were sung, and thanks rendered unto God for the good success which the Roman catholics had obtained in massacring the Hugonots. At night, in token of joy and gladness, were made many great bonfires in sundry places: and, as the report went, the cardinal of Lorraine gave a thousand crowns to the person that brought him this welcome news.

The same day the admiral was hurt, the king advised the king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, to lodge in his chamber, with ten or twelve of his trustiest servants, to protect him from the designs of the duke of Guise, whom he called an unhappy boy.

The admiral before his death made his will, in which he gave the king counsel, that he should not give his brethren over-great portions. The queen-mother hearing this, and reading the same to the duke of Alençon the king's brother; Now you see, saith she, the heart of your friend the admiral, whom you so much loved and respected.

The duke answered, I know not how much he loved me, but I well perceive by this how much he loved the king.

The English ambassador made almost the like answer when the said queen told him, how the admiral had advised the king not to trust the English too far.

Indeed, madam, saith he, hereby it appeared that though he bare but little good-will to the English, yet he manifested himself a loyal servant to the crown of France.

The Sieur de Brion, governor of the young marquis Conde, son to the late prince of Conde, hearing these stirrs, taking his little master even in his shirt, thinking to convey him somewhere out of the way, met these murderers, who plucking from him the young prince, massacred the old man in his presence, whilst the prince with tears intreated them to spare his governor. But they dyed his white hairs in his own blood, and then barbarously dragged him through the mire.

It was credibly reported, that the number of the slain that Sunday morning, and two other days following, in the city of Paris, and in the suburbs, did amount to

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above ten thousand; counting lords, gentlemen, presidents, counsellors, advocates, lawyers, scholars, physicians, merchants, tradesmen, women, maids, and children. The streets were covered with dead bodies, the river was dyed with blood, the gates and entrance into the king's palace painted with the same colour: but the blood-thirsty were not yet satisfied; for they still continued to go from house to house with their associates, where they thought to find any Hugonots, they broke open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomsoever they met, sparing neither sex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of young maidens, women, men, and children, which were discharged into the river, it being covered in a manner all over with the slain, and dyed with their blood, which also streamed down the streets from sundry parts thereof, whereat the courtizans laughed their fill, saying, that the wars were now ended, and that hereafter they should live in peace, &c.

#### *An Account of MONSIEUR PIERRE DE LA PLACE.*

**M**onsieur Pierre de la Place was president of the court of requests, whose story we will relate somewhat at large, because his singular piety requires it. On Sunday morning, about six o'clock, one captain Michael, harquebuffer to the king, came into his lodging, into which he had easy access, for divers private reasons.

The captain, being armed, presented himself before the said De la Place: the first words he said were, that the duke of Guise had slain the admiral by the king's appointment, with many Hugonots besides: and because the rest of them, of what quality soever, were destined to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common destruction: only he desired to have a sight of what gold and silver was in the house. The lord De la Place, somewhat amazed at his audacity, who, in the midst of ten or twelve persons who were present in the room, durst presume to utter such language, asked him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a king or no?

To this the captain, blaspheming, answered, that he willed him to go with him to know the king's pleasure. The lord De la Place hearing this, fearing also some danger towards himself by sedition in the city, slipped forth at a back door behind his lodging, proposing to get into a neighbour's house. In the mean while, most of his servants vanished out of sight; and this captain, having stored himself with a thousand crowns, was intreated by the lady Marets, daughter to the said lord, to convey her father, with the lord Marets, her husband, into the house of some Roman catholic; which he consented to do, and also performed it.

After this, De la Place, being refused at three several houses, was constrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his wife very pensive, and grieved beyond measure, fearing lest this captain in the end should cast her son-in-law and daughter into the river, and also for the imminent danger wherein her dear husband and all his family were.

But the lord De la Place, being strengthened by the Spirit of God, with incredible constancy sharply rebuked her; and afterwards mildly demonstrated unto her, that we must receive these and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and so having discoursed a while on the promises of God, comforted her.

Then he commanded all his servants that were in the house to be called together; who being come into his chamber, according to his custom on the Lord's day, he made a form of exhortation to his family; then went to prayer, and began to read a chapter out of the book of Job, with the exposition, or sermon, of Mr. John Calvin upon it. So having spoken somewhat of God's mercy and justice, (which he, as a good and wise father, useth to exercise his elect with sundry chastisements, lest they should be intangled here below with the things of this world) he shewed how needful

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afflictions were for christians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan, or men, to hurt or wrong them, unless the Lord of his good pleasure gave them leave. What need have we then, said he, to dread their authority, which at the most can but prevail over our bodies? Then he went to prayer again, preparing himself and his whole family rather to endure all sorts of torments, yea, death itself, than to speak or do any thing that might tend to the dishonour of God.

Having finished his prayer, word was brought him, that Seneca, the provost marshal, with many archers, were at the door of his lodgings, commanding the same to be opened in the king's name, saying, that he came to secure the person of the lord De la Place, and to preserve his house from being pillaged by the common rabble. The lord De la Place having intelligence of this speech, commanded the door to be opened to him, who entering in, declared the great slaughter that was made upon the Hugonots every where in the city by the king's command; adding this withal in Latin, that he would not suffer one to live, *Qui mingat ad Parietem*. Yet have I express charge from his majesty, faith he, to see that you shall sustain no wrong, but only conduct you to the Louvre, because the king is desirous to be informed touching many things about the affairs of those of the religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himself ready to go to his majesty. The lord De la Place answered, that it had always been his greatest wish, and nothing could render him more perfectly happy, than to gain any opportunity by which he might give an account to his majesty of his behaviour and actions.

But in regard that such horrible massacres were every where committed, it was impossible for him to pass to the Louvre, without the certain danger of his person; but prayed him to assure his majesty of his willingness to come, meanwhile leaving in his lodgings as many archers as he thought fitting, until the fury of the people was somewhat pacified. The provost agreed to this request, and left with him one of his lieutenants, called Toute Voye, with four of his archers.

Not long after, came into his lodging, president Charron, then provost of the merchants, with whom conferring a little in secret, going his way, he left with the four archers who were there before, four more of the city archers. The whole night following was spent in the stopping up, and fortifying of all passages from entering the house; with logs and flint stones stopping up the windows; so that it seemed by this so exact and diligent a defence, that the archers were left in the house to free the said De la Place, and all his family, from the common calamity; till Seneca returning the next day, after two o'clock in the afternoon, declared that he had express charge from the king to bring him to his majesty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to pass through the city, in regard that even the same morning there was an house pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary insisted, saying, It was the common speech of these Hugonots, to protest that they were the king's most loyal and obedient subjects and servants: but when they were to manifest their obedience to his commands, then they came off but slowly, seeming rather to abhor and detest it. And whereas he pretended danger, Seneca answered, that he should have a captain of Paris, who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As Seneca continued his speech, the captain of Paris, surnamed Pazon, a principal actor in this sedition, entered the chamber of the said lord of Place, offering his service to conduct him through the city to the king; which De la Place would by no means yield to, telling Seneca, that he was one of the most cruel and bloody-minded men in all the city; and therefore, seeing that he must needs go to the king, he intreated that the said Seneca would be his guard. To which Seneca answered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his wife, (though otherwise a very gracious and good lady) out of that intire love which she bore

to her husband, prostrated herself at the feet of the said Seneca, beseeching and intreating him to accompany her husband to the king; but the said De la Place, who never shewed any sign of a dejected spirit, came to his wife, took her up from the ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it was not an arm of flesh that we must stoop to, but unto God only. Then turning himself about, he perceived in his son's hat a white cross, which through infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to save himself, for which his father sharply chid him, commanding him to pluck that mark of sedition thence; telling him, that they must now submit themselves to bear the true cross of Christ, namely, those afflictions and tribulations which it shall please our good God to lay upon us, as sure pledges of that eternal happiness, which he hath treasured up for all his elect servants. Thus seeing himself pressed by the said Seneca, to go with him to the king, resolving upon death, which he saw he could not avoid, he took his cloak, embracing his wife, earnestly wishing her above all things to have the fear of God, and his honour, in precious esteem; and then boldly went on his way. Coming into the street where the glass-house stood, certain murderers, who attended for his coming, with their daggers in readiness, killed him, about three o'clock in the afternoon, as an innocent lamb, in the midst of ten or twelve of Seneca's archers, who led him into that butchery; and then pillaged and imbezzled away what they found in his lodging, for the space of five or six days together. The body (his soul was now received into heaven) being carried into a stable, they covered his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

Peter Ramus, the king's professor in logic, a man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies, particularly one James Carpenter, who sent the murderers to the college of priests, where the said Ramus was hidden. But being discovered, he offered a good sum of money to save his life; yet he was massacred, and cast down from an high chamber window upon the ground, so that his bowels issued out on the stones, and were afterwards trailed through the streets; the carcass was whipped by certain scholars, being set on by their tutors, to the great disgrace of good literature, of which Ramus was an eminent professor.

A young man, who preferred his mother's safety in these broils to his own, about the age of thirty-two years, a sincere christian of excellent learning, going abroad early on this dreadful Sunday morning, upon some extraordinary occasion, and hearing the rumour about the death of the admiral throughout the city of Paris, he, out of his singular affection to his mother, hastened home with all possible speed, informing her what had happened, and without delay, not regarding his own safety, secured her in a place fit for the purpose. After which he went to prayers in his study, as his custom was, where being found, the furious massacres asked him, if he would obey the king; he answered, Yes, but I must also obey God. Then immediately they began with battle-axes and staves to load him with blows on the head, that he received his own blood into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the river.

Note, It could not be found that above two ministers were slain in this bloody massacre.

Philip le Doux, a great jeweller, at his return home from Guybray fair, being gone to bed, his wife at that time had the midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: she hearing these furies below bouncing at the door, commanding it to be opened to them in the king's name; ill as she was, she ventured down, and opened the door to these tigers, who presently stabbed her husband in his bed. The midwife seeing them bent to murder the woman also, now ready to be delivered, intreated them to stay, at least till the infant (which would be the twentieth child that God had given her) was born. Having contested some time with them, they took this poor woman, half dead with fear, and thrust into her fundament a dagger to the



the very hilt. She finding herself mortally wounded, and yet desirous to bring forth her fruit, ran into a corn-loft, whither they pursued her, stabbing her likewise in the belly, and then threw her out of a window into the street: upon which fall, the child came from her, head foremost, gaping and yawning, to the great astonishment and confusion of the papists, who were constrained often with detestation to acknowledge and confess the cruelties of their butchers.

One of the massacrers having snatched up a little child in his arms, the poor innocent babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him; but instead of being moved to compassion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and threw it all in gore into the river.

At the massacre at Meaux in Brie, one Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, seeing many of his companions massacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying unto God to pardon these murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil, (for it was a good booty) they cut asunder the points, and then gave him five or six stabs with a dagger into his body; and so this good man, wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his spirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren, at the same time, a man zealously affected to religion, who had been sheriff of the city in the first troubles, having by his endeavours chased the maïs out of Meaux, for a time was mortally hated of these seditious papists; and, therefore, they were not contented simply to kill him, but first cutting off his nose, ears, and secret parts, then giving him many small thrusts in divers parts of his body, they constrained him to and fro among them, as if he had gone through the pikes. But being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, in consequence of the blood that issued from all parts of his body, calling upon the name of the Lord, he fell with his face to the ground, receiving infinite gashes and wounds after he was dead.

#### PERSECUTION of the FAITHFUL at TROIS, in CHAMPAIGNE.

NEWS coming to Trois of the massacre executed at Paris, the greater part of the judges and officers of the king were sent to the bailiff of Trois, with commandment diligently to make search for all those of the religion, from house to house, and to imprison as many as they could meet with.

In this city, there was a merchant, called Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent nature. This Belin was at the massacre in Paris, on St. Bartholomew's-day; from whence he was sent with letters from the king, dated the eight-and-twentieth day of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Trois, to cause all these persecutions to cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. On the third of September, he came to Trois with these two letters, (which had been first published in Paris) with commandment to deliver them to the foresaid magistrates to be proclaimed there also.

But at the first entrance into the city, he began to inquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the Hugonots there as they had done in Paris; which was his language through the streets till he came home. But even some of the papists, who were not so cruelly minded, demanded of Belin the contents of the king's letters, whereof they had some inkling before. But he, like a bedlam, swelling with choler, swore, that whosoever said they contained any thing tending to pacification, lied. Hastening, therefore, to the bailiff's house at Trois, after he had delivered him the packet, and buzzed somewhat in his ear, he put him on to see this execution done. Now, that the same might pass the better for current, the help of the executioner of Trois was requested, whose name was Charles.

Yet, he shewing himself more just and humane than the rest, peremptorily refused to have his hand in an act of so great cruelty; answering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates. If they had such sentence to shew against any of the prisoners, he would do his office; otherwise, he would not presume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life: and so with these words he returned home to his house.

Now albeit this answer, proceeding from such a kind of person, whose office and custom it was to shed blood, might somewhat have assuaged and taken off the edge of the most barbarous tiger in the world; yet the bailiff, slighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this, he sent for one of the jailors of the prison, who kept those of the religion; but he being sick of a tertian ague, Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure.

The bailiff telling him at large, what Belin had signified to him in private; as also, that on a sudden all the prisoners of the religion must be put to death, that the place might be purged of them: this, he said, you must not fail to do.

But this De Bures made no haste to perform his charge, acquainting no man with aught that passed between the bailiff and him; no, not Perennet the keeper, who then lay sick in his bed.

The next day the bailiff came into the prison, about seven o'clock, and calling for Perennet, asked of him, with a smile, Perennet, is it done? Perennet, knowing nothing more or less, asked of him, what? Then said the bailiff, Why, are not the prisoners dispatched? and thereupon was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little better to himself, he told Perennet what his purpose was, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution thereof. At which words, Perennet standing amazed, (though otherwise he was a fellow forward enough of himself to commit any outrages against the protestants) certified to the bailiff, that such an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing lest in time to come, justice might be followed against him by the parents or allies of the prisoners. No, no, said the bailiff, fear not, I will stand between you and all harms. Others of the justices have consented thereunto besides myself, and would you have better security than that?

Within a short time after, the jailor coming into the court of the prison, where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, caused every one to resort to his cabin, because, said he, the bailiff will come by and by, to see whether the keepers have done as he commanded them; which they did. Then began these poor sheep to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayers. Perennet instantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath to execute the same; but approaching near to the prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act such a barbarous cruelty, and so returned to the jailor's lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But instead of laying this to heart, as a warning sent them from above; as if purposely they meant to resist against the checks of their own consciences, they sent to the tavern for sixteen pints of the best wine, and intoxicating their brains, they drew a list of all the prisoners; which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order; and as they came they massacred them.

One Meurs was no sooner in their sight, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his halbert, redoubling the same often with intent to kill him, yet could not. The poor man took hold of the point of the halbert, and pointing, himself, to the seat of the heart, cried to the murderer, with a steadfast voice, Here, foldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart; and so finished this life.



The massacre, faith my author, being ended, the murderers made a great pit on the back side of the chapel of the prison, whereinto they cast the bodies, one upon another, some of them yet breathing. One called Maufere, lying in the midst of them, being observed to raise up himself above his fellow-martyrs in this pit, they forthwith poured earth upon him, until they had stifled him. The blood ran in such abundance out at the prison door, and thence through a channel into a river, that it was turned into the colour of blood.

The day after, this worshipful bailiff of Trois, that he might apply the plaister when the parties were dead, caused the king's letters, which he had received before, to be published in all corners of the city with sound of trumpet. The bailiff was present in person at the publication; and as the notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the same jeeringly, and not with a full and audible voice, as matters of such consequence ought to be read.

One Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli, a worthy counsellor in the city of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner: One called Texier came with a small troop to his house, bidding himself and his company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of that which had happened at Paris. But supper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purse. Dechampeaux laughing thereat, thinking he had been but in jest, this cruel and unthankful guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman catholics of Orleans, to cut off and root out the protestants there. Dechampeaux, seeing there was no time now to contest with him, gave money to this thief; who, to requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had received, embued his hands in the blood of his honest neighbour, a man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the city; and afterwards himself, with his troop, pillaged the whole house.

The twenty-sixth day of August following, the massacres began the execution about the ramparts, in a violent manner; in these quarters there inhabited many of the religion. All the night long was heard nothing but shooting off of guns and pistols, forcing open of doors, and windows, fearful outcries of the massacred, both of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying off dead bodies to and fro; the street resounding with unwonted exclamations of those of the common sort, with horrible blasphemies of the murderers, laughing their fill at their barbarous exploits; some crying, Kill them all, and then take the spoil; others, Spoil not, but kill all.

On Wednesday the massacre began more fiercely, and so continued to the end of the week, not sparing to break these and the like jests upon the poor massacred: Where is now your God? What is become of all your prayers and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can. Yea, some of them, who in times past had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were massacring the poor innocents, durst sing unto them, in scorn, the beginning of the three-and-fortieth psalm: which runs, Judge me, O God, and plead my cause. Others, striking them, said, Sing now, Have mercy on me, O God: such treatment received these poor people in Paris, and elsewhere. But these execrable outrages by no means daunted the courage of the faithful, who died stedfast in the faith.

Touching the multitude of the slain, the murderers did not stick to vaunt, that in this city they caused eighteen thousand men to perish; also an hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with pistols, then to strip them of their clothes, and either sink their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

On Tuesday, at night, certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of one that was a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous; who opening a

casement, and understanding that they had somewhat to say to him, came down immediately, and opened the door to them. At the first greeting they told him he must die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with such constancy and affection, that the massacres being astonished, and by a secret celestial power restrained, contented themselves only with taking his purse, in which were fifteen crowns, and so left him, offering him no more violence.

The day following, certain scholars resorting to his lodging, requested of him that they might see his library, into which having brought them, one asked this book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. He, prostrating himself upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own house, from one place to another, and at length knocked him down.

A rich burghers of the city, called Nicholas Bougars, Sieur de Nove, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed of all, was at that time deadly sick. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him: but seeing him in that case, spared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, apothecary, who brought him physic, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the open market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day, there came one to the lodging of him that was sick, who was wont heretofore to visit him: as he was entering in, he met the mother of the sick party at the door going unto mass, and coming up into the chamber, he stabbed the sick man with a dagger in many places, and so killed a dying man. Then with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went down stairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to visit him that was sick, this fellow, saluting him, passed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut presently, if he gave not the murderers money: but having got none about him, he wrote a letter to his wife, to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the murderers deprived him thereof, and his life also, laughing at what they had done. And though they got from his widow a considerable sum of money, yet could she not obtain from them the body of her dead husband. And these are the fruits of popery.

Among those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, Francis le Bossu, a merchant, with his two sons, well deserve our notice; for whilst he trampled in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared therewith, and spurring as it were in his face, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, using this speech: "Children, we are not to learn now, that it hath always been the portion of believers, to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by unbelievers, as Christ's silly sheep, of ravening wolves: if we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not these drawn swords terrify us; which only serve to cut that thread which ties us to a miserable life, and let loose the soul into endless felicity. We have resided long enough among the wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them that shall follow after."

When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and the children, as if, by the bond of nature, (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received their's) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, though with the loss of their own lives; who, when the massacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now, at the conclusion of this furious assault, these barbarous monsters went up and down the city, displaying



playing their white doublets, all besprinkled with blood; boasting, that some had killed an hundred, some more, some less.

As the multitude were dragging the dead bodies to the river, an apothecary came and informed them, that money might be made of the grease that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the most corpulent bodies presently sought for, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that commodity being gotten thence, was sold by these merchants for three shillings the pound.

Those of Dauphine, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to see so many bodies floating upon the water, some dismembered, others fastened together with long poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, stabbed with daggers in every part of their body, so as some among them had no human shape remaining. Yea, so great a number of these mangled corpses presented themselves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place began to make an outcry, as if their enemies had been at the gates.

Not many months after, when all these bloody tragedies were ended, the pope sent cardinal Urfin, as legate to the king, who was received with great solemnity at Lyons. Now having heard mass at St. John's church, and returning by the same door which he went in at, the greatest number of the massacrers attended his coming there, and all kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate not knowing the reason of it, one of the principal agents told him, that they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. When the legate perceived that, he absolved them all with making the sign of the cross.

As soon as the massacre was begun at Paris, a gentleman, named Monforeau, obtained a passport with letters to massacre those of the protestant religion at Angiers. Who, being disappointed of his prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister, called Mr. John Mason, surnamed de Launay, sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at the entrance into the house, he saluted her and kissed her, as it is the manner in France, especially among the courtiers, and asked her where her husband was? She answered him, That he was walking in his garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monforeau having lovingly embraced la Riviere, said unto him, Do you know wherefore I am come? The king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall see by his letters. After which words he shewed him a pistol ready charged. Riviere replied, That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but seeing, saith he, you seek my life, give me a little time to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my spirit into his hands.

Having made a short prayer, he willingly presented his body to the murderer, who shot him with his pistol, and he died immediately.

The minister's wife was soon after drowned with nine others.

Six thousand were murdered at Roan in much the same manner.

Now touching the prince of Conde, the king proposed three things to him; Either to go to mass, to die, or else perpetual imprisonment; and therefore to weigh well with himself which of the three he liked best. The prince answered, That by God's grace he would never choose the first; as for the latter, he referred himself to the king's pleasure.

About three hundred were barbarously murdered at Thoulouse, and after taking all their goods, they stripped them naked, and exposed them to public view for two days, and then they threw them in heaps into great pits. There were certain counsellors, who, after they were massacred, were hung up in their long gowns, upon a great elm which was in the court of the palace.

The massacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the same manner of those before-mentioned.

But their ministers found means to escape, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes, till they had an opportunity to take shipping for England.

One thing here may be noted; the house of a counsellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled; and himself cruelly murdered. His clerk seeing his master about to suffer a cruel death, embraced and comforted him: and being asked whether he were of the same religion, he answered, yea, and would die with his master for the same. And they were slain in one another's arms.

A deacon of the reformed church, named Du Tour, an old man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in his bed, was hauled forth into the open street; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life; he freely answered, no, especially now drawing so near his end, both in regard of his years and grievous sickness: I hope (saith he) I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul; as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for so I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate. They hearing him say so, murdered him instantly.

It was lamentable to see the poor protestants wandering up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected of their own parents and relations, who shut their doors against them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those, to whose trust they had committed themselves: many were saved even by priests and others, from whom a man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

All the city was full of terror and horrible threats against those of this religion, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom; and if any refused to go to mass, that a hole should be digged for him in the earth, in which he should be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God fell not long after upon one of these inhuman murderers, called Vincent; he fell dangerously sick, but in the end recovering again, and as he thought being in good health, told some of his friends that he felt his arms strong enough to handle his cutlafs as well as ever he had done. But within a while after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with such a flux of bleeding at his nose, as could not be restrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then used. It was an hideous sight to see him still bowing his head over a basin full of blood, which, without ceasing, issued out of his nose and mouth, even until his last gasp.

Another was taken with such a swelling in all the parts of his body, that there was scarcely to be discerned in him the form of a man, and so continued swelling till at length he burst asunder.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks nigh 30,000 were put to death.

In the year 1573, the place were the faithful fled for refuge, was assailed by open war; namely, Sancerre, the history whereof you have here in a short view.

Sancerre, being encompassed about with irreconcilable enemies, from about the beginning of April, the want of victuals having caused them to gather together all the asses and mules they had in the city, they were eaten up in less than a month.

Then they came to horses, cats, rats, moles, mice, and dogs. After these were spent, they fell to eat ox and cow-hides, sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, bullocks, and horse-hoofs, horns, and lanthorns, ropes, and horse-harness, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of June, the third part of the besieged had not bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-seed, ground it, or stamped it in mortars, and made bread of it; the like they did with all sorts of herbs, mingling the same with bran if they had it. There they eat meal of chaff, nut-shells, and of slate, excrements of horses, and



and men, yea, the offal which lay in the streets was not spared.

The 29th of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a young child, about three years old, which died of hunger; having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman who lodged in their house, eating a part of this mournful diet, died in prison, within a few hours after her imprisonment.

They were found guilty of other offences; but this aggravated the same the more. All children under twelve years of age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful lamentations uttered by poor parents, for the misery wherein their eyes beheld their languishing and dying infants.

To which purpose you make take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him (whose arms and legs, when handled, felt as if they had been dried sticks) said unto them, Wherefore weep ye thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother, said he, I ask you no bread, I know you have none: but seeing it is God's will I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man, Lazarus, die of famine? have I not read it in my bible? In uttering these, with the like speeches, he yielded up the ghost, the 30th of July.

That all the people died not of famine in the end of this month, it was by reason of certain horses which were reserved for service, if need should be, and six cows which were left to give milk for the sustenance of young infants. These beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of such as were living, with a little corn, which by stealth some brought into the city; so that a pound of wheat was sold for half a crown.

There died by fight in Sancerre but eighty-four persons, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many soldiers getting forth as they could out of the city, flying from the famine, chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy; whereof some were slain, others imprisoned, and the rest put to death by the executioner.

But when all help of man failed, the king having sworn that he would make them eat up one another, the King of kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this instant the ambassadors from Poland came into France to accept the duke of Anjou for their king, at whose intreaty (which could not well be denied) poor Sancerre, more than half famished, was now set at liberty by raising the siege, who otherwise were determined to leave their bones there, rather than to yield themselves into their enemy's hands, in regard they had often threatened them with a general massacre. Whereas now by the king's appointment they were permitted to pass out of the city armed; if any would tarry, that they should not be molested: having liberty granted them to dispose of their affairs, as they pleased, with promise of preserving the honour and chastities as well of virgins, as women, &c.

There also died in the siege of Rochelle, October 20, 1628, sixteen thousand persons, the rest enduring a world of miseries; most of their food being hides, leather, and old gloves: other provisions being very scarce, were at an excessive rate, viz.

A bushel of wheat, 20l. a pound of bread, 20s. a quarter of mutton, 6l. odd money; a pound of butter, 30s. an egg, 8s. an ounce of sugar, 2s. 6d. a dried fish, 20s. a pint of wine, 20s. a pound of grapes, 3s. a pint of milk, 30s.

It is also reported, that through the famine, young maids of 14 or 16 years of age, did look like women of an hundred years old. The famine was such, that the poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead as they lay in the church-yard unburied. All the English that came out looked like anatomies. They lived two months with nothing but cow-hides and goat-skins boiled; the dogs, cats, mice, and frogs, being all spent.

*A brief DISCOURSE of the great PREPARATIONS of the SPANIARDS, in order to invade ENGLAND, in the REIGN of QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

**T**HE duke of Parma, in Flanders, by command of the Spaniards, built ships, and a great company of small broad vessels, each one able to transport thirty horses, with bridges fitted for them severally; and hired mariners from the East part of Germany, and provided long pieces of wood, sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one side; and 20,000 vessels, with an huge number of faggots; and placed an army ready in Flanders, of 103 companies of foot, and 4000 horsemen. Among these 700 English vagabonds, who were held of all others in most contempt. Neither was Stanley respected or obeyed, who was set over the English; nor Westmoreland, nor any other who offered their help; but for their unfaithfulness to their own country were shut out from all consultations, and as men unanimously rejected with detestation. And because pope Sixtus the Fifth in such a case would not be wanting, he sent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the bulls declaratory of pope Pius the Fifth, and Gregory the Thirteenth. He excommunicated and deposed queen Elizabeth, absolved her subjects from all allegiance, and, as if it had been against the Turks or infidels, he set forth in print a conceit, wherein he bestowed plenary indulgences, out of the treasure of the church, besides a million of gold, or ten hundred thousand ducats, to be distributed (the one half in hand, the rest when either England, or some famous haven therein should be won) upon all them that would join their help against England. By which means the marquis of Burgaw, of the house of Austria, the duke of Pastrana, Armady duke of Savoy, Vespasian, Gonzaga, John Medices, and divers other noblemen were drawn into these wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that she might not be surprized unawares, prepared as great a navy as she could, and with singular care and providence made all things ready necessary for war. And she herself, who was ever most judicious in discerning of men's wits and aptness, and most happy in making choice, when she made it out of her own judgment, and not at the direction of others, designed the best and most serviceable to each several employment. Over the whole navy she appointed the lord admiral Charles Howard, in whom she reposed much trust; and sent him to the west part of England, where captain Drake, whom she made vice-admiral, joined with him. She commanded Henry Seimor, the second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore with forty English and Dutch ships, that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Although some were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved, in the time of Henry the Eighth, when the French brought a great navy on the English shore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the south shore twenty thousand; and two armies besides were mustered of the choicest men for war. The one of these which consisted of 1000 horse, and twenty-two thousand foot, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon London. The other army was commanded by the lord Hunsdon, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the queen.

The lord Grey, sir Francis Knowles, sir John Norris, sir Richard Bingham, sir Roger Williams, men famously known for military experience, were chosen to confer of the land fight. These commanders thought fit that all those places should be fortified, with men and ammunition, which were commodious to land in, either out of Spain or out of Flanders, as Milford-Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the open side of Kent called the Downs, the Thames' mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. That trained soldiers through all the maritime provinces should meet upon warning given, to defend the places, that they



they should, by their best means, hinder the enemy from landing; and if they did happen to land, then they were to destroy the fruits of the country all about, and spoil every thing that might be of any use to the enemy, that so they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them. And that by continual alarms the enemy should find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battle, until divers captains were met together with their companies. That one captain might be named in every shire which might command.

Two years before, the duke of Parma considering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of sir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man desirous of peace, and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman, and professed that the Spaniard had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the queen fearing that the friendship between her and the confederate princes might be dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawn to the Spaniard, she deferred that treaty for some time. But now, that the wars on both sides prepared might be turned away; she was content to treat of peace; but so, as still holding the weapons in her hand.

For this purpose, in February, delegates were sent into Flanders, the earl of Derby, the lord Cobham, sir James Croft, doctor Dale, and doctor Rogers. These were received with all humanity on the duke's behalf, and they presently sent doctor Dale to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating; and that they might see the authority delegated to him by the Spanish king. He appointed the place near to Ostend, not in Ostend, which at that time was held by the English against the Spanish king. His authority delegated, he promised them to shew, when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest somewhat might fall out in the meantime which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus spoke somewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim should be done against England.

Not long after, doctor Rogers was sent to the prince, by an express commandment from the queen, to know the truth, whether the Spaniard had resolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus seemed to signify. He affirmed, that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England, when he wished that the business might proceed with speed: and was in a manner offended with Richardotus, who denied that such words fell from him.

The 12th of April, the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, doctor Maesius, and Garnier, delegated from the prince of Parma, met with the English, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat of peace, the English moved, that first a truce might be made. Which they denied; alledging that that thing must needs be hurtful to the Spaniards, who had for six months maintained a great army, which might not be dismissed upon a truce, but upon an absolute peace. The English urged, that a truce was promised before they came into Flanders. The Spaniard against that held, That six months since a truce was promised: which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who daily attempted hostility. The English moved instantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland: but they would have it but for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands; that is, Ostend, Flushing, Bergen-up-Zoom, and the Briel; and these only during the treating, and twenty days after; and that in the meantime it might be lawful for the queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders. At last, when the English could not obtain an armistice, and could by no means see the charter by which the duke of Parma was authorised to treat of peace, they proposed these things, that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of

Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that with freedom of conscience they might serve God; that the Spanish and foreign soldiers might be put out of Holland, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If these things might be granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which now she held (that all might know, that she took up arms not for her own gain, but for the necessary defence both of herself and of the Dutch), so that the money which is owing therefore be repaid. To which they answered, That for renewing the old leagues there should be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no cause why foreign princes should take care, which privileges were most favourably granted not only to provinces and towns reconciled, but even to such as by force of arms are brought into subjection. That foreign soldiers were held upon urgent necessity, since Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Touching those towns taken from the king of Spain, and the repaying of the money, they answered, That the Spaniards might demand as many myriads of crowns to be from the queen repaid them, as the Belgic war hath cost since the time that she hath favoured and protected the Dutch against them.

At this time, doctor Dale, by the queen's command, going to the duke of Parma, gently expostulated with him touching a book printed there, set out lately by cardinal Allen, wherein he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themselves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the sentence of pope Sixtus V. against the queen, declared by his bull; in which she is declared an heretic, illegitimate, cruel against Mary queen of Scots, and her subjects were commanded to help Parma against her: for at that time a great number of those bulls and books were printed at Antwerp to be dispersed through England. The duke denied that he had seen such a bull or book, neither would he do any thing by the pope's authority; as for his own king, him he must obey. Yet, he said, he so revered the queen for her princely virtues, that after the king of Spain, he offered all service to her. That he had persuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable to England than Spain: for if they should be overcome, they would easily repair their loss, but if you be overcome, the kingdom is lost.

To whom Dale replied, That our queen was sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the kingdom. That a kingdom will not easily be gotten by the events of one battle, seeing the king of Spain in so long a war is not able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands.

Well, quoth the duke, be it so, these things are in God's hands.

After this the delegates contended among themselves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the same web. The English were earnest in this, That freedom of religion might be granted at least for two years to the confederate princes. They answered, That as the king of Spain had not intreated that for English catholics, so they hoped the queen in her wisdom would not intreat any thing of the king of Spain, which might stand against his honour, his oath, and his conscience.

Then they demanded the money due from the states of Brabant; it was answered, That the money was lent without the king's knowledge; but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the king hath spent in these wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment.

Thus the English were from time to time put off, until the Spanish fleet was come near the English shore, and the noise of guns was heard from sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the delegates honourably brought to the borders of Calais. The duke of Parma had in the meantime brought all his forces to the sea shore.

Thus



Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish fleet; continued by the Spaniard that he might oppress the queen, being as he supposed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantages.

In fine, the Spanish fleet, well furnished with men, ammunition, engines, and all warlike preparations, the best indeed that ever was seen upon the ocean, called by that arrogant title, The Invincible Armada, consisted of 130 ships, wherein there were in all 19,290. Mariners 8350. Chained rowers 11,080. Great ordnance 11,630. The chief commander was Perezius Gufmannus, duke of Medina Sidonia; and under him Joannes Martinus Ricaldus, a man of great experience in sea affairs.

The 30th of May they loosed out of the river Tagus, and bending their course to the Groin, in Galicia, they were beaten and scattered by a tempest: three galleys, by the help of David Gwin, an English servant, and by perfidiousness of Turks which rowed, were carried away into France. The fleet with much ado after some days came to the Groin and other harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the fleet was so shaken with this tempest, that the queen was persuaded, that she was not to expect that fleet this year. And sir Francis Walsingham, secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he might send back four of the greatest ships, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not easily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle answer intreated him to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter: as also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And getting a favourable wind, made sail towards Spain, to surprise the enemy's damaged ships in their harbours. When he was close in with the coast of Spain, the wind shifting, and he being charged to defend the English shore, fearing that the enemies might unseen by the same wind sail for England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now with the same wind, the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Groin. And after a few days he sent Rodericus Telius into Flanders, to advertise the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina's commission was to join himself with the ships and soldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his land forces upon the Thames side.

The sixteenth day (saith the relator), there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon: then the north-wind blowing roughly; and again the west-wind till midnight, and after that the east; the Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within sight of England, the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was certified by Flemming (who had been a pirate) that the Spanish fleet was entered into the English sea, which the mariners call the channel, and was descried near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labour, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, every one labouring; yea, the lord admiral himself put his hand to this work.

The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along like towering castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the wings of the fleet were extended one from the other about seven miles, or as some say eight miles asunder, sailing with the labour of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it; their sail was but slow, and yet at full sail before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course, and when they were passed by, got behind them, and so got to windward of them.

Upon the 21st of July, the lord admiral of England sent a cutter before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the battle by firing off pieces. And being himself in the *Royal-Arch* (the English admiral ship), he began the

engagement with a ship which he took to be the Spanish admiral, but which was the ship of Alfonso Leva. Upon that he expended much shot. Presently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, came in upon the rear of the Spaniards, which Ricaldus commanded. Upon these they thundered. Ricaldus endeavoured as much as in him lay, to keep his men to their quarters, but all in vain, until his ship much beaten and battered with many shot hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his scattered fleet, and setting more sail, held on his course. Indeed they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ships being much easier managed, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full course, and then to tack and retack, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and each of them had taken a trial of their courage, the lord admiral thought proper to continue the fight no longer, because there were forty ships more, which were then absent, and at that very time were coming out of Plymouth Sound.

The night following, the *St. Catherine*, a Spanish ship, being sadly torn in the battle, was taken into the midst of the fleet to be repaired. Here a great Cantabrian ship, of *Oquenda*, wherein was the treasurer of the camp, by force of gunpowder took fire, yet it was quenched in time by the ships that came to help her. Of these which came to assist the fired ship, one was a galeon, commanded by Petrus Waldez; the fore-yard of the galeon was caught in the rigging of another ship, and carried away. This was taken by Drake, who sent Waldez to Dartmouth, and a great sum of money, viz. 55,000 ducats, which he distributed among the soldiers. This Waldez coming into Drake's presence, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die, if they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom they knew to be noble. That night he was appointed to set forth a light, but neglected it; and some German merchant ships coming by that night, he thinking them to be enemies, followed them so far, that the English fleet lay to all night because they could see no light set forth. Neither did he nor the rest of the fleet find the admiral until the next evening. The admiral all the night proceeding with the *Bear*, and the *Mary Rose*, carefully followed the Spaniards with watchfulness. The duke was busied in ordering his squadron. Alfonso Leva was commanded to join the first and last divisions. Every ship had it's proper station assigned according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was present death to any who forsook his station. This done, he sent Glicius, and Anceani, to Parma, which might declare to them in what situation they were, and left that Cantabrian ship of *Oquenda* to the wind and sea, having taken out the money and mariners, and put them on board of other ships. Yet it seemed that he had not care for all: for that ship the same day with fifty mariners, and soldiers wounded, and half burned, fell into the hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

The 23d of the same month, the Spaniards having a favourable north wind tacked towards the English; but they being more expert in the management of their ships, tacked likewise and kept the advantage they had gained, keeping the Spaniards to leeward, till at last the fight became general on both sides. They fought a while confusedly with variable success: whilst on the one side the English with great courage delivered the London ships which were inclosed about by the Spaniards: and on the other side the Spaniards by valour freed Ricaldus from the extreme danger he was in: great and many were the explosions which by the continual firing of great guns were heard this day. But the loss (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spaniards, their ships being so high that the shot went over our English ships; and the English having such a fair mark at their large ships never shot in vain. During this engagement, Cock, an Englishman, being surrounded by the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished; however, with great honour he revenged himself. Thus a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spa-



Spaniards, giving them the fire of one side, and then of the other, and presently were off again, and still kept the sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships being of great burthen were troubled and hindered, and stood to be the marks for the English shot. For all that, the English admiral would not permit his people to board their ships, because they had such a number of soldiers on board, which he had not; their ships were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple as some would have had it, the English being much lower than the Spanish ships, must needs have had the worst of them that fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the victory could have been; for our being overcome would have put the kingdom in hazard.

The 24th day of July, they gave over fighting on both sides. The admiral sent some small barks to the English shore, for a supply of provisions, and divided his whole fleet into four squadrons; the first whereof he took under his own command, the next was commanded by Drake, the third by Hawkins, and the last by Forbisher. And he appointed out of every squadron certain little ships, which on divers sides might set upon the Spaniards in the night, but a sudden calm took them, so that expedient was without effect.

The 25th, the *St. Anne*, a galleon of Portugal, not being able to keep up with the rest, was attacked by some small English ships. To whose aid came in *Leva*, and *Didacus Telles Enriques*, with three galleasses: which the admiral, and the lord Thomas Howard, espying, made all the sail they could against the galleasses, but the calm continuing, they were obliged to be towed along with their boats: as soon as they reached the galleasses, they began to play away so fiercely with their great guns, that with much danger and great loss, they hardly recovered their galleon. The Spaniards reported that the Spanish admiral was that day in the rear of their fleet, which being come nearer the English ships than before, got terribly shattered with their great guns, many men were killed aboard, and her masts laid over the side. The Spanish admiral after this, in company with *Ricaldus*, and others, attacked the English admiral, who having the advantage of the wind suddenly tacked, and escaped. The Spaniards holding on their course again, sent to the duke of Parma, that with all possible speed he should join his ships with the king's fleet. These things the English knew not, who write that they had carried away the lanthorn from one of the Spanish ships, the stem from another, and sore mauled the third, very much disabling her. The *Non-Parigly*, and the *Mary Rose* fought a while with the Spaniards; and the *Triumph* being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

The next day, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valour in the last engagement. After this, they agreed not to attack the enemy until they came into the straits of Calais, where Henry Seimor, and William Winter, waited for their coming. Thus with a fair gale the Spanish fleet went forward, and the English followed. This great Spanish Armada was so far from being esteemed invincible in the opinion of the English, that many young men and gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory against the Spaniards, provided ships at their own expences, and joined themselves to the English fleet; among whom were the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooks, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

The seven-and-twentieth day at even, the Spaniards cast anchor near to Calais, being admonished by their skilful seamen, that if they went any further, they might be in danger, through the force of the tide, to be driven into the north ocean. Near to them lay the English admiral with his fleet within a great gun's shot. To the admiral, Seimor and Winter now join their ships; so

that now there were an hundred and forty ships in the English fleet, able and well furnished for fighting, for sailing, and every thing else which was requisite: and yet there were but fifteen of these which bore the heat of the battle, and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often as he had done before, so now with great earnestness sent to the duke of Parma, to send forty fly-boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and slowness of their ships, and the agility of the English; and intreating him by all means now to come to sea with his army, which army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spanish Armada, until they should land in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms being then full of chinks must be mended. Victuals wanted and must be provided. The mariners being long kept against their wills, began to shrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small ammunition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and cast himself and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious, and inflamed with a desire of overcoming England.

But queen Elizabeth's providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard: for by her command the next day the admiral took eight of their worst ships, charging the ordnance therein up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wild fire, pitch and rosin, and filled them full of brimstone and some other matter fit for fire, and these being set on fire by the management of Young and Prowse, were secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, which on Sunday the seventh of August they sent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame giving light all over the sea; they supposing those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them; lifting up a most hideous cry, some pull up anchors, some for haste cut their cables, they set up their sails, they apply their oars, and stricken with extreme terror, in great haste they fled most confusedly. Among them the Pretorian Galleass floating upon the seas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards Calais, and sticking in the sand was taken by Amias Preston, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada the governor was slain, the soldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned; in her there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and ordnance went to the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to heave up their anchors, but so as the danger being past, every ship might return again to his station: and he himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by shooting off a gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off scattered, some into the open ocean, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders.

Over against Graveling the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great ordnance: to these Fenton, Southwel, Beeston, Cross, Riman, and presently after the lord admiral, Thomas Howard, and Sheffield, came in and all joined together. The duke Medina, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Ricaldus*, and others with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows sustained the English force as well as they might, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the galleon *St. Matthew*, governed by Diego Pimentellus, coming to aid Francis Toletan, being in the *St. Philip*, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Seimor and Winter, and driven to Ostend, and was at last taken by the



Flushing. The St. Philip came to the like end: so did the galleon of Biscay and divers others.

The last day of this month, the Spanish fleet striving to recover the streights again, were driven towards Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them in a manner cast away; for they could not avoid the shallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, they got them out of the shallows, and then began to consult what were best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to return into Spain by the Northern seas, for they wanted many necessities, especially shot, their ships were torn, and they had no hope that the duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And so they took the sea, and followed the course toward the North. The English navy followed, and sometimes the Spanish turned upon the English, in so much that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen Elizabeth caused an army to encamp at Tilbury, a place by the sea side upon the river of Thames. After the army was come thither, her majesty, to shew her own courage, and for the comfort of her people, went in person to visit the camp, which then lay between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, where placing herself between the enemy and her city, she viewed her army, passing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the army. First viewing from place to place the people as they were by their countries lodged and quartered by their several camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, she rode round about with a leader's staff, in her hand, only accompanied with the general, and three or four others attending upon her: but yet to shew her state, (I well marked it) she had the sword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There she was generally saluted with shouts, with all tokens of love, obedience, and readiness to fight for her, as the like hath seldom been seen in an army. All which tended to shew a marvellous concord, and mutual love between a queen and her subjects; which she requited with very princely thanks.

I could enlarge the description hereof with many more particulars of mine own observation (says the author), for I wandered, as many others did, from place to place, all the day, and never heard a word spoke of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behaviour, in praying for her long life, and earnestly desiring to venture their lives for her safety. In her presence they sung psalms of praise to Almighty God, for which she greatly commended them, and devoutly praised God with them. This that I write you may be sure I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this queen did discontent her people, nor her people shew any discontent in any thing they were commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This account was related by a popish spy, in a letter written here in England to Mendea. The copy of which letter was found upon Richard Leigh, a seminary priest, in French and English: which priest was executed for high treason whilst the Spanish Armada was at sea.

The same day whereon the last fight was, the duke of Parma, after his vows offered to the lady of Halla, came somewhat late to Dunkirk, and was received with very opprobrious language by the Spaniards, as if in favour of queen Elizabeth he had slipped the fairest opportunity that could be to do the service. He, to make some satisfaction, punished the purveyors that had not made provision of beer, bread, &c. which was not yet ready nor embarked, secretly smiling at the insolence of the Spaniards, when he heard them bragging, that what way soever they came upon England, they would have an undoubted victory; that the English were not able to endure the sight of them. Bernardinus Mendoza did indeed by books in France sing a foolish and triumphant song before the victory. The English admiral appointed Seimor and the Hollanders to watch upon the coast of Flanders, that the duke of Parma

should not come out; whilst he himself close followed the Spaniards until they were past Edinburgh Frith.

The Spaniards seeing all hopes fail, fled again; and so this great navy, being three years preparing with great expence, was within one month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chased again, was driven about all England by Scotland, the Orcaes, and Ireland, tossed and damaged with tempests, much diminished, and went home without glory. There were not an hundred men of the English lost, and but one ship. Whereupon money was coined with a navy fleeing away in full sail, with this inscription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit*. Others were coined with the ships on fire, the navy confounded, in honour of the queen, inscribed, *Dux Fœmina Fœsti*. As they fled, it is certain that many of their ships were cast away upon the shores of Scotland and Ireland. Above seven hundred soldiers and mariners were cast away upon the Scottish shore, who at the duke of Parma's intercession with the Scotch king, the queen of England consenting, were after a year sent into Flanders. But they that were cast upon the Irish shore came to more miserable fortunes; for some were killed by the wild Irish, and others were destroyed for fear they should join themselves with the wild Irish (which cruelty queen Elizabeth much condemned), and the rest being afraid, sick, and hungry, with their disabled ships, committed themselves to the sea, and many were drowned.

The queen went to public thanksgiving in St. Paul's church, accompanied by a glorious train of nobility through the streets of London, which were hung with blue cloth, the companies standing on both sides in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemies were spread; she heard the sermon, and public thanks were rendered unto God with great joy. This public joy was augmented when sir Robert Sidney returned from Scotland, and brought from the king assurances of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion; which as in sincerity he had established, so he purposed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was coming, to congratulate and return thanks for his great affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready she would be to help him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland; and that he might recal to memory with what strange ambition the Spaniards had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thrust from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the succession in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza, and the pope's nuncio, who threatened his ruin if they could effect it; and therefore warned him to take special heed to the Scottish papists.

The king pleasantly answered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniards, than that which Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, to devour him last after his fellows were devoured.

To close up this whole relation, hear what Theodore Beza says in his congratulatory verses written in Latin, and sent to her majesty: the effect of which in English is this:

WITH navy huge the Spaniard proud  
The English seas had spread,  
And all to set the English crown  
Upon the Spanish head.  
And would you gladly understand  
The cause of all this rout,  
Ambition first did lay the plot,  
And lucre brought them out.  
How well this pride thus puffed up,  
A puff did overthrow:  
And swelling wave such swelling wights,  
How well did overflow.  
How well that warrior of mankind,  
That cruel Spanish wolf,  
Was tost and tumbled up and down  
Within the ocean gulph.



And you for whom both all the wind  
 And all the waters fight;  
 O noble queen, of all the world  
 The only true delight,  
 Go forward still to rule for God;  
 Ambition lay aside;  
 Go forward still for Christ his flock  
 In bounty to provide.  
 That thou may'st England govern long,  
 Long England thee enjoy,  
 As well a love unto the good,  
 As to the bad annoy.

From Geneva, besieged by the duke of Savoy, the  
 12th day of August, 1589.

Your majesty's most humble servant,  
 THEODORE BEZA.

*An ACCOUNT of the DISCOVERY of the GUNPOWDER  
 TREASON, in the YEAR 1605, in the REIGN of KING  
 JAMES I.*

**W**HILST every thing seemed to procure king James a quiet and peaceable reign, the devil envying the happiness of the English, inspired some of his agents with one of the most horrible plots that ever was heard of. I mean the gunpowder-treason plot, which has made so much noise in the world, and of which I shall relate the particulars without any exaggeration.

The chief persons concerned in this hellish contrivance were, Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamptonshire; Thomas Percy, the earl of Northumberland's cousin, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Guy Fawkes, sir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter, Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes: some of these consulting together how they might restore the popish religion in England, Percy, one of the most zealous, proposed to kill the king, and offered to perform it himself. To whom Catesby answered, That if the king was taken off, there were still two young princes and princesses, with the greatest part of the nobility and gentry, devoted to the protestant religion; and unless these were involved in the same fate with the king, they should render their condition rather worse than better, by attempting his majesty's life only. He proposed therefore the blowing up the king, queen, and prince, with both the houses of lords and commons, at the next assembly of the parliament, when the king should come to the house, and make his speech there, at the opening of the sessions; which being approved by the rest as a most glorious undertaking, it was resolved to put it into execution; only some, scrupling the lawfulness of committing so terrible a slaughter on a religious account, they agreed, before they proceeded in it, to demand the opinion of their confessors; whereupon Henry Garnet, the superior, with Oswald Tesmond and John Gerard, two other priests of the Jesuits order, were consulted; who did not only declare the enterprise lawful, but applauded the design as just, and even pious; since it was to be executed upon excommunicated heretics.

Then an oath of secrecy was taken by the conspirators; and mass being celebrated by Gerard, they also took the sacrament to be true to each other, and promote the plot with all their powers; after which, Percy took a house adjoining to the house of lords, from whence they proposed to dig a mine under it, which would contain a sufficient quantity of gunpowder to blow up the whole building; and they began to work on their mine about Christmas 1604. But the parliament being prorogued, first to February, then to October, and again to the 5th of November, 1605, they had time enough, or rather too much, to effect their design, though they were obliged to dig through the foundation of a very thick wall. When the conspirators had almost conquered this difficulty, they were surprised to hear a noise and the talking of people near the place where they were at work, and began to conclude they were dis-

covered; but sending out Guy Fawkes for intelligence, he brought them word, that the voices they had heard were in an adjoining cellar, where coals were exposed to sale; that it was exactly under the house of lords, and now offered to be let. Whereupon Percy went immediately and hired it, putting thirty-six barrels of gunpowder into it, which he imported from Holland, and covered them with coals and faggots.

Having made this provision for their grand design, it was considered, that though the king and prince might be taken off by this means, yet the duke of York and the princess Elizabeth would be out of their power; and consequently the success of their enterprise must still be very doubtful: but Percy being one of the band of pensioners, and well acquainted with the palace, undertook to secure the duke of York; and it was looked upon as no difficult matter to surprise the princess, who resided at the lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire, under a pretence of a hunting match. It was next considered, what money and horses they could raise towards effecting their purpose: whereupon Digby promised fifteen hundred pounds, Tresham two hundred, Percy the rents of Northumberland, which he was empowered to receive, and computed they would amount to 4000l. He also engaged to provide ten horses from the same quarter; and the rest of the conspirators promised to raise what money and troops they could, that they might be able to make a stand, and encourage their friends to take arms in defence of their religion, when the great blow was given. It was debated also, whether they should require the assistance of any princes of their communion; but it was thought necessary to defer this till after the fact was committed, lest the plot should be discovered by being communicated to too many. And it was resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth queen, when they had assembled their troops, a proclamation being drawn up with this view, in which they made no mention of the intended alteration of religion; this being agreed to be deferred till their forces should be joined by some of the catholic powers. In the mean time, they resolved to charge the Puritans with the destruction that was intended: and it is supposed, they designed to assassinate the duke of York, by their promising to proclaim the princess Elizabeth.

Thus had the conspirators formed their scheme, and proceeded so far in the execution of it, that there remained little more for them to do, than to set fire to the train they had laid for blowing up the king, the queen, the prince, the nobility, and the representatives of a great and flourishing people. When, on a sudden, an unaccountable fit of tenderness seized one of these merciless wretches, who, by his endeavouring to rescue a friend from this unparalleled destruction, discovered the deep-laid design, which Lucifer only could be the contriver of. This discovery was made by the following letter, sent to the lord Monteagle by one of the conspirators, about ten days before the meeting of the parliament, viz.

A LETTER,

To the LORD MONTEAGLE.

My Lord,

**O**UT of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have regard to your preservation; therefore would advise you, as you tender your life, to invent some excuse to put off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of these times. Think not slightly of this advice, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow in this parliament, and shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose holy protection I commit you.

This



His lordship carried the letter, the same evening he received it, to secretary Cecil; who communicated it to some other members of the council: but they did not think it of that consequence, to make any inquiries about the matter, till the king should return from Royston, where he was gone to hunt, and did not return till the last day of October. The next day this letter was shewn to his majesty; who, upon perusing it, said, he did not think it was to be contemned: to which Cecil answered, He was of opinion, that it was written either by a fool or a madman, by that expression in it, "The danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter:" for he observed, the warning given by it could be of no use, if the burning the letter would remove the danger: but the king interpreted it, That the danger would be over in as little time as he could burn the letter; having great regard to that passage, "They should receive a terrible blow this parliament," and yet "should not see who hurt them." Which sudden blow, he apprehended, would be the effect of gun-powder; and therefore ordered all the cellars, and all other places near the parliament-house, to be searched. The earl of Suffolk, who was then lord-chamberlain, and whose proper place it was to see all places prepared for the king's reception, put off the search till the day before the meeting of parliament; and then, taking the lord Monteagle with him, viewed all the rooms about the parliament-house, and particularly the cellar under the house of lords; which he found full of wood and coals: and having inquired who it belonged to, was answered, to Mr. Percy; who being a servant of his majesty, and one who made some figure at court, the earl returned, and acquainted the king in what state he found things, without searching further. But the king's suspicion being rather increased than diminished by this report, he ordered all the wood and coals in the cellar, already mentioned, to be removed forthwith; and sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace for Westminster, and gentleman of the privy-chamber, was ordered to see it done, though it was then late at night. This gentleman was so fortunate, as to discover the six and thirty barrels of powder hidden under the coals; he also found a man standing near the place, booted and spurred, with his cloak on, whom he searched, and found upon him a dark lanthorn and three matches. This person proved to be Guy Fawkes, one of the conspirators, who passed for Percy's man; who seeing their hopeful plot discovered, swore, when he was apprehended, that had he been found within the cellar, he would have blown up himself, and them likewise. This discovery being made, the secretary and the lord-chamberlain immediately acquainted the king therewith, who was then in bed; and the prisoner, being examined before the council, was so far from being in any consternation, that he acknowledged the villainous design, took it all upon himself, said his religion and conscience prompted him to it, and would name none of his accomplices; only observed, That the devil had betrayed a very good design, and that there was no crime in destroying an heretical king. However, being carried to the Tower the next day, and threatened with the rack, he confessed the conspiracy, and named his accomplices; who having some intimation of the discovery, fled into Warwickshire; where some of his friends were preparing to rise in arms, and surprise the princess Elizabeth, according to the scheme they had laid; and they had actually broke open a stable belonging to one Benock, and seized seven or eight managed horses for their purpose: but understanding from their friends who fled from London, that the enterprize was entirely defeated, they assembled about an hundred horse, and endeavoured to persuade their brethren the papists, to take arms in the defence of their religion: but nobody joining them, they fled, and were pursued by sir Foulk Grevill, deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire, and the sheriffs of that and the neighbouring counties, till the rebels took shelter in a house, at a place called Holbach, in Staffordshire. Here they endeavoured to defend themselves, when a spark of fire falling into a parcel of gunpowder, which they were drying by the fire, blew up part of the house; whereupon they endeavoured to

fally out of the gate, and make their way with their swords in their hands, but were repulsed; Catesby, Percy, and Winter, setting themselves back to back, resolved to die fighting: the two first had their desire, but Winter was wounded and taken; Digby, Rockwood, Grant, and Boter surrendered; and Tresham, Robert Winter, and Littleton, were apprehended at their lodgings in London, and all of them committed to the Tower.

Thomas Winter, upon his examination, confessed the whole conspiracy, and acknowledged their crimes were too great to be forgiven; while Digby, on the other hand, said they were provoked to this desperate attempt through the severe usage they met with from the government, after hopes had been given them of a toleration; and Tresham, in his examination, accused Garnet the Jesuit as privy to the conspiracy, though he afterwards retracted it, and pretended he had not seen Garnet for sixteen years.

And thus these resolute and high aspiring papists, who dreaming of no less than the destruction of king and kingdoms, promised to themselves no less estate than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miserably defeated, and quite overthrown in an instant; falling into the pit which they had prepared for others, and so fulfilling that sentence which his majesty did in a manner prophesy of them in his speech to the parliament; some immediately slain, others wounded, and stripped of their clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so died rather through cold than of their wounds; and the rest, that either were whole, or but slightly wounded, were taken and led by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the gaol, the ordinary place even of the basest malefactors, where they remained till they were sent up to London, being met by an huge confluence of all sorts of people, desirous to see them as the greatest of monsters; fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity in seeing the outward cases of so unparalleled a villainy, and generally all sorts of people to gratify their eyes with the sight of those whom in their hearts they detested: serving so for a fearful and public spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.

#### *An Account of the TROUBLES and PERSECUTION of BARTHOLOMEW COPIN, MARTYR of CHRIST.*

**I**N the year 1601, Bartholomew Copin, of the valley of Luferne, resorted unto a place called Ast, in Piedmont, with certain merchandize, purposing to vend the same at a fair there, which was to be kept the day following. It so fell out, that sitting at supper in the evening with sundry other merchants, one amongst the rest began a discourse about the diversities of religions, and therewith cast several reflections, tending to the disgrace of the inhabitants of the valley of Angrougne, and the neighbouring villages.

Copin hearing such reflections cast forth against his brethren, as he little expected from men of that sort, and also against their religion, all which tended to the dishonour of God; he feared lest it should be offensively taken, if he should not make some reply unto those blasphemies which he heard with his ears, and so answered him who held such a discourse against the religion which he himself professed. He who reproved Copin, asked, Are you one of Vandois? He answered, Yes, I am. And what, said the other, believe you not that God is in the Host? No, said Copin. Oh, said the other, see how false your religion is! My religion, said Copin, is no less true than God is God, and as certain as I am sure to die.

The next day Copin was called before the bishop of Ast, who told him that report had been made to him of some offensive speeches which he had used the night before in his lodging: and therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his fault, if he meant to obtain pardon for the



the same, otherwise he must look to be chastised according to his demerits.

Copin answered, he had uttered nothing, but that which he was first provided to speak; nor had he said aught, but what he was resolved to maintain to the hazard of his life. He affirmed that God had bestowed upon him some worldly goods, as also a wife and children, but that he was not so glued in his affection to any of them, but he could be content to forego them all rather than the peace of a good conscience.

As touching his carriage and behaviour, if it pleased him, he said, to make inquiry thereof among the merchants of Ast, they could all resolve him as touching his honest dealing: who also he knew would witness with him, that he had wronged none in all that time he had conversed among them. And inasmuch as he was a merchant trafficking in and about his lawful calling, he ought to be dismissed and to be no further molested. For if it were lawful for Jews and Turks to trade in fairs and markets, and to use commerce throughout Piedmont; that favour ought much more to be permitted unto him who was a christian. And as touching the matter of religion, whereabout he was accused, he meddled not at all therewith for his own particular, but had questions propounded to him concerning the same by others: in which regard leave was granted him to answer, and to yield a reason of his faith in any place, to any whosoever they were that should ask what he thought of the same: yea, a liberty was granted even by his excellency, to those of the valleys of Vandois, to answer any man to a question demanded; provided that he proceeded not to teach and instruct others.

The bishop regarded none of these allegations, but commanded he should be put into prison. The next day the bishop's secretary came to visit Copin, testifying how much good-will he bore him; advising him as a friend, that if he acknowledged not his fault, he was in great danger of his life.

Copin answered, That his life was in the hands of God, and that he would never seek to save it to the prejudice of God's glory: also, that he had not above two or three turns to fetch here in this world before he arrived in heaven; and therefore prayed God so to assist him by his grace, that he might never leave the strait way which leadeth thereto.

A few days after he was examined by a monk, who was an inquisitor, in the presence of the bishop, who vexed him a long while with his sugared discourse, and by fair words endeavoured to draw him to abjure his religion. But Copin resisted him still by the holy scriptures; shewing that if he should now be ashamed of Christ, and deny him, Christ might justly be ashamed of him, and utterly deny him before his heavenly Father.

The monk finished his dispute with this dogged farewell, "Away thou cursed Lutheran, thou shalt go to all the devils in hell; and when thou comest to be tormented among those unclean spirits, then wilt thou remember these holy admonitions which we have tendered unto thee for the saving of thy soul; but thou hadst rather go to hell, than to reconcile thyself to thy holy mother the church." To which Copin answered, It is not long since I was reconciled to the true church.

After many violent assaults, they gave leave for his wife to come unto him, and with her one of his sons, promising them to set him at liberty to go home with them, if he would make amends for his fault, by acknowledging the same. His wife and son staid to supper with him in prison: during which time he used many exhortations tending to patience; albeit the wife should depart to her house without an husband, or the child without his father: For be you well assured, said he, that God will be a better husband and father unto you, than ever I was or can be. For his own part, he said, he was not bound to love wife or children more than Christ: besides, they had cause to rejoice, and to think him happy, that God would honour him so far as to bear witness to his truth with the loss of his life, and

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hoped, he said, that God would be so favourable to him, as to support him under any torments he was to endure, for his glory's sake.

In conclusion, he committed his son and daughter to his wife's care, which God had given them in holy wedlock, charging her again and again, to see them brought up virtuously and in the fear of God. He charged his son to obey his mother, so should he be made partaker of the promised blessing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortify him against all temptations. And thus having blessed his son, and taken leave of his wife, they were conducted out of the prison, and he shut up as he was before.

The woman and her son were dissolved into tears, sighing and crying out, that it would have moved the stoniest heart to compassion: but this holy man not contenting himself with what he had said to them by word of mouth, wrote unto his wife the following letter, the original whereof she hath exhibited to us, written and signed with the hand of the said Copin, with this inscription:

*To my well-beloved WIFE, SUSANNAH COPIN, from  
the TOWER of LUSERNA.*

DEAR yoke-fellow, I received much consolation by your coming to this place, and by so much the more as it were beyond my expectation; and I suppose you also were not a little comforted that you had such an opportunity offered you, as to sup with me the last night, being Saturday the 15th of September 1601. I know not well what they aimed at in permitting you so to do. But God ordereth all these things. But as far as I can guess, it shall be the last time that ever we shall sup together in this life: and therefore pray to God that he will not cease to be a comfort unto you. Trust you still in him, for he hath promised never to leave nor forsake those that put their trust in him. God hath endued you with wisdom; govern your own family in such a manner that our children Samuel and Martha may be obedient unto you: whom in the name and authority of God, I command that they obey you, for so the blessing of Almighty God shall light upon them.

Dear wife, be not over pensive for me, for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the end of the race, and that I must render into the hands of the Almighty my soul, which so long time he hath lent me; my hope is, that of his holy and divine mercy he will receive it into his kingdom, for his own beloved Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom I believe that my sins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy death and passion. Also my prayer is, that he will assist me by the power of his holy Spirit unto my last breath.

Be fervent in prayer, and in all other parts of God's worship and service, for this is the way to true blessedness. Take no care about sending any thing unto me for these three weeks, and then I pray you send me some money, if you think good, to give the jailor, and somewhat more for mine own necessities, if it please God I live so long. Also I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely, how God prolonged king Hezekiah's life for fifteen years. But he hath preserved my life much longer; for it is many years ago since you saw me at the point of death, and through God's goodness I am alive; and I hope, yea I am assured, that he will so long preserve me as shall be for his glory and my good, through his eternal goodness.

From the prison of Ast, September 16, 1601.

The bishop of Ast was somewhat troubled about this his prisoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed some scandal, and many might thereby be emboldened to open their mouths wide against the Roman religion. Besides, there was a clause in the contract made between his excellency and the people of Vandois, which exempted those of the religion from offence, in these words: And if it shall fall out that they be asked or questioned withal in Piedmont, about the cause of religion, by any of his excellency's subjects, it shall be



lawful for those of the said religion to answer without suffering any penal or personal punishment for the same.

Now Copin had a question put to him, in which respect he ought to have been cleared. But the bishop would by no means hear that he had unjustly imprisoned him; and therefore that his death should not be laid to his charge, nor yet that he should be sent away absolved, he sent the cause of his indictment to pope Clement the Eighth, to know what should be done with him. We cannot learn what answer the pope returned to the bishop; but not long after, this good man was found dead in prison, not without some apparent suspicion of his being strangled there; lest if they had executed him in public, the people should have been edified by his constancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having caused him to be brought out of prison, they read his sentence openly, and the body was cast into the fire.

### *The DEATH of HENRY III. KING of FRANCE.*

A Friar, of the order of St. Dominic, pretended he had matters of great consequence to impart to the king: who being admitted into his presence, upon his knees presented a letter to him, which he drew out of one sleeve; which whilst the king attentively read, the friar pulled forth a poisoned knife out of his other sleeve, wherewith he stabbed the king in the lower part of his belly. The king finding himself wounded, snatched out the knife, and struck it into the friar's eye, who hastening to get away, the king cried out. His lords and gentlemen perceiving what the friar had done, slew him immediately with rapiers and swords.

### *An ACCOUNT of the BLOODY MASSACRE in the VALTOLINE, in the YEAR 1620.*

THE beginning of the murders were at Tyrane. The ringleaders of this cruel massacre gave orders, that all the ways and passages should be well guarded, that their bloody designs might not be so readily discovered, and they less troubled in the execution. Then about six o'clock in the night, they entered the country, like so many foaming wild boars, and caused four muskets to be discharged before the palace of the seignior Podesta, the principal magistrate of the place, and rung the great bell of Tyrane; upon which signal all the inhabitants of that vicinity took the alarm, and made head towards the said house. They gave orders to break the bridges which lay towards Bruce, and on the place they planted a strong guard, and this was done before day. Upon the dawning of the day, the bells began to ring another peal at Mareello, and then these traitors began to range themselves together. The protestants, who without fear or suspicion came out of their houses to see what the matter was, were suddenly shot in the place. Others by force entered into the houses of protestants, drew them out of their beds, and without any compassion, slew all they could meet with.

One poor gentleman hid himself in a garret, but the villains finding him, threw him out of the window; and when they found him yet alive, they dispatched him with a piece of timber.

Antonio de Salva, a chancellor in that valley, being appointed judge upon criminal causes, a man of the greatest authority in the place, being desirous to save himself, together with his deputy, was drawn out of the house, and shot.

Another gentleman of great worth, very singularly learned, and skilful in many languages, being at that time governor of Teglio, being by chance in this hurly burly at Tyrane, was also with his servant strangled to death, in the chamber where he was found.

The reverend pastor of the church of Tyrane, a man

of great sanctity and wisdom, and a lover of the peace of the country, hearing the noise of these uproars, he and the pastor of Mello withdrew themselves into a hall, where having commended their souls to God, were there murdered.

The furious wretches cut off Basso's head, and carried it into the church, and fixed it upon a pole in the pulpit where he used to preach, scornfully saying, Come down, Basso, thou hast preached long enough already.

In like manner at the same time the palace of the chequer of Tyrane was besieged by those hell-hounds; wherein dwelled seignior John de Cappaul, being at that time governor. To which place, Michael Lazarone, a man of good account, and chancellor of that office, had retired himself early in the morning to save his life. But because he was extremely hated by the papists, for his singular piety and sincerity, he was continually pursued by them; insomuch that those rebels followed him even to the palace, threatening to set fire to the same, if he were not delivered into their hands. Lazarone seeing that, was forced that evening to leave the house, and hide himself about the banks of the river Adda, wherein he covered himself, and lay close three whole hours all naked to save himself. But his enemies followed him closely, and at last found him, and dragged him out of the water; and though with tears in his eyes he begged for his life, in consideration of his dear small children, yet they answered, That this was no time for pity and favour: but if he would swear by the pope's bull, and abjure his faith, they would grant him his life. But he, with a courageous resolution, answered, God forbid, that I, for love of this temporal life, should deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious blood upon the cross, did at so dear a rate redeem me, and after I have so long time, through his grace, freely and publicly confessed him, should now hazard the loss of eternal life; I say, God forbid. Upon this they immediately murdered him.

The very same evening, the gate of the palace was burnt to the ground by those rebels, who the next morning entered into the same, raging with fury, and took the governor prisoner, with his young son; spoiling and ransacking wives and maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The governor of the place was taken away, and after he had remained a long time prisoner, he was shot.

John Antonio Mazano, endeavouring to make resistance against those rebels, and his wife defending him, was with herself and two young children miserably killed.

Another called John Antonio Schloffer, a Gardonese, having made long resistance, and killed one of the rebels, was at last taken, and tied to a tree, and so shot to death.

To be short, these villains had no regard of any person, neither young, old, weak, or strong, many of all sorts were either shot to death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other destroyed; and the number of those persons in estimation, who in Tyrane received the crown of martyrdom for the profession of the gospel, was about sixty.

The ladies who were not slain, were constrained to change their religion, and to go to mass; except the wife of the said Lazarone and her daughters, and her niece, being the wife of one Egido, who by the assistance of Almighty God continued in safety. And there also the 8th of August, the said ladies were released, who retired themselves into Retia, viz. the wife of this Lazarone, and her two daughters, leaving behind them in the Valtoline one daughter and two young sons who could not obtain leave to depart the country.

At the massacre of Teglio were murdered about sixty persons. These wicked wretches, apparelled in red cassocks, and well mounted on horseback, marched in the morning to Tellat, the hour when the sermon was, and ran like famished wolves to the Volta church: the protestants who were in the church, observing the evil intention



intention of those villains, arose suddenly from their seats, and endeavoured to shut the door, and to barricado the place with the benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the church; but not being able so speedily to do it, some of them climbed up unto the windows, and discharged their muskets among the people without respect of any person, and killed many of them. At last they opened the door, entered, and slew all they found, saving a few who promised to go to mass. Some of the men and women with their children fled into the belfrey to save themselves; but they set fire to the place, and burnt all that were within.

At the massacre at Sondres, in the mountain of Sondrium and Malenk, were left dead above one hundred and forty persons. But the chancellor Giovan Andrea Migardino, with his brother Gregory, and others of the church of Sondres, withdrew themselves, to the number of eighteen, together with certain ladies and their young children, into their own house, which joined to the palace, and there they fortified themselves with resolution to defend themselves even unto death, seeing that in the street wherein they dwelt none durst come out of their doors, nor enter into the church which stood over against them. Nevertheless, the enemy resolved to set upon the house with a thousand armed men, threatening also to kill the magistrate, in case any of them should take any harm by those who were in the house. Whereupon the magistrate commanded those in the house to depart; who being well armed, immediately took their way by Sondres towards the bridge, where for a time they fortified themselves, then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the church of the mountain of Sondres. In which place being gathered together with the pastor, they made their prayers to God, and afterwards, to the number of threescore and thirteen persons in all, they passed the valley of Malenco, which was beset by the enemy on two sides: but those that kept those places were by the providence of God so astonished, that they fled away, and the protestants, though they were pursued to the tops of the hills, did miraculously escape with safety.

Annaidi Lita, wife of Anthoni Grotti, of Chio, in the territory of Vincentine, of an honourable and ancient house, was come out of Italy but a few years before for the liberty of her conscience. She was first by them exhorted with fair words to change her religion; but she constantly persevering therein, was admonished that she would at least have a care of her young infant which she held in her arms, being about two months old; otherwise she would make reckoning, that in the twinkling of an eye both she and her babe should die: but she with a bold and undaunted courage answered, That she had not departed out of Italy her native country, neither had she forsaken all the estate she had, to renounce at last that faith which had been inspired into her by the Lord Jesus Christ; yea, that she would rather suffer, if it were possible, a thousand deaths. And how, said she, should I have regard in this cause of my infant, since God our heavenly Father spared not his only Son, my Lord Jesus, but delivered him up to death for the love of me and of all sinners? Then giving them the child, she said, Behold the child; the Lord God, who hath the care of the birds of the air, will much more be able to save this poor creature, although by you it were left in those wild mountains. So unlacing her gown, she opened her breast, and said, Here is the body which you have power to kill; but my soul, on which you have no power to lay hands, that I commend to my God, and immediately she was cut in pieces, being thirty-five years of age. The infant, because it was a lovely and sweet babe to look on, was suffered to live, and was delivered to a popish woman to nurse. The husband of this gentlewoman was murdered for the faith before.

Some women were by force taken up to the tops of high and craggy mountains, and threatened to be thrown down headlong with their children, unless they would go to mass. And although some were moved and terrified with the horrors of death, and had consented to change their religion, yet were they murdered for all that without any pity at all.

The same befel a gentleman of Soglio, in the Pregaglia; for though his life was promised him, he was brought into the market place pinioned with a cord, and miserably slain by two musketeers, being seventy-two years of age, after he had been robbed of his gold and silver, whereof great store was found in his house, according to the common and too much practised rule of the Roman catholics.

An aged man of sixty-seven years was set upon an ass, his face turned to the tail, which he held in his hand instead of a bridle, and in his other hand a book, whom in this manner they carried through Sondres, with great joy and triumph. Then they cut off his ears, nose, and cheeks, boring holes into divers parts of his body, with a strange and unparalleled barbarity, until they had quite killed him; but he for the love of Christ his Saviour with great and incredible courage endured all those varieties of torments.

Anthony de Prati, of the hills, was exhorted with many words to abjure his religion; but he constantly persevered, and with a generous courage replied in these words, "My soul shall be taken up into Abraham's bosom, and after my death my enemies shall see the angel of God hard by me, &c." And accordingly an angel appeared over his body in a white garment, being seen by those who stood near him, who of their own accord have publicly confessed the same.

An aged man of seventy-five years, being set upon by those inhuman wretches, leaped out of a window and passed the river Maletto, and having got to his house, and shifted his clothes, he was assailed again, taken prisoner, and carried to the palace, put often to the strapado, and at last was so hewn and sliced with a sword, that he had nothing left him but his arms, which were fastened to the cord.

Paulo Beretta, of Chio, in the county of Vicence, a virgin of the age of seventy-five years, of an honourable, noble, and ancient family, who came twenty-seven years before to Sondres to embrace the gospel, was by these villains carried through Sondres, with all disgrace, shame, and scorn, having a mitre of paper put upon her head, her face besmeared with dirt, and many buffets given in her cheeks, and in many other fashions abused. Being required to call upon the holy virgin Mary and the saints, and to place her trust in them, she smiling, readily answered them, My trust and my salvation is in my only Saviour Jesus Christ, and in him only will I trust. And it is also true, that I acknowledge the virgin Mary for the most holy virgin above all others, which ever was, or ever will be; who was a virgin before the birth, a virgin in the birth, and after birth, and so shall remain. Who though she be favoured and beloved of God, above all women in the world, to be made the mother of my Lord Jesus the Saviour of the world; nevertheless, because she is not able to know our necessities, as not being omnipotent, (for otherwise she would be God himself) and besides hath had need of the merits of her Son, it was not lawful for her to call upon any other than the eternal God, who knoweth all things, and upon no creature of any quality whatsoever, &c. In this manner she endured their scorns and outrages with an incredible constancy and cheerfulness, saying continually, I do willingly endure as becometh me to do, desiring no better usage, since the very same hath been done to my Lord and Saviour Jesus, and to his apostles, and to thousands of the holy martyrs. At last she was carried away to be sent to Milan. On the eighteenth of July an elderly woman was found murdered in the highway, in the plain of St. Gregory, in the Valtoline, which some conjectured to be the body of this gentlewoman, who it was thought was murdered by the assassins in that place.

Many hid themselves in holes and caves, and woods, out of which they durst not come but by night only to get some food, and that with great fear and terror, on account of the watching of the enemy; and others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed only upon roots, leaves, and grass, made an end of their lives; and many were murdered in divers places, who had no burial at all; so that many carcases were to be seen



seen in groves and woods in the mountains, and in the waters in many places.

At the massacre of Berbonne, were slain about eleven persons. And likewise

At Caspano, and Trahorn, about the same number: one of them was by trade a taylor, who being discovered by his countrymen and kindred, was taken and carried to Morbegnio, and being solicited to forsake the true religion, and to embrace the Roman, and standing with great manfulness thereto, was condemned to the fire, and was placed between two heaps of wood, to make him recant; but all was in vain; for being asked, If he were a catholic, he answered, That he was. Then, if he were a Roman catholic; he likewise affirmed he was so. But being demanded, if he held the Roman faith as it is at this day, he answered, No. It is true, said he, that I hold the ancient catholic Roman faith, which was preached by St. Paul, That a man is saved by grace by the means of faith, and not by works, lest any man should boast. Being demanded, if he believed the pope to be the head of the church, he answered, No; because Christ only is the head of the church, according to the promise, "I will be with you unto the end of the world." And though the fire was kindled and put out again on purpose to draw him to a recantation, nevertheless he persevered and endured that cruel death with admirable constancy, the 15th day of August, being sixty years old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of stature, yet was he great and mighty in the confession of the truth, inasmuch that for the love of his Saviour he suffered death with singular cheerfulness, being forty years of age. His example was devoutly and constantly imitated by Elizabeth his wife, who was killed in the 38th year of her age: and moreover these Herodian murderers not therewith content, but joining one barbarous inhumanity to another, observing a daughter of her's, being an infant of three years old, to lie in the cradle, although it was a child of a sweet countenance, and these wretches seeing that the babe looked lovingly and pleasantly upon them, which would have been enough to have moved any adamant heart to compassion, yet notwithstanding they took this pretty innocent babe by the feet, and dashed out her brains against the wall.

Upon the most serious consideration it every way appeareth, that the aforesaid persons underwent those sufferings for no other cause, but only for the truth of the gospel; even as by the eternal decree of God, the holy prophet St. John the Baptist, the holy apostles, yea, even our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and after him those many millions of the martyrs in all ages have done before, and especially in these times, in Germany, France, England, Scotland, Low-Countries, Bohemia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c.

Which martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer blame for the name of Jesus, remembering the promise of our Lord, Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake, because the kingdom of heaven is their's. Blessed are you when others shall revile and persecute you, and shall falsely speak all evil of you for my sake: rejoice and triumph, for great is your reward in heaven, for so have they persecuted the prophets who were before you. Read to this purpose, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16; which words, by all good christians are to be well pondered and weighed. For first, By such trial

we perish not. Secondly, We are thereby made conformable to Christ our head. Thirdly, Such sufferings cause unto us greater joy than sorrow. Fourthly, They are infallible marks that the spirit of God rests upon us. Fifthly, They manifest to all our unfeigned love to Christ and his gospel. Sixthly, Hereby we have good proof that the Lord doth correct us, not as a severe judge, but as a most loving and tender-hearted Father; to whom therefore with his blessed Son, and Holy Spirit, be all glory and honour ascribed in all the churches of the saints, world without end, Amen.

*SIGNS and PRODIGES, which happened before and after the MASSACRE in the VALTOLINE.*

**T**HE protestants having appointed guards in the churches of the Valtoline, besides others which were commanded to watch in certain places, to give the sign by fire, to the intent that the whole valley being warned partly by the beacons, partly by the sound of the bells, might be ready together on a sudden to take arms for their defence against the Spaniards, if they should make any excursion upon the valley: about the month of May, 1620, in Sondres, the aforesaid centinels reported, that in the night as they watched, they heard in the church of Gervase, a murmuring as it were of many persons, with great earnestness and vehemency of arguing and contesting among themselves: and from the church there shined upwards through the steeple a great brightness, insomuch that the centinels lighted their torches, and assembled themselves to go down into the church to see what the matter might be. But as they were descending down the stairs, their lights were put out, and returning afresh to light their torches, they were put out again with greater strength, and with much astonishment and trembling; and the brightness which filled the church suddenly vanished, the weights also of the great clock fell down, and they heard about ten tolls of a bell, in such a manner as it useth to ring to give the alarm, which was heard by many.

Likewise in Tyrane, the great bell was heard in like manner; and the magistrates commanded them suddenly to go and know the cause, but he found that it was not done by the hand of men, and instantly the servants running from the belfrey, and diligently attending to see this business, they discerned a thing like a cat to descend down into the place.

After the massacre, in the Valtoline, the evangelic protestant church, and principally from Teglio and Tyrane, a voice hath been heard to cry, Woe, woe to you, the vengeance of God is upon you for the blood of the innocent.

Also the bell of the evangelic church of Tyrane, used to ring even at the same time that the sermon was wont to be: and in that church a voice was heard, like the voice of Seignior Antonio Basso, who some time had been there a minister, and was murdered in the said place, as if himself had been preaching there.

In Sondres there was seen to descend an army from the mountains every way furnished; which sight was the cause that many took their flight, and departed out of Sondres; but suddenly this apparition vanished like a cloud. Which struck a great terror into the minds of the people, insomuch that many departed out of the valley, as fearing a dreadful punishment from heaven.



THE  
NEW AND COMPLETE  
BOOK of MARTYRS,

OR, AN

Universal History of Martyrdom:

BEING

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS,

Revised and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

An Historical Account of the Lives, Persecutions, Sufferings, and cruel Deaths, of many

EMINENT PROTESTANTS.

CHAP. I.

An ACCOUNT of the RISE, PROGRESS, PERSECUTIONS, and SUFFERINGS, of the PEOPLE commonly called QUAKERS.

**I**N treating of these people in an historical manner, we are obliged to have recourse to much tenderness. That they differ from the generality of Protestants in some of the capital points of religion, cannot be denied; and yet, as Protestant Dissenters, they are included under the description of the toleration act. It is not our business to inquire whether people of similar sentiments had any existence in the primitive ages of Christianity; perhaps, in some respects, they had not; but we are to write of them not as what they were, but what they now are. That they have been treated by several writers in a very contemptuous manner, is certain; that they did not deserve such treatment, is equally certain.

The appellation *Quakers* was bestowed upon them as a term of reproach, in consequence of their apparent convulsions which they laboured under when they delivered their discourses, because they imagined they were the effect of Divine inspiration.

It is not our business, at present, to inquire whether the sentiments of these people are agreeable to the gospel, but this much is certain, that the first leader of them, as a separate body, was a man of obscure birth, who had his first existence in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. In speaking of this man we shall deliver our own sentiments in an historical manner, and joining these to what have been said by the Friends themselves, we shall endeavour to furnish out a complete narrative.

He was descended of honest and respected parents, who brought him up in the national religion: but from a child he appeared religious, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, and uncommonly knowing in divine things. He was brought up to husbandry, and

other country business, and was particularly inclined to the solitary occupation of a shepherd; "an employment," says our author, "that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service." In the year 1646, he entirely forsook the national church, in whose tenets he had been brought up, as before observed; and in 1647, he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, without any set purpose of visiting particular places, but in a solitary manner he walked through several towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned. "He fasted much," says Sewell, "and walked often in retired places, with no other companion than his Bible." "He visited the most retired and religious people in those parts," says Penn, "and some there were, short of few, if any, in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and Simeon, did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of, and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man: for in the word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the word, by which the word begets them again to God, which is the generation and new birth,



without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God, and to which whoever comes is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-running of the gospel-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathering in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In the year 1652, "he had a visitation of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth, in a public ministry, to begin it." He directed his course northward, "and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shewn to him; so that the Lord was his leader indeed." He made great numbers of converts to his opinions, and many pious and good men joined him in his ministry. These were drawn forth especially to visit the public assemblies to reprove, reform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, "calling people to repentance, and to return to the Lord, with their hearts as well as their mouth; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and to consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and to do the good and acceptable will of God."

They were not without opposition in the work they imagined themselves called to, being often set in the stocks, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though, as our author observes, honest men of good report, that had left wives, children, houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. But these coercive methods rather forwarded than abated their zeal, and in those parts they brought over many profelytes, and amongst them several magistrates, and others of the better sort. They apprehended the Lord had forbidden them to pull off their hats to any one, high or low, and required them to speak to the people, without distinction, in the language of thou and thee. They scrupled bidding people good-morrow, or good-night; nor might they bend the knee to any one, even in supreme authority. Both men and women went in a plain and simple dress, different from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man master, on earth. Several texts of scripture they quoted in defence of these singularities; such as, Swear not at all. How can ye believe who receive honour of one another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only? &c. &c. They placed the basis of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulse of the holy Spirit.

In 1654, their first separate meeting in London was held in the house of Robert Dring, in Watling-street, for by that time they had spread themselves into all parts of the kingdom, and had in many places set up meetings and assemblies, particularly in Lancashire and the adjacent parts; but they were still exposed to great persecutions and trials of every kind. One of them, in a letter to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, represents, that though there are no penal laws in force obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the Quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate.

Under favour of the then toleration, they opened their meetings at the Bull and Mouth, in Aldersgate-street, where women, as well as men, were moved to speak. Their zeal transported them to some extravagancies, which laid them still more open to the lash of their enemies, who exercised various severities upon them throughout the next reign. Upon the suppression of Venner's mad insurrection, the government having published a proclamation, forbidding the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, chapel, or in private houses, by consent of the persons there inhabiting, all meetings in other places, being declared to be unlawful

and riotous, &c. &c. the Quakers thought it expedient to address the king thereon, which they did in the following words:

"Ob King Charles!

"OUR desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beseech thee and thy council to read these following lines in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for your good.

"And this consider, we are about four hundred imprisoned, in and about this city, of men and women from their families, besides, in the county gaols, about ten hundred; we desire that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up.

"London, 16th day, eleventh month, 1660."

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, "A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion, from both magistrates and people, in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings." It was presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660, and he promised them upon his royal word, that they should not suffer for their opinions, as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were very little regarded afterwards.

In 1661, they assumed courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful, and that swearing upon the most solemn occasions was forbidden in the New Testament. Their petition was rejected, and instead of granting them relief, an act was passed against them, the preamble to which set forth, "That whereas several persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and the public congregations and usual places of divine worship: be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons, after the 24th of March, 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain in writing, or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship, to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second, ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: and the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair."

This act had a most dreadful effect upon the Quakers, though it was well known and notorious these conscientious persons were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. George Fox, in his address to the king, acquaints him, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. A relation was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the gaols.

However, they even gloried in their sufferings, which increased every day; so that in 1665, and the intermediate years, they were harrassed without example. As they persisted resolutely to assemble, openly, at the Bull and Mouth before-mentioned, the soldiers, and other officers, dragged them from thence to prison, till



Newgate was filled with them, and multitudes died of close confinement, in that and other gaols.

Six hundred of them, says an account published at this time, were in prison, merely for religion-sake, of whom several were banished to the plantations. In short, says Mr. Neale, the Quakers gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other Dissenters.

Yet, under all these calamities, they behaved with patience and modesty towards the government, and upon occasion of the Rye-house plot, in 1682, thought proper to declare their innocence of that sham plot, in an address to the king, wherein, appealing to the searcher of all hearts, they say, their principles do not allow them to take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for the injuries they receive from others; that they continually pray for the king's safety and preservation; and therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the gaols are so filled, that they want air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns, and fields are ransacked, and the goods, corn, and cattle swept away, to the discouraging trade and husbandry, and impoverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people; and this, for no other cause, but for the exercise of a tender conscience in the worship of Almighty God, who is sovereign Lord and King of men's consciences.

On the accession of James II. they addressed that monarch honestly and plainly, telling him, "we are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we; therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself, which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

When James, by his dispensing power, granted liberty to the Dissenters, they began to enjoy some rest from their troubles; and indeed it was high time, for they were swelled to an enormous amount. They, the year before this, to them glad release, in a petition to James for a cessation of their sufferings, set forth, "that of late above one thousand five hundred of their friends, both men and women, and that now there remain one thousand three hundred and eighty-three; of which two hundred are women, many under sentence of præmunire; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of allegiance, because they could not swear. Three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1680; in London, the gaol of Newgate has been crowded, within these two years, sometimes with near 20 in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days. Great violences, outrageous distresses, and woeful havock and spoil, have been made upon people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, by persecutions on the conventicle-act, and others; also on *qui tam* writs, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of their estates seized for the king. Some had not a bed left to rest on, others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for seed or bread, nor tools to work with; the said informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the king and the church. Our religious assemblies have been charged at common law with being rioters and disturbers of the public peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prison without regard to age, and many confined in holes and dungeons. The seizing for 20l. a month has amounted to many thousands, and several who have employed some hundreds of poor people in manufactures, are disabled to do any more, by reason of long imprisonment. They spare neither widow nor fatherless, nor have they so much as a bed to lie on. The informers are both witnesses and prosecutors, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of the peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred

pounds, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations." With this petition they presented a list of their friends in prison, in the several counties, amounting to four hundred and sixty.

During the reign of king James II. these people were, through the intercession of their friend Mr. Penn, treated with greater indulgence than ever they had been before. They were now become extremely numerous in many parts of the country, and the settlement of Pennsylvania taking place soon after, many of them went over to America. There they enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful government, and cultivated the arts of honest industry.

As the whole colony was the property of Mr. Penn, so he invited people of all denominations to come and settle with him. An universal liberty of conscience took place; and in this new colony the natural rights of mankind were, for the first time, established.

These Friends are, in the present age, a very harmless inoffensive body of people; but of that we shall take more notice hereafter. By their wise regulations, they not only do honour to themselves, but they are of vast service to the community: and here we are led to consider their tenets, with respect to the grand articles of the Christian faith, and their discipline concerning church communion.

They profess faith in God, by his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being their light and life, as well as their only way to the Father, and a mediator with the Father. That God created all things by his Son Jesus Christ; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one Divine Being, inseparable, one true living and eternal God, blessed for ever. That the Word, or Son of Man, in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him, and became a perfect man, according to the flesh; was miraculously conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; declared to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead. That in this Word was life, and the same life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Christ Jesus.

That as man he died for our sins, rose again, and was raised up into glory; he having, by that one great universal offering, become a sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man. That Jesus, who sitteth on the right-hand of the Majesty of Heaven, is our king, high-priest, and prophet, in his church, and by his spirit also maketh intercession in our hearts. That the gospel of this grace should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom, and goodness, in the work of man's salvation, and that all our prayers are answered by the Father through the Son.

That Christ's body that was crucified was not the God-head; yet, by the power of God, it was raised from the dead, changed into a more glorious condition, and ascended into heaven.

Firm and living faith in Jesus Christ the Son of the living God respects his being and fulness, and also his making himself known in the soul in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith; which light and life of the Son of God, when truly observed and followed, will bring us to the adoption of sons.

It is true, we are not to undervalue the holy scriptures, nor slight the preaching of the word, as being outward helps and instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of sinners; nor do we set them up in opposition to the light of the spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof to turn people to the same spirit and light within them.

It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, that God should be manifested in the flesh; and it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and christianity, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually manifested in men's hearts. Christ is revealed to all true believers, freeing them from the bondage of sin, in their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.



tion. This mystery of godliness in it's own being and glory, hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed, where God is pleased to give commission, and prepare people's hearts for the same.

As touching the resurrection of the dead, we believe as the scripture testifies, "That if in this life we only have hope, we are of all men the most miserable." That the soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be resumed in it's own distinct and proper being, and every soul shall have it's proper body, as God is pleased to give it. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; and though this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so we expect our bodies to be spiritual in the resurrection, and that they shall far excel what our bodies are at present; but how the dead are raised, or with what body they come, we submit to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God; for we cannot presume to determine.

As to the doctrine of the final judgment, we believe, that God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ, and he is appointed to be both the judge of quick and dead, and of the states and end of all mankind. That Jesus Christ, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many indignities, shall in the last and great day manifestly appear in glory, attended with all his glorious and heavenly host and retinue, to the terror and amazement of all who have denied him; but to the glory and triumph of the righteous, the faithful followers and friends of Christ. It is a righteous thing with God, that they who suffer with him, shall appear with him in glory and dignity, when he shall appear at last to judge the world and the princes thereof. Whilst those who now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences; they shall be at last opened, and every thing judged of the things recorded therein, according to their works.

These articles are generally approved of by most of those christians whom we call orthodox; but as a charge was brought against the Quakers for having embraced the notion of Socinus, in vindication of themselves they added a few more articles to their creed. These are as follow:

I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the Christ, the Son of God, to whom all the prophets are witnesses; and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, with his laws, doctrines, and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God that taketh away all the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive for ever in his eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

III. That the holy scriptures are of Divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy, or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well.

These articles were added by one George Whitehead, a noted man among them; and here it may be necessary to observe, that these people pay very great regard to the scriptures, and to many other doctrines of the gospel.

Baptism is not practised by these people. They say, that it is not outward washing with water that makes the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven. Mr. Barclay, in his Apology, endeavours to prove this proposition in the following manner, viz. "As there is one Lord, and one faith, so there is one baptism, which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing; that is, the baptism of the spirit, and by which we are buried with him; that being washed and buried from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was only a figure, which was com-

manded for a time, and not to continue for ever." Such are the sentiments of this learned man concerning infant baptism, or in general all water baptism whatever. He adds further, that infant baptism is a mere human invention; for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in scripture.

Concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he advances, "That the communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the infant man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance for the cause of the weak; even in abstaining from things strangled, and from blood; the washing of one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are only the shadows of better things, so they cease in such as have obtained the substance."

It is not our business to inquire whether Mr. Barclay's sentiments be true or not; his Apology, however, was soon after it's first publication translated into Latin, which even led foreigners to read it; and the author has seen translations of it into French, German, and Low Dutch.

Having thus far considered the principles of the Friends, commonly called Quakers, we shall proceed to give some account of the various parts of their discipline.

In 1667, George Fox recommended the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation, the friends having only had their quarterly meetings. "And the Lord appeared (says George) unto me, and bid me see what I must do, and how men and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in England, and other nations, and that I should write to them where I came not, to do the same. Accordingly, having recommended the setting up of two monthly meetings in London to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly, and not according to the truth; then I passed forth into the counties again, and advised that monthly meetings should be settled there also, for the same purpose, which was done according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God; and in the year 1668, I went over for the same purpose to Ireland. From thence I went to Scotland, to Holland, to Barbadoes; and to many parts of America, advising friends to settle monthly meetings in those countries; all which was accordingly done.

The good effects of these monthly meetings discovered themselves in the reformation that took place among our friends, and they were acknowledged even by those who did not join us." These monthly meetings were more or less in number, as the case required, in every respective county; and three monthly meetings make a quarterly one in each county. These meetings called quarterly, determined every thing too hard for the monthly ones, and prepared matters for the general yearly meetings. In all these meetings they are equal in power, they have no person to preside over them, because they acknowledge none but Christ for their head. They have no disputes concerning differences, but endeavour to convince each other in the spirit of love and meekness. In these meetings they inquire into all the wants of their brethren.

In their proceedings against offenders, they are as follow: He is visited by some of the friends, and the fact he is charged with is laid before him. They labour with much love and zeal to convince his conscience that he has been out of the way of his duty. They keep in view the glory of God, the good of his soul, and the honour of their profession. It commonly happens, that he is prevailed on to own his fault, and profess sincere repentance; and then the thing is never mentioned to him afterwards.

The monthly meeting chuse some of the gravest of their friends to visit such as are absent, to converse with them,



them, to take care that the poor be provided for, to promote piety, charity, and friendship in families, to take care that the children of the poor be instructed, clothed, and in all things provided for.

Although they supply the wants of all their own poor, yet this does not prevent them from being charitable to the poor of other religious denominations.

The first questions asked by those whom we have already mentioned as visitors are the following.

I. How are ministering friends in love and unity with one another, and with faithful brethren in their own meetings?

II. Do none of them travel abroad in the works of the ministry, without a certificate from their own monthly meetings?

III. Do they give way to each other, and to strangers?

IV. Do none overcharge themselves with business to the hindrance of their service?

V. Are they sound in their ministry?

VI. Do any of them burden their hearers with words without life?

VII. Do they adorn their doctrine by a suitable conduct and conversation, as good example in all respects?

The sensible reader will acknowledge, that these are very important questions; but their discipline concerning marriage; merits the attention of Protestants of all denominations.

The man and woman present themselves to the men and women at the monthly meetings where they reside, and there deliver their intention of taking each other as husband and wife, if the said meeting have no material objections against it.

The principal conditions of their acceptance, are the following:

First, It is an established rule, that no man propose marriage to a woman, without the previous consent of his own and her parents, or guardians; and if the unbridled affections of any should have precipitated him into a breach of this rule, he is required to remove the offence, as is also the woman, and give satisfaction to such parents and guardians, and to the meeting to which they belong, by a due and open acknowledgment of the offence, and condemnation of themselves for it, and to get the consent of their guardians before they can proceed with the marriage.

Secondly, That the parties be of the same opinion and judgment in matters of religion, and professed members of this society.

Thirdly, That none shall marry within such degrees of consanguinity or affinity, as are forbidden by the law of God.

Fourthly, If either of the parties has given offence to their friends formerly, by some act of scandal, they are to acknowledge it, which is generally done in writing.

If no objections are then made, notice of the intended marriage is published in the meetings, where the man or woman resides, or did reside, which must be done before the marriage is solemnized, in order that convenient time may be granted for satisfaction concerning their clearances of all scandal of previous contract, and every thing else.

The parties are required to give their attendance a second time at the monthly meeting, which is usually the next ensuing, when the parties appointed to make the inquiry, return and give the answer, which if proved satisfactory, the parties are at liberty to proceed to the accomplishment of the marriage.

These marriages are solemnized in the common ordinary meetings, which hath had this good effect, to make public, and strongly recommend this decent and comely order to all sober friends.

Here the man and woman take each other as husband and wife, and promise, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death separates them. Of all these proceedings, a narrative is kept in the manner of a certificate, to which the husband and wife set their hands, thereby making it their own act and deed,

and some of the persons present do the same. This certificate is afterwards written into the record of the meeting.

As for second marrying, they attend to the following things:

First, If the man be a widower, or the woman a widow, and have children by a former husband or wife, that provision be previously made for such children, where it can conveniently be done.

Secondly, Friends should not proceed to second marriages, till at least one year is elapsed from the death of the former wife, or husband, and the practice accordingly has been such; for to do otherwise would look indecent.

To their general meeting at London, which assembles at Whitsuntide, are admitted friends from all the churches they have in the world, to give an account of the state of every particular church, which from some parts is done only by writing, and then a general epistle is sent to all the churches.

These epistles, from their general meetings in London, have something in them of a very pious and moral tendency, of which we shall afterwards give a specimen. In the mean time, we cannot help observing, that of all religious denominations, these people suffer more than others. They are obliged to pay all sorts of taxes, and yet none of their poor become burthensome to the parishes.

The Papists have had greater indulgencies shewn them than the Friends, and there are numbers of papists in the workhouses in England. It is true, those of the Quakers or Friends, must be likewise admitted, on condition of their applying for it; but we cannot say but it is rather cruel, to make men pay for the support of the poor, seeing they support all their own, and that in so decent a manner.

The following epistle was written by that great ornament of the literary world, Dr. John Fothergill, at the yearly meeting at London, May 29, 1779. It will serve to shew what were the sentiments of those peaceable people under the unhappy circumstances of affairs at that time.

## A LETTER,

From Dr. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

**I**N the love of God, and the fellowship of the gospel, which we have, with deep thankfulness of heart, in a good degree experienced to attend us, both in our meetings for worship, and those for transacting the affairs of the church, we affectionately salute you; with fervent desires that brotherly love, peace, and concord; may continue and increase amongst us, and that a tender and christian concern may come upon all, in their respective stations, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteousness upon earth.

By accounts received from the several quarterly meetings in England, and by epistles from Wales, North-Britain, Ireland, Holland, New-England, New-York, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, we are informed that love and unity are generally preserved in the churches, to many of which divers have been joined through conviction; and that a considerable number of well-disposed youth appears in various parts.

The sufferings of our brethren in America have been great in many places, especially in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, and Nantucket. These sufferings have principally arisen from that confusion and distress which are inseparable from war, from the laws enacted for promoting military services, and from acts enforcing declarations of allegiance to those in power.

The friends who were banished from Philadelphia have been permitted to return to their habitations, excepting two, who died in exile; and some of those who were imprisoned have been set at liberty.



It is with satisfaction we understand, that their meetings for worship and discipline are duly kept up, and that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers that surround them, friends attend them with diligence, and many from remote places; their minds are often tendered therein, and united in love one to another, and in deep sympathy with the sufferers amongst them. And it evidently appears, that the turning of the mighty hand of the Lord upon them hath not been in vain; but that, having learned by the things they have suffered, and from the apprehension of future probations, they are engaged to wait for that Divine help, protection, and support, which alone can enable them to endure with patience and holy resignation the trials that are permitted to attend them.

Our brethren in those parts gratefully acknowledge the kindness and regard of friends in England and Ireland, in so early and liberally contributing to the relief of their distresses. Many, from easy circumstances, have been reduced to great hardships and necessities, but have been measurably kept in a state of contentment: these have shared the benevolence of those who have been preserved from the like sufferings. It appears, that their afflictions, though grievous in divers places, have tended to awaken many to a proper sense of their condition, and to increase a watchfulness and care, that they may walk answerable to the mercies received, and faithful in the testimonies committed to their charge, against wars and other anti-christian practices.

May a deep sympathy with our afflicted brethren affect every mind; and may we all watch unto prayer, that it may please the Divine Majesty to shorten the day of their distress.

The sufferings of friends brought in this year from England and Wales, being chiefly for tithes, and those called church-rates, amount to 3763l. and those from Ireland to 1254l.

Inasmuch as we have sufficient ground to believe that the true gospel ministry is freely received from the Holy Head and unchangeable High-Priest of the christian church, and by him commanded to be freely given; we cannot esteem the laws of men, made in the apostatized state of the professing churches, as of any force to supersede his divine law, or to warrant us to act in violation thereof; we therefore exhort you, brethren, to be true and stedfast in the faith once delivered to the saints, and deeply suffered for by divers of the protestant martyrs, as well as by our own faithful predecessors. However any amongst us, to whom blindness in part hath happened, may swerve from the law, and from the testimony, suffer

it not to fall as in the streets, through your weakness, or the want of your example; lest for your denial of Christ before men, he deny you before his Father, and the holy angels.

Let us also remind such as may be remiss in attention to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts, that the kingdom of Christ is a peaceable kingdom; and though his servants walk in the flesh, they do not war after the flesh. He commands them to love their enemies; and many who have followed him in the regeneration, and abode under his government, have found themselves restrained from all wars and fightings; which are not of the spirit of the Saviour, but that of the destroyer of mankind. Believing this, we cannot consistently take any part therein; nor be concerned as owners of armed vessels, in letters of marque, or as purchasers of prize goods; neither can we assist in the sale of them: for whoever amongst us so confederate with the captors, afford evident tokens that they either prefer the gain of a corrupt interest to the convictions of divine light in their own consciences, or that they are become insensible of them; both which must tend to their condemnation.

Now, dear friends, seeing our time is ever silently upon the wing, and the opportunity afforded us for the important work of preparation daily shortening; knowing also, that the solemn period advances, wherein every individual, however occupied in this transient mode of being, must soon be called hence, and may, in a moment unexpected, be broken off from every temporal connection, by that awful command, "Give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward;" let us be vigilant, and in earnest so to improve the precious time allotted us, that when his awakening call approaches, our consciences may not accuse us; but our faith may be firm, and an admittance granted us into that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God!

"See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be to all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Eph. v. 15.—vi. 23.

Before we conclude the account of these people, it may be necessary to observe, that as the Friends, commonly called Quakers, will not take an oath in a court of justice, so their affirmation is permitted in all civil affairs; but they cannot prosecute a criminal, because in our courts of justice all evidence must be upon oath.

## C H A P. II.

*Containing an ACCOUNT of the WESTERN MARTYROLOGY, or BLOODY ASSIZES; together with the LIVES, TRIALS, and DYING SPEECHES, of those EMINENT PROTESTANTS, that SUFFERED in the WEST of ENGLAND, and elsewhere, from the YEAR 1678, to 1685. To which is added, the LIFE and DEATH of GEORGE LORD JEFFREYS.*

### *The MARTYRDOM of SIR EDMUND-BURY GODFREY.*

**T**HE clearest method for the description of the martyrdom of this good man, will be first to inquire into the occasion of it; and then the manner, circumstances, and authors; and lastly, the several endeavours that have been used to clear the papists of that indelible guilt, which sticks upon them from so horrid a villainy.

For the occasion of his martyrdom, what was said in the summing up the evidence concerning him, but modestly and on supposition only, we may yet venture to affirm positively, This protestant magistrate was certainly murdered, because he was a protestant.

But the particular and special reasons were the following:

1. He had taken examinations about the popish plot,

and those not only (as the attorney-general said in the trial of the assassins) perhaps, but undoubtedly more than are now extant. Mr. Oates addressed himself to him with his depositions: he had taken them, and inquired something closely into the design, as his manner was in any thing which belonged to his office. This the papists very well knew, and therefore found it convenient to be rid of a troublesome busy man, who, now he was engaged in the business, was likely to pierce to the bottom of it; and he being once out of the way, the evidence might very easily have been disposed of to their satisfaction.

But here those, whose interest it is to get clear of such a charge, object very pertly; What need, or what advantage, in taking off a justice, when the same things were deposed in other places?

2. The second reason or occasion for this murder will easily



easily answer that objection. They not only bore him malice for what he had already done in Oates's case, and might probably be ignorant of those secret passages transacted before king and council, in relation to Oates's depositions, but were sensible of a deeper reason than all this, and which brought them into more danger than the other.

Mr. Dugdale had received a letter the very night on which this gentleman was martyred (of which more anon) with these words in it, [This night sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is dispatched.] This came from the papists to Ewers, a popish priest at my lord Aston's, who, after he had read it, communicated the good news to Mr. Dugdale, telling him, One of their enemies was taken out of the way. He being desirous to know how things went, asked, What was the reason they took away his life? Ewers told him, There was a message sent to Mr. Coleman, when in Newgate, to desire him that he would not reveal any thing of the plot; which message came from the duke of York. To which Coleman replied, What was he the nearer, for he had been so foolish as to reveal all to sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey already? But upon the examination of Oates before sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, he was afraid he would come in as evidence against him, having shewn himself eager in the business. To which the duke of York sent word again, If he would take care not to reveal, but conceal it, sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey should not come in against him. And the next news was, that he was dispatched.

Now this effectually takes off the former cavil; and this sir Roger could not but be sensible of; and concluding so unanswerably against what he built so much upon, even lets it fairly drop, and mentions not a syllable of it in all his book. Which evidence of Mr. Dugdale's; is beyond contradiction confirmed by several hints unluckily given in sir Roger's own depositions, where Mr. Wynnel deposes what sir Edmund told him, Coleman must die, and mentioned consults about a toleration; adding further, That he was master of a dangerous secret that would be fatal to him. Hence nothing can be more plain to any reasonable man, than that sir Edmund was acquainted with Mr. Coleman as well as Dr. Oates, and knew even the minute circumstances in those letters which afterwards were brought against him, and stood in fear of his life for that very reason, as for the same he afterwards lost it.

For the manner of his death, those who were accomplices therein should best know it; and the objections against their evidence the reader may find cleared, if he will take the pains to look a little lower. After the poor gentleman had several days been dogged by the papists, as Dr. Oates, Mr. Prance, and Mr. Bedlow, unanimously swear, and which he as good as acknowledged to Mr. Robinson, as appears on the trial of his murderers, they at last accomplished their wicked design, on Saturday, October 12, 1678, and under pretence of a quarrel, which they knew his care for the public peace would oblige him to prevent, about nine o'clock at night, as he was going home, got him into the Water-Gate at Somerset-House. When he was thus trepanned in, and got out of hearing from the street, toward the lower end of the yard, Green, one of the assassins, threw a twisted handkerchief round his neck, and drew him behind the rails, which, notwithstanding his age and weakness, are objected against it's probability; taking him thus at a surprise, and in the dark, it was easy for him to do, especially three or four more of them immediately falling in to assist him, there they throttled him; and lest that should not be enough, punched and kicked him on the breast, as sufficiently appeared when his body was found, by the marks upon it; and lest he should not be yet dead enough, another of them, Gerald, or, as I find him called in other places, Fitzgerald, would have run him through, but was hindered by the rest, lest the blood should have discovered them. But Green, to make sure work, wrung his neck round, as it was found afterwards on the inspection of the surgeons.

For the disposal of the body, they all carried it up into a little chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was Dr. Godwin's man, where it lay

till Monday night, when they removed it into another room, and thence back again till Wednesday, when they carried him out in a sedan about twelve o'clock, and afterwards upon a horse, with Hill behind him, to support him, till they got to Primrose-Hill, or, as some say it is called, Green-Bury-Hill, near a public house, called the White House, and there threw him into a ditch, with his gloves and cane on a bank near him, and his own sword run through him, on purpose to persuade the world he had killed himself. Very politically making choice of a place to lay him where they might both think he would be some time concealed, and near where he had been seen walking the same day, if the affidavits to this purpose in sir Roger's book may be relied upon.

All this Mr. Prance swears upon the trial of his murderers, with whom he acknowledges he had several consultations before at the Plow alehouse, and other places, concerning it; whose evidence is confirmed, not only by innumerable other circumstances, but Mr. Bedlow's confession, who was to have been present at the action, had not remorse of conscience hindered him, having been engaged by the conspirators for a great reward, and was afterwards to have a considerable part of it for carrying off the body, which he swears he saw in the very room where Prance says it was removed on the Monday night. But even here too he failed them, so it was done without his assistance in the manner before described.

And very sure, no doubt, the great plotters thought they had now made their business: for we are not to fancy these little villains attempted such an action of their own impulse; the great spring we had before in Dugdale's story of Coleman, from whence those large sums must proceed which Bedlow mentions. Now, I say, they thought the business was as sure as the Jews had made the sepulchre, having sealed all the mouths of the parties concerned, with oaths and sacraments, solemnities commonly abused by their party to the foulest villainies. But neither that, nor the darkness of the night, nor the distance of places, could hinder the Divine Justice from looking through and discovering the villains concerned, and bringing them to punishments worthy their wickedness. It was accomplished in the following manner: His body being found by some who accidentally walked that way, and generally suspected from his former discourses, and many probabilities, that he was murdered by the papists, the king issued a proclamation with a promise of indemnity and 500l. reward to any who would discover it. On this Mr. Bedlow wrote a letter to the secretary from the country, concerning his knowledge of something considerable in that matter; and being sent for up to town, revealed whatever he knew of the business. And a little after, Prance being accidentally seized by a constable, then in the house of lords lobby, was known by Mr. Bedlow, having seen his face on that Monday night, when at the same time they saw the body; and who on examination discovered also what his share was in the murder: and though he afterwards denied it, for fear of losing his trade, and such other motives, as he himself confessed, yet in a quarter of an hour he returned again to his first evidence.

But the most difficult task will be what yet remains, the clearing those objections, and some of them plausible ones, and which have led away too many well-meaning men, against the truth of this recited evidence; as well as some insinuations spread abroad, and made the most of to persuade the world this worthy gentleman was guilty of his own death.

But here it cannot be expected that a private person, who has not the advantages of sir Roger, to have warrants for that purpose, and all persons and papers before him relating to that business, and who had great wit, and honesty little enough to pick out, and leave in, what was for his turn; that such a one should be able to go through so many hundred pages as his book consists of, and answer every particular therein. It will be satisfaction enough to any rational man to touch some of the plots and fetches made use of from one time to another, to wash the Blackamoor white, and clear the papists from this villainy: to answer the main objections against



against the evidence, and bring some corroborating circumstances for the truth of it. And lastly, To shew sir Edmund could not murder himself in that place and manner as is pretended.

The first of the methods they used to sham off this murder, was by early reports they spread about, even before his body was found, That he had killed himself. Now this, sir Roger himself can scarce have face enough to affirm was done by the brothers to get the estate; since it was a very odd way, certainly, to do that, by letting the world openly know he was a self-murderer. That such reports were spread, we shall by and by prove, and that from sir Roger's own book, without the trouble of consulting the paper-office; and who got by it, who should do it, whose interest was it to do it, but the papists, although the particular authors may be unknown?

Among the many evidences of his death, being known at so many distant places before it was made public here, there are two come up exactly to the matter in hand. The first, which was recited by the reverend dean of Bangor, since bishop of St. Asaph, in his funeral sermon, and which, it seems, he had of one Mr. Angus, who, the same day sir Edmund was found about five o'clock on Primrose-Hill, being in Mr. Chiswell's shop, in St. Paul's Church-yard, about one or two, there was a person unknown to him passed by, and clapping him upon the shoulder, asked him, If he heard the news that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was found dead, with his own sword run through him.

The second is of Mr. Goldsborough, clerk of the house of commons, who being in a barber's shop on Tuesday morning, while he was missing, a person came in open-mouthed, That sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was found; and being asked where, replied, He had killed himself upon Primrose-Hill; where upon the Thursday following in the evening, the body was indeed discovered.

The second considerable attempt made the same way, was by one Magrath, an Irishman, the famous Celiers, who told the same story to the prince of Wales, and to a great many more besides him; the Jesuits in Newgate, and others, who pretended to prove that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey hanged himself, and his clerk, Moor, cut him down. But being examined at the council-board, it proved only a malicious and false contrivance.

It will be well to remark, that Mrs. Mary Gibbons was one of the persons deeply engaged in this design, among so much other good company: and that Mrs. Mary Gibbons is one of the principal evidences sir Roger makes use of in his book. Though this sham was then so thin laid, and this person so well known, that even Farewell and Pain were ashamed to make use of either in their letters to Prance on this subject, but protest very solemnly, That none of those, neither Celiers, the Newgate priests, nor Mrs. Mary Gibbons, or other papists, or popishly affected, knew any thing of the matter, but were all strangers to it.

When this contrivance was found out by all the world to be nothing but a sham as to Celiers's being with child in Newgate, or somebody else in another place, yet was not the indefatigable zeal of that party discouraged; but Mr. Farewell, a person intrusted in managing the estates and lands of the Jesuits; and Pain, brother to the famous Pain, who wrote St. Coleman's elegy, set a new project on foot to the same purpose in some letters sent to Prance, and printed by N. Thomson; which indeed, if we look close into them, will appear to be sir Roger in little, there being the self-same expressions in one as the other, and his mystery seeming to be hardly more than their letters spread a little thinner. The blood gushing out of the wound—Bedlow's and Prance's east and west contradictions—The wax dropped on his cloaths after he was found, and several other things, the self-same in both of them. And I remember, at that very time, it was shrewdly suspected and rumoured about town, that the same person lay behind the curtain, and thrust their cats-feet into the fire, who has since appeared publicly in prosecution of the same cause.

Before their trial, they reckoned their witnesses by the hundred, pretending to make his self-murder as clear as

the sun. When they came to it, and had all the fair play imaginable, Pain's heart failed him, and he pleaded guilty. Farewell made so poor a defence, and the matter was so clearly proved against them, that Farewell and Thomson were both fined by the court, and sentenced to stand in the pillory, with the following inscription over them: For libelling the justice of the nation, by making the world believe that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey murdered himself. Where how abundantly they were honoured by the spectators, all who know any thing of the story cannot but remember.

Thus it lay for some time, and no person was so hardy to make any farther attempts that way, while there was any possibility of having justice against them: but when the sheriffs, juries, nay, king and all were changed; when that past, which poor Oates and all the world have cause to remember; when, if Prance would not unconfess, he knew he must tread the same dolorous way that Oates had done before him, and had now done all that could be desired; then sir Roger took up the cudgels, and published his book, called, The Mystery of sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's death unfolded; or, which would have been a fitter title, The second edition, with additions, of Farewell's and Pain's letters. The main of what he advances there, will be answered in clearing, as was proposed, the objections against the evidence relating to that matter.

If the ill character of the persons who gave it be urged to invalidate their testimony, as this does not reach all of them, so it has been often answered, Who but such were fit for such villainies? If their seeming disagreement in some part of their evidence, what greater argument that it was no combination? If Prance retracted, we are told by sir Roger himself, That he was a white-livered man, and so might be frightened out of truth as well as into it. And indeed on that very reason it was long before suspected, that if ever he should be bore hard upon, he would not be able to stand it.

But the papists would never kill him, because he had obliged them. As if gratitude was a popish virtue, or charity, any more than faith, were to be kept with heretics: those that think so, let them look back, and see if the last reign be enough to convince them.

It may be urged on, here are several testimonies in the trial of the murderers, and since, that invalidate the evidence there given, Warner and his wife and maid about Green, That he was at home all that evening when he was accused for committing it. It would be enough to oppose to this, their confession to captain Richardson, that they could do him no good. But besides this, Mr. justice Dolbin's observation on the trial clears it effectually. They swore to the Saturday fortnight after Michaelmas-day, which was, says the justice, the 19th of October, not the 12th, on which the murder was committed.

If Broadstreet and others testify they were in the room where the body was laid, and Hill's wife so rubs up her memory, that after so many years she remembers what she could not upon his trial, That she, and he, and their child lay in the room all that very time when the body was said to be there; it would not be a shift, but an answer, That they were papists that swore it, who can swear any thing. But besides, Broadstreet acknowledged before the duke of Monmouth, That Hill was gone from his lodgings before this time, as was proved on the trial. Mrs. Tilden says, There was but one key to their door. Mrs. Broadstreet at the same time, with what she owned about Hill, That there were six or seven: contradictions in others, we see, as well as the king's evidence; and these being much homer, and more irreconcilable than their's, must of necessity destroy the belief of what else they testify.

But the home-thrust is—The centinels saw no sedan carried out. This the printed trial easily sets right. The centinels were Trollop and Wright. Trollop staid till ten, and saw a sedan go in, but none out again. Wright staid till one, but saw none go out. It must be in Trollop's time, being, as Prance says, about twelve the centinels being then at Bury's lodge smoking and drinking. Trollop says on the trial, he was never



the lodge, but so does not Wright, as any one may see by consulting it, he being never asked the question.

It will give a great light into this deed of darkness in the next place, to consider several circumstantial evidences, which would, of themselves, go very far to prove that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was murdered by the papists, and that in the very place and manner which has been already described.

The first of these from sir Edmund's own mouth, which has been already hinted, but shall here be farther cleared.

It was indeed so notorious, that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey had boding thoughts, and a sort of a prophetic intimation of his death, and that by the papists; and discoursed of it so publicly and generally, that sir Roger could not deny all the matter of fact, but endeavours to avoid the force of it; when he says, as is witnessed by several, On my conscience I shall be the first martyr. This he interprets, I doubt I shall not live long. Sure, though he says in one place, The man was no fool, yet he must be supposed to be no better, any more than all the readers, if neither he nor they made any difference between being hanged and martyred. But the very reason of this interpretation was for what sir Roger dearly loved, that he might have opportunity for a reflection on the parliament. He feared, says he, that the parliament would call him to account, and that nothing would satisfy them but his life, for not discovering it sooner. In opposition to this, any impartial man need but consider what follows. Squire Robinson, on the trial of the murderers, witnesses that he had a discourse with sir Edmund a little while before his death about the plot then newly talked on. Says Robinson, I wish the depth of the matter be found out. Sir Edmund answers, I am afraid it is not. Upon my conscience I believe I shall be the first martyr. He acknowledged he had taken several examinations about it, but thought he should have little thanks for his pains. Robinson asked him, Are you afraid? No, said he, I do not fear them, if they come fairly; and I shall not part with my life tamely. Well, sir Roger, is all this the parliament? Was he afraid the parliament would send a party to dog him, and set upon him? And that he did not fear the parliament, but if they came fairly, would not part with his life tamely? No; any man that has but half an eye, unless that too blinded with prejudice, may see the meaning of it; and that he apprehended danger only from the papists, against whom he had taken several examinations.

The next is, of John Wilson, the sadler, who swears, sir Edmund talking with one Mr. Harris, then told this informant, That he was in danger for what he acted for the discovering the late plot against his majesty. See how ingeniously this is answered; His apprehension was from the parliament, not the papists; and for concealing, not discovering the plot. These very words sir Roger has in his book. Now whether this is not a direct *Statuimus*, i. e. *Abrogamus*, what sir Edmund calls Discovering, for sir Roger, who knows his mind better, now he is dead, than he himself did while alive, to tell us he means Concealing, which is quite contrary; and how fair a way of answer it is, let any of his best friends be judges.

It would be tedious to bring any more, when this does effectually, as to his own judgment. Only it is remarkable, that these very things are sworn upon the trial by Mr. Oates, That sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey had told him, he had received affronts from great persons, for being so zealous in the business; that he had been threatened; that he went in fear of his life from the popish party; and that he had been dogged several days, but feared them not if they came fairly to work.

For other evidences of his murder by the papists, that which indeed made the greatest noise, was his death being heard of so far off, and in so many different places, before it was known in London. This, sir Roger tells us, was spread on purpose by the brothers to throw it on the papists. But here is this in opposition: Dugdale, against whom he makes no objection, but allows his evidence, makes oath in my lord Stafford's trial, and

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other places, That this news was brought to one Ewers, a priest, in a letter which he shewed him, dated the very night it was done, which had these words in it: This very night, sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is dispatched. Now I would fain ask, Had these brothers correspondence with the priest? Would they use such a word as that, [dispatched?] Did they write to Ewers too, and bid him tell Dugdale, That this sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was a busy man, and proper to be taken out of the way? As Dugdale swears he did. Could Dugdale conspire with Oates so long before they knew one another, and while he was himself a prisoner in Staffordshire? And were all these perjured, who witness that Mr. Dugdale did report this before it could be known by any but the very conspirators?

That it was done in that very place, at Somerset-House, Providence has left strange confirmation.

The first is, Bury the porter's refusing to admit any persons into the gates about that time, the 12th, 13th, 14th of October. Nay, that he had denied the prince (prince Rupert, I suppose, it must be) himself admittance, and pretended he had orders for so doing. But these orders he never produced. And more, like a true papist, denied matter of fact when charged with it; and though he had acknowledged to the council he had never such orders before, when sir Thomas Stringer came to witness it, positively denied it.

Two more very remarkable affidavits there are, which give mighty strength to all the former; one of Spence (captain Spence he is called in some copies), and the other of John Okeley. Spence was a tall, black man, much like sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, as was witnessed by those who knew him; to all which sir Roger only answers, He has been told otherwise. This Spence passing by the same water-gate at Somerset-House, two days before sir Edmund's murder, was dragged in thither, being seized by five or six men; but one of them, when they had him in, cried out, This is not he, on which they immediately let him go. Here is a plain evidence of their intentions, and a confirmation of what Bedlow, Oates, and Prance swore of sir Edmund's being dogged so long before. All that is answered to it, is, That there was a suit of law depending between this Spence and Mr. Broadstreet, and therefore forsooth, he must forswear himself, and wilfully damn his soul only for a circumstantial evidence and reflection on Hill himself, three or four years after he was hanged, and so on his master, Dr. Godden, and thence again on Mrs. Broadstreet; and all this when it had no influence at all on the suit of law, or them who sued him. But enough of this. Let us now take notice of the next. It was one John Okeley, who that very night, October 12, going by Somerset-House, at the water-gate, about nine o'clock saw there sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, whom he knew very well, living in the same lane with him; he past close by him, pulled off his hat to him, as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did to him again; when past him, he turned about, and looked on him. And this he told to several persons, which witness the same. To this, the main of what sir Roger objects is, It was dark, and how should he know him? Certainly, any one that knows London, cannot be ignorant that we have lights in the streets at nine at night: and it was morally impossible, that one who knew him so well, who looked upon him, who put off his hat to him, and he to him again, and who after all this looked back upon him, that such a one should be mistaken in the person.

The last thing to be proved is, That sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did not, nor could he murder himself in that place, as is pretended by his enemies. He was first missing on Saturday, and therefore according to their account, his body must have been in the place where it was found till that Thursday night. But had it been there on Tuesday or Wednesday, the pack of hounds which hunted there, both of those days, must have found him. Sir Roger tells us, They might have been on the other side of the ditch, or beat the place carelessly without finding it. But Mr. Faucet's deposition is, That he beat that very place, which surely he was capable of knowing, having been himself there to see it after



the body was found. He repeats it, and says twice, It was in that very place, and Harwood says as much, who hunted the day after. One circumstance there is, which makes this evidence yet more conclusive. It was deposed in the trial of Farewell, and several other places, that the body stunk extremely when it was found; which was but the next day after. Now I will ask any unprejudiced man, Whether it was so much as possible, that this very place should be beat two days one after another, and the hounds not scent the body, even though the hunters might perhaps overlook it?

But besides this, there was yet a narrower search made on another occasion in that same field. The story is given in a paper, called, An account of the murder, published by Thompson himself, who, with G. Larkin, another printer, was present, and vouched the matter of fact on their own knowledge. It is this, That while the body lay at the White-house, and the jury were about it, one of the jury-men themselves declared, That a servant of his mother, a butcher, and two boys, made a very strict and narrow search in all parts of the ground for a calf that was lost there, and this both on Monday and Tuesday, and at that time there lay no dead body, belt, gloves, or any thing else there. But were all these too on the wrong side of the hedge? Or where did they look for this calf, in the middle of the field, or in the ditches and hedges, where it was impossible they could have missed of the body, had it been there?

There is one great objection, which sir Roger makes very much of in this matter, though not quite so strong now, as it was some years since; and that is, There was no popish plot at all, therefore no popish murder, which he expresses in his own peculiar way. They hang both upon the same string, and whoever overthrows the one, trips up the heels of the other. Nor indeed is he singular in his opinion, as to a great part of it. For my lord chief justice Pemberton says, on the trial of Farewell, I think it was, If they could have made it out that he had killed himself, all of them would have cried out, the popish plot was a sham raised by the protestants against the papists, and all the plot must have gone for nothing. But now to retort the objection. If there was a popish plot, it is a terrible argument that there was too a popish murder. But that there was one, we must be forced to believe, till we find these things among many others answered.

1. Coleman's letters, and that expression, The extirpation of the northern heresy.
2. The letter produced in Harcourt's trial, wherein the very consult of April 24 is mentioned, and a design then on foot among them, which they were to manage with all imaginable secrecy.
3. The positive oaths of so many men. Some of them of a fair character, and blameless conversation: others no more able to invent such a plot, than their enemies to disprove it.
4. The endeavours of the papists to assassinate, disgrace, buy off, or any way divert the evidence against them; which they were not such fools as to do for nothing.
5. The behaviour of the witnesses ever since. One of them testifying at his death, after the sacrament, another by his life, their malice reaching to his barbarous murder. A third with his blood; and so much as would have perhaps cost any two or three other men their lives, to the truth of their depositions.

And lastly, What transactions we have felt and seen since king James came to the throne, till his departure, are no great evidence that all that plot was a forgery.

From these things it is plain there was a popish plot: from these, and what went before, that this was a popish murder.

#### An Account of Mr. ARNOLD.

MR. ARNOLD had been a vigorous prosecutor of the priests and jesuits which sculked about in his

own country of Wales. This was a crime not to be forgiven, nor any ways atoned for, by less than his destruction. In order to which he was assaulted by several villains, fit for such business, in a little dark lane near the Temple, as he was passing through it pretty late in the evening; and had no doubt dispatched him; and either found some way to make the world believe he had done it himself, as they would have done in the former instance, or started some other sham to have removed the odium from their own party: but the gentleman, having had apprehension of some such accident, made better use of it than sir Edmund did before him; and having luckily a suit of private armour on, received several stabs, which the villains gave him, upon that, and so saved his life. But they finding their attempts that way unsuccessful, were resolved to take another course with him, and having got him down, with some desperate weapon fit for the purpose, made several attempts to cut his throat, and gave him some dangerous wounds about that part; which while he was struggling with to prevent, a boy providentially goes by with a light, which their deeds of darkness not being able to endure, they all ran away, and left Mr. Arnold weltering in his blood, who yet, by God's providence, recovered again, and lived to see justice done to one of the villains that used him in that barbarous manner: his name was Giles, and was discovered by a wound in his leg, which one of his accomplices ran through in the scuffle, as he was making a stab at Mr. Arnold. He was tried for the action, found guilty of it, and sentenced to stand in the pillory for the same, which was accordingly executed, with a liberal contribution over and above from the enraged rabble, who sufficiently made up for the gentleness of his sentence, though as severe a one as our mild laws could inflict upon such offenders.

#### The MARTYRDOM of Mr. COLLEDGE.

MR. COLLEDGE being a man of courage, industry, and sharpness, he made it much of his business to serve his country, as far as possible; in searching after priests and jesuits, and hunting these vermin out of their lurking holes, in which he was very serviceable and successful; and for which, no doubt, they did not fail to remember him. The first time we meet with him in public, is, I think, in Stafford's trial, where he is brought in for Mr. Dugdale, as a collateral evidence. By that time the wind was upon the turn, and the tide of popular aversion not quite so strong against popery, being by the cunning of our common enemy diverted into little streams, and private factions; and arbitrary power driving on, as the best way to prosecute the designs of Rome; to which the city of London in particular made a vigorous resistance; which displeasing the grand agitators, no wonder they endeavoured, as much as possible, to do it a mischief; their kindness to it having been sufficiently experienced in 1666, and ever since. In order to which the king was pleased, by the advice of his spiritual brother, to alter the common and almost constant course of parliaments, and call one at Oxford instead of London. Many of the members whereof, and especially those of London, were apprehensive of some design upon them there, having formerly in the gun-powder treason, and ever since, sufficiently found the love of the papists to protestant parliaments, and knowing well what they were to expect from their kindness, if they should be attacked by them and found defenceless. And more ground of suspicion they had, because, as Colledge protests in his speech, there had been affidavits judiciously made of a formed design against them, being besides removed away from the city of London, which had always so much of the English blood in it, as heartily to love parliaments, and for that reason would have ventured all for their defence. From these and such like reasons, it was, that several of the parliament men went accompanied with some of their friends, well armed and accoutred, to Oxford, of which number this Mr. Colledge



ledge was one, he waiting on my lord Clare, Paget, and Huntingdon to Oxford; where the parliament, foreseeing what has since happened, would have gone on where they left off in the former sessions, which causing great heats, every body knows how abruptly they were dissolved, not long after their meeting. It was now grown the entertainment of every coffee-house, and the subject of every buffoon's pamphlets, to expose and vilify parliaments as much as possible, and the very name of it was grown as odious to some men, as that of protestant. Mr. Colledge had, besides all his other before-mentioned crimes, been, as he declares in his speech, a great supporter of that august assembly, and had been in former sessions engaged by some of the honourable members to search the places adjoining the parliament-house, lest there should be another gun-powder treason hatching for them; from whence, as he says himself, he believes he got that popular name of Protestant Joiner.

All these reasons together were more than enough to get him taken out of the way; and for the performance thereof, Heins, and Macnamarra, and one or two of the apostate evidence of the popish plot, informed against him. Nor is it a wonder that after so many attempts, some of these men should be prevailed with to prove false; but rather, that under so many temptations any of them resisted, or were not sooner villains. These persons swore such mad things against him, of taking Whitehall, and pulling the king out of it, and such other odd wild stories, that partly from the ill-character of the persons who witnessed, the jury here in London refused to find the bill, but returned it *Ignoramus*. On which, contrary to all justice and precedent, law, and common reason, which forbids a man should be twice in danger of his life for the same offence; the business was removed to Oxford, where the little civility or common justice he met with in his trial, was then notorious to all the world: a person being checked, for giving him but assistance and notes in the way of his calling, to make his defence when his life was engaged: yet though even those notes were denied him, none that heard the trial, or so much as read it, but must grant, that he made a very extraordinary defence, and much more than could have been expected from a man of more learning. But he might have spared all his labour; the business was, no doubt, resolved upon before, and he was found guilty, sentenced, and executed according to order. To look back once more, and inquire a little deeper into the original of the matter: that there was a design laid to bring in most of the worthy patriots of England into a sham plot, under the odious, scare-crow name of presbyterians, not only the meal-tub attempt, and several others of the same batch, makes sufficiently appear, but the late essay of Fitz-Harris above all the rest, was enough to satisfy the most prejudiced persons. He had conspired with some others to write a scandalous libel against the king, which was to be laid on such as they called presbyterians, and this to be sent to their houses, or conveyed into their pockets, and there to be seized, and the persons prosecuted thereupon. This business the Oxford parliament had before them, and began to smell out who set it on foot; and being resolved to find the bottom of it, and lest he should be hanged up on the sudden to prevent his confession, (he now beginning to melt a little) as Hubert, who fired London formerly, was, they impeached him, to keep the examination of that matter to themselves. It is too long to run over the proceedings against him, and the court party's subtle contrivance, to hang, draw, and quarter him, and so to hinder effectually his telling any more tales. It is sufficient to observe, that this design was prosecuted for several years after, and poor Colledge was to bear the brunt, as has been already declared.

If we reflect yet further on the manner of his trial, and not look on any others, one would be apt to think it was impossible a man could be destroyed with more injustice and barbarity than he was; or that twelve men, who look like christians, could be found out, who would hang a man upon such evidence as was given against him.

When a criminal shall be kept close prisoner in the

Tower, without having sufficient means to make his defence, till he come to his trial: when, as has been said, he shall be rifled of his notes, by which only he could save his life, on which he depended, and that just before he came to his trial; though assisted therein by that very council assigned by the court for him: when he shall in vain demand them again, and call heaven and earth to witness, that he is merely cheated of his life for want of them: when all his redress is such a frivolous excuse, as not only a judge, but any honest man, would be ashamed to make use of; nay, such a sort of a one as is commonly made before the judges, but seldom by them, that it was somebody else did it, that the court, the chief justice had them not, nor did take them from him: when the very person stood by who robbed him of them; and yet he could have no reparation: when the king's council must whisper the chief justice on the bench, and the court must be adjourned, on purpose to examine those minutes which the poor man had got together to save his life, and even from them get an opportunity to take it away, altering the manner of their prosecution, strengthening and bolstering their evidence against him, were not only such as an honest London jury would not believe, though a country one directed by the king's council, could make a shift to do it; but were every one of them, who witnessed any thing material, confounded by such home evidence, as, if any thing in the world could do it, did certainly invalidate and annul their testimonies: when one of them swears horridly, He cared not what he swore, nor whom he swore against, for it was his trade to get money by swearing; that the parliament was a company of rogues for not giving the king money, but he would help him to money out of the fanatics' estates, which is explained by what Smith says, That if the parliament would not give the king money, but stood on the bill of exclusion, it was pretence enough to swear a design to seize the king at Oxford: when this same Heins very pleasantly says, It was a judgment upon the king and the people, and the Irishmen's swearing against them was justly fallen on them, for ousting the Irish of their estates: when others of them swear, That since the citizens deserted them, they would not starve; that they would have Colledge's blood; that though they had gone against their consciences, it was because they had been persuaded to it, and could get no money else: and when they had said before, they believed Colledge had no more hand in any conspiracy against his majesty, than the child unborn: when they would have hired others to swear more into the same plot: when the bench was such just and kind council for the prisoner, as to tell the jury, the king's witnesses were on their oaths, the prisoner's not, and so one to be credited before the other; in which case it is impossible for any man living to make a defence against a perjured villain: lastly, when the prisoner himself very weightily objected, That there was no proof of any person being concerned with him in the design of seizing the king; and it was wisely answered, That he might be so vain to design it alone; a thousand times a more romantic improbability, than an army's lying concealed at Knight's-bridge, and of the same stamp with Drawcantirs killing all on both sides: taking all these things together, hardly ever was a man at this rate bantered out of his life, before any judicature in the world, in any place or age that history has left us.

Nor ought the great service he did to the nation in general to be ever forgotten; since notwithstanding all the disadvantages he was under, the public stream running so violently against him and his witnesses, and the surprise which such strange treatment, when he was on his life, might cast him into, he yet made so strong a defence, by shewing what sort of witnesses were brought against him, hindering them ever after from being believed, and thereby certainly saved many others' lives, though he could not his own.

Nor can the undaunted courage, and firm honesty of the man be hardly ever enough admired. Since, besides what he shewed in his defence, after he was condemned, as he himself said, as good as without a trial, he boldly asked, When he was to be executed? without any the least



least seeming concern. And though he had considerable time before his execution to consider of it, refused to save his life so meanly, as to make other innocent men's the price of his own; without which design they had hardly been so kind as to have given him so long a reprieve.

As for his behaviour at his execution, it was such as convinced more than a few of his greatest enemies, and made them entertain a much better opinion of him than before. From his last speech we shall remark several passages, as another argument of his innocence. But before we proceed any further in them, it will be needful to fix one assertion, which we may presume few modest unprejudiced persons will deny, and which we shall have occasion to make further use of. It is, That a protestant, who believes an heaven and hell, and is not a man of no principles, or debauched and atheistical, would not go out of the world, into the presence of that God who must judge him, with a lie in his mouth. This none will deny, but those who have a very great kindness for the papists; and yet of all men in the world such as these must not offer to do it, since it was the very argument they made use of for the innocence of the jesuits, and other traitors. Though on that side we know there are unanswerable arguments not to believe them; their religion recommending perjury, and all sorts of villainies to them as meritorious, when holy church is concerned. Their church besides allowing them dispensations before, and absolution after, and purgatory at the worst, whence a few masses would fetch them out again. Things being thus, what can any man of modesty say to Mr. Colledge's protestations over and over, both in prison, and at his death, That he was perfectly innocent of what he died for? I did deny it then, says he, that is, before the council, and do deny it upon my death: I never was in any kind of plot in my days; and if I had any such design as these have sworn against me, I take God to witness, as I am a dying man, and on the terms of my salvation, I know not one man upon the face of the earth which would have stood by me. And lower, I knew not of any part of what they swore against me, till I heard it sworn at the bar. Again, All the arms we had were for our defence, in case the papists should have made any attempt by way of massacre, &c. God is my witness, this is all I know. And in this solemn prayer, and some of his almost very last words: It is thee, O God, I trust in. I disown all dispensations, and will not go out of the world with a lie in my mouth. And just after to the people, he said, From the sincerity of my heart, I declare again, that these are the very sentiments of my soul, as God shall have mercy upon me.

Now upon the whole, I would ask any sober man, what he would answer to this, and how he can forbear, without the greatest violation to all principles of good nature and ingenuity, to pronounce this person innocent?

Thus died Mr. Colledge, whose blood, as he himself desired it might, sufficiently spoke the justice of his cause, who seemed in his speech to have some prophetic intimations, that his blood would not be the last, as indeed it was not, but rather a prelude to that which followed, the edge of the laws being now turned against all those who dared defend them.

#### The MARTYRDOM of ARTHUR, EARL of ESSEX.

THAT party, and those persons who were engaged to manage the designs before mentioned, were now entered on the most compendious way of introducing what they desired, as well as avoiding what their own consciences, and all the world knew they deserved. Having those in their own hands, who had the executive part of the government in their's; and finding, no doubt, a sort of malicious pleasure, as well as advantage, in destroying people by those laws which were made to preserve them; a villainy to be compared with nothing but the treason of that monster of a priest, who

gave the emperor poison in the blessed sacrament: having wrought up the nation, and all parties therein to a high ferment, making one side mad for slavery, as if they had all been at Constantinople as well as their sheriff, and learnt the doctrine of the bow-string; some of them treated, others cajoled, others frightened, and some few reasoned into the belief of absolute authority in kings, and active obedience as well as what is called passive, to be paid to all their commands. Some honest, several learned, more witty men joining in with all their power, to advance the transactions at that time on the wheel. And on the other side, exasperating that party who were more tenacious of their liberties, as much as possible against the constitution which they saw so horribly abused both in church and state, persuading them all that the clergy were for making them slaves, and themselves and the court great to ride upon them; whereas really it was only a party, though too large, who made more noise, though they had neither more sense nor number than those who differed from them; and by this means rendering many of the trading part of the nation especially, so dissatisfied with them, and eager against them, that they had reason to fear as bad effects thereof, as they had experienced in the last age, and so sided more closely with that party whence they expected protection. When things were in this posture, and a great many persons either taken off from their natural love to a lawful liberty, which is so much of the nature of an Englishman; the managers of the great intrigue which was to accomplish our ruin, resolved, after they had begun with Colledge, to rise higher, and fly at a nobler game, and take off all those whom they could not win over, or against whom interest or revenge had more keenly engaged them, and who were most likely to make the most vigorous opposition against their attempts. But finding the London juries immoveably honest, and no way to accomplish their designs on these persons, while their witnesses would not be believed, and no way to get juries fit for their purpose, but by having sheriffs of the same stamp; and finding the party they had gotten, after all their tricks, which many of those who then knew, are now ashamed of, visibly and fairly out-numbered by those who were not yet ripe for slavery, they bethought themselves of one way to rid themselves of that inconveniency, which was by a *quo warranto* against the city of London, that they might more effectually, and with less noise, have what sheriffs they pleased; or in effect, hang whomsoever they thought their enemies, and not be forced almost to blush at those visible and sensible illegalities with which they had forced those officers upon the city.

This they had accomplished in the year 1683, when judgment was given against the charter of London, whose liberties had been confirmed to them by William the Conqueror, and delivered down before from immemorial ages, and this by two judges only in Westminster-Hall, though the greatest cause, one may venture to say, that ever was legally tried therein.

Now by this time they had, after so many fruitless endeavours, brought something of a plot to bear; and with this advantage above all their former, that there was really something in it, although as Bays says in another case, That truth, which was notoriously blended with lies and perjuries. The occasion of it we may best meet with in Holloway's most ingenious acknowledgment; "By arbitrary and illegal ways, and force of arms, they had got sheriffs to their mind; witnesses they had before, but wanted jurors to believe them. Now they have got sheriffs, who will find jurors to believe any evidence against a protestant, and so hang up all the king's friends by degrees. None being suffered to come near the king, but those who have been declared enemies to the king and kingdom, who, to save themselves, do endeavour to keep all things from the king's knowledge, and persuade him against parliaments," &c.

Thus much for the occasion. The design seems to be the same with what was intended at first, by many of those great and eminent persons, both clergy and laity, in their late appearance in arms; though by the providence of God, for the security of the nation, and reason of



of state, it has since been carried farther than their's was ever to have been. Seeing fair means, says Holloway, would not do, but all things on the protestants side misrepresented to the king by such great criminals, and none more in favour than those; to take the king from his evil council, and that (as the late wonderful turn was transacted, and as it is impossible to be otherwise in business of so large a concern) by a general insurrection in several parts of England at once. All those who have had any share in the present transactions, which are upon the matter, all the nation have shewn themselves plainly of the same mind with those who were engaged in this, on which the dispute runs, as to the reason of the thing, and the principles on which they proceeded; and their only difference is about matter of fact, whether things were then at that height as to need desperate remedies. If it be objected, That such attempts are only glossy pretences, veiled under the specious name of the public good; the answer is as ready as the objection, Is there any difference between reason and no reason, truth and falsehood? There is a right, and a wrong, and if ever liberties were invaded, and the ends of government vacated and annulled, never were the foundations of such a design plainer than on this occasion: so that it was indeed, what was of it, a counter-plot, rather than a plot against the government and laws of England, and that when no other remedy could without a miracle be expected.

That this was the height and utmost of the then design, and that no brave good man need to be ashamed of it, I think all, or most men are by this time pretty well satisfied. But alas! this would not serve the turn of the managers; even this might not, nor perhaps could be, as certainly it was not, fairly proved against several, who suffered for it; this was a thing so necessary and defensible, that there was occasion of laying fouler colours upon it, to fright and amuse the world, and let them stand by patiently, and see their best and bravest patriots sink, with much such prudence and wisdom as the sheep in the fable suffered those bloody mastiffs to be destroyed, who so often broke the peace between them and the harmless wolves; and were afterwards in their turns handsomely worried, and justly eaten up for their reward. It was convenient to make somewhat more of it; there must be an assassination grafted on this insurrection, or else all would not be worth an halter; it was the business and interest of the popish party, to render their enemies as odious as possible to the people, of whom for their steady zeal and love to their religion and liberties, they had long been the darlings. To accomplish this, it was very necessary to get some persons to insinuate into their counsels, to inflame things higher, to make odious proposals of all assassinations, and murders, and such bloody villainies as alarm the good nature of an Englishman with the very mention of them; which yet some of the honestest and wiser looking upon as mad hot words only, or if any more intended, having it in their power to prevent such wickedness another way, would not yet turn informers, nor ruin those persons, who in all probability were only trepanners to ruin them. In all the papers relating to this matter, we shall find all discourses of this nature centered in West and Rumsey. West was very much for lopping business, for killing them in their calling, and was full and eager for it. Though Walcot, Holloway, and all whoever heard it proposed, received it still with the greatest detestation imaginable, as a most base and bloody action, which they never would have their own hands imbrued in, nor their posterity stained with. That all the great persons of birth and honour, were absolutely against so foul an action, and abhorred it from their souls, we may find, even without the forced confession of their worst enemies, by the lord Russell's concern when such a thing was muttered, and the duke of Monmouth's answer, God so—kill the king! I will never suffer it. The account we have of it, is from him who should best know, and that is West, who in his discourse with Holloway on this occasion, tells him of the Newmarket and Rye-house design, that the king and duke were to be killed as they came by, for which they had provided arms for fifty men, and were promised Rumbald's house, which lay in the road. When asked,

No. 64.

Who was to act it, who were to fire these arms for these men, pistols, carbines, and blunderbusses? He could name but two men, Rumbald and his brother; who certainly must have been very dexterous to have discharged all those dreadful weapons themselves without assistance, and is much such a likely story as Colledge's being so vain to attempt seizing the king by himself, without any assistance.

But if even these two brothers, who very likely were picked out by the evidence for the king-killers, merely for their hard names, the very sound of which would be as shrewd an argument of their guilt to women and children, and with as much justice, as some of the odd names of the poor people in the west were made, at least a strong presumption against them, and almost as mortal as an innuendo. If even these two were innocent of this horrid business, who were the only persons engaged therein, pray, what then becomes of the assassination? And will not Rumbald's blunderbuss bear laughing at full as well as Pickering's carbine or screw-gun, and chewed bullets? But if there be any thing solid in that observation in Colledge's case, That a christian, and a protestant, will not forswear himself when he is just going out of the world; if this fair supposition may but be granted me, as I see not how it can be avoided, the matter will be clear enough; Rumbald himself in his speech at his execution in Scotland, absolutely disclaiming and denying any hand in any such design. See his speech and answer to his indictment: He desired all present to believe the words of a dying man; as for having designed the king's death, he never directly, nor indirectly, intended such a villainy; that he abhorred the very thoughts of it; and that he blessed God he had that reputation in the world, that he knew none had the impudence to ask him the question; and he detested the thoughts of the action, and hoped all good people would believe him; which was the only way he had to clear himself; and he was sure that this truth should one day be manifested to all men. So at his execution: I think it necessary to clear myself of some aspersions laid on my name; and first, that I should have had so horrid an intention of destroying the king and his brother. Where he repeated what he had said to the jury on the same subject.

The sum is, If any assassination, it must have been from the Rumbalds: if not by them, as has been proved, then not at all. If no assassination in this plot, then nothing is left of malignity in it, but a lawful and laudable opposition to the breach and ruin of our good laws and government; and even that, as will be proved, not proved against most of those that by the iniquity of the times suffered for the same.

We have been forced to give this fair and impartial scheme or idea of that design, which was at that time represented so formidable and dreadful, before we could handsomely proceed to the death of this noble lord, or those others that followed him; and that as well from the order of the history, as for his vindication. And as has been remarked, it was necessary for that party who managed our ruin, that the fore-mentioned business of the assassination should be believed, and nothing like a real one actually performed, to gain credit to a feigned one only pretended: for what could be a greater argument that there was some black wickedness at the bottom, some sin of an extraordinary stain, like the murder of princes, bearing too hard on his conscience, that could possibly induce so great a man to so unchristian an attempt on his own person? Hence they might, and no doubt did argue; hence the very rabble may easily reason; certainly there was more in it than only just consultations, and necessary measures taken for the public safety by the peers of the realm, by the king and kingdom's best friends, to deliver his majesty from those familiars that haunted him. There was more than this, and this lord was conscious of it, or else certainly he had never acted what he has. Now this would effectually excite that aversion which must necessarily follow from all honest men, to a party who could be guilty of such horrid designs. This must of necessity, as in effect it did, sway much with those juries who were to sit upon the lives of

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any accused or concerned in the same business, had there not been more weighty reasons to be produced below, towards the finding them guilty. Although, it is certain by their own confession, the best excuse they could make for innocent blood, particularly in Ruffel's case, was that confirmation they had to the evidence sworn against them by Essex's murder. Besides, there might be a barbarous kind of pleasure, in opening this plot with a scene so like that which began the popish one; and that in all probability, by the same actors whose hands were deep in the others.

There was a gentleman killed, which contributed very much towards the credit of that plot, though in another way. Here must be one to undergo the same fate for the same reason. And both of them too pretendedly to kill themselves, just one as much as another.

These preliminaries being cleared, it will be now time to come to the person of this noble lord, his family, and former manner of life.

Every one knows he was of the illustrious family of the Capels, whose father died for a family, whence he deserved better treatment for his sake, and had received it, had he not fell into the hands of popish gratitude and mercy; which his enemies knowing too well, and doubting the sweetness of temper, which all the world ever acknowledged in king Charles the Second, would not give him over to their public revenge: in all probability, resolved to take a shorter course with him. He had been some years before in the highest place under the king in Ireland, and there behaved himself with that wisdom and candour, inseparable from all the actions of his life, and lived above blame, though not above envy: being recalled thence unexpectedly, and dealt with not very handsomely; which yet he bore with a spirit like a brave man, and a christian.

My lord of Essex was a person, whom it was no doubt the highest interest of the popish faction to have gotten out of the way, even though there had been no such extraordinary reason as has been mentioned. He had a large interest, a plentiful estate, a great deal of courage, understood the world, and the principles and practices of the papists, as well as any man, having been of several secret committees in the examination of the plot, for which very reason there was as much necessity for his dying as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey. He was, besides all this, they very well knew, of inflexible honesty, and so true a greatness of mind, they could no more expect to gain him, than heaven itself, to be on their side.

As for the immediate subject of his death, the manner and circumstances thereof; it must first be granted, and a very reasonable demand it is, that for the present only supposing he was murdered only by the papists, they would, we may be sure, make it their business to render the manner of it as dark as the hell in which it was contrived. Murders, especially of that magnitude, are not used to be committed in the face of all the world, and at noon-day. When power is engaged in any villainy; when the same power is still continued or increased, and can be easily exercised in taking out of the way the traitors, though it loves the treason; and when so many years have intervened since the fact; it is no wonder at all if things are more in the dark, than they would have been, had, at that very instant, liberty been given to have enquired into it, which was so loudly and passionately demanded. But this we are yet certain of, though no more is yet publicly known in this matter, than what has formerly been printed; and there may be several reasons both of state and decency, which may perhaps make it convenient that things should always be as they are; yet there are already such violent probabilities, both that he was murdered, and murdered by papists; and of the other side, such at least next to impossibilities, in his acting it himself, that as long as the world stands, no modest man will be able either to get by them, or over them; nor the most impudent or cunning, to out-face, or give them an answer.

For the probability that he was murdered by popish contrivement, besides those already named, why they should do it? here are these following arguments,

that they did it: Their principles too openly known to be denied: their practices in all ages, and this present; sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, the very prototype of Essex, Arnold, all the pretended legal murders, and all that has since happened. But if it is said, some papists are better and braver than others; let us come nearer. Would those that formerly burned London; those who have since broke all the obligations of gratitude and good-nature, nay, public faith, and the most solemn oaths which it is possible for a man to take; who if the testimonies of such as have confirmed it with their dying breaths, and last drop of blood, may be credited, who have encouraged, hired, paid men for attempts to be made on the lives of their nearest, and too tender relations; would such as these stick at a single murder, a small venial villainy, to advance their cause, and merit heaven into the bargain? When pretence of justice, necessity of affairs, reason of state, and so many more such weights might be thrown into the scales. More than all this—When such persons as these were actually in the place where this murder was committed, at the very instant it was done? All these together, with what is yet to follow, amount to as strong arguments and pregnant circumstances as the nature of the thing will bear, and mark out the murderers as plainly and visibly, as if they had come out of his chamber with white sleeves, and a long knife in their hands, bloody all over.

And indeed there seems need of little more than relating bare, simple, indubitable matter of fact, and such as hardly any body will deny, to satisfy any cool rational man in the business.

The earl of Essex's throat was cut in the Tower the 13th of July, about eight or nine in the morning, at which time the duke of York, a bigotted papist, his known and bitter enemy, was there present. This was reported at Andover, 60 miles from London, the 11th of July, the first day of his imprisonment, and as common town-talk in every body's mouth, as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's at the time of his murder, and told a person travelling on the road near the same place, which was witnessed before even a Jeffreys, in a public court of judicature. A deputy coroner present at the inquest, instead of a legal one; none of the relations to attend the inquest. The body removed from the place where it was first laid, stripped, the clothes taken away, the body and rooms washed from the blood, the clothes denied the view of the jury. The principal witnesses examined only Bomeny his man, and Ruffel his warder, who might be so justly suspected of being privy to, if not actors in it. That the jury hastened and hurried the verdict, when so great a man, a peer of the realm, and such a peer was concerned, who was the king's prisoner. When sir Thomas Overbury had been before murdered in the Tower, and his jury brought in an unrighteous verdict; when even sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's jury, so much cried out against for their ill-management, adjourned their verdict, and staid considerably before they brought it in. This at a time when the lord Ruffel was to be tried for a share in the plot, in which the earl was also accused of being concerned. One branch of which conspiracy, and which it was so much the papists interest to have the belief fixed on it, was a barbarous murder of the duke and king; when nothing could so immediately and critically tend to that noble gentleman's ruin; when the news was instantly, with so much diligence, conveyed from the Tower to the Sessions-House, Bench, Bar, and Jury, and harped upon by the lord Howard just then, and by others in after-trials, as more than a thousand witnesses, and the very finger of God. After this, the very centinel, who that day stood near the place, was found dead in the Tower-ditch, and captain Hawley barbarously murdered down at Rochester; and ill methods used to prevent the truth of all from coming to light. Mr. Braddon was harassed, prosecuted, imprisoned, and fined for stirring in it. On the fair and impartial consideration of these things, hardly one of which is but notorious matter of fact, granted by all sides; what can a man conclude from the whole, but whether he will or no—That this noble lord was certainly murdered by the popish party?



But there is yet more evidence: If he could not murder himself in that manner, who then should do it but those on whom the guilt of it has been justly charged? And this from the manner of it. His throat was cut from one jugular to the other, and by the *Aspera Arteria* and wind-pipe to the *Vertebrae* of the neck, both the jugulars being thoroughly divided. How often has it been asked, and how impossible it should ever receive an answer: How could any living man, after the prodigious flux of blood which must necessarily follow on the dividing one jugular, as well as all those strong muscles which lie in the way, how could he ever have strength to go through, all round, and come to the other, without fainting: One could as soon believe the story of the pirate, who after his head was cut off, ran the whole length of his ship; or that of St. Dennis, which was, no doubt, grafted on the other.

Nor is it rendered less impossible from the instrument with which those who did it would persuade the world it was performed by himself. A little French razor. Had Bomeny held to the penknife, it had been much more likely. But here was nothing to bear or rest upon in the cutting, it having no tongue to hold it up in the haft. And as it is observed in the prints on that subject, he must therefore, supposing he had done it himself, have held his hand pretty far, upon the very blade, and so with about two inches and a half of it, whittle out a wound of four inches deep, and all round his neck, as if he had intended to have been his own headsmen, as well as executioner, out of remorse of conscience for his treason.

Lastly, His character makes it morally impossible he should be guilty of so mean and little an action. It is for women, and eunuchs, and lovers, and romantic heroes, to kill themselves; not men of known virtue, temper, wisdom, piety, and gravity; who had formerly digested as great affronts as could be put upon a man, with a candour and calmness so worthy a man and a christian, who had been so far from defending so barbarous and unmanly a thing as self-murder, as is suggested, that he had rather expressed himself with detestation concerning it.

And as he ought not, and could not be hurried into so fatal an action by a false mistaken greatness of mind; as no such thing, or so much as the least footsteps of it appeared in the whole course of his life; so from all his actions in the Tower before his death, we may fairly deduce the quite contrary to what his enemies have asserted; and by observing his conduct there, discover plainly that no such black intention ever entered into his mind. This appears from ordering his people to have his own plate sent for out of the country to dress his meat, as well as a considerable parcel of wines bought and brought in to the Tower for his drinking, that he might not stand to the courtesy of his enemies, and this sufficient to last him till he could be delivered by due course of law.

I can foresee but one thing that can with the least plausibility be objected to this considerable passage; and it is, That this was when he was first committed, before he fell melancholy, which he more eminently did, when he heard my lord Russel was to be tried, as being grieved and desperate for having brought so brave a gentleman into such unhappy circumstances, as Bomeny somewhere or other pretends to, on discoursing with him on that particular.

But there are two answers which cut all the sinews of this objection: First, That this was the very day before he was murdered, that he sent both for his wine and silver vessels. Now, Bomeny lays the foundation of his melancholy, and the intention to be his own destroyer, on the very first day he came into the Tower. For he says in his deposition in Braddon's trial, That he had ordered his servant two days before to provide a penknife for him, on pretence of cutting his nails, but with an intent of committing that fatal and tragical act. The 13th of July was the day of his martyrdom, two days before then must be the 11th, the day of his commitment: but it was the intervening day, the 12th of that month, on which he took such care to eat and drink safely: whereas, had there been any such design in his

head, he would never have taken such measures; and if he had had an intention to amuse his people, that no such thing might have been suspected, he might have taken other ways, less troublesome and chargeable.

But what yet clears all the remaining scruple, is his ordering his gentleman to take notes at my lord Russel's trial, appointing him how to manage himself for the effecting it, so calmly and orderly, that he cannot be supposed either disturbed, or desperate on account of his own guilt, or Russel's unhappiness; or to have taken this course with himself, as Jeffreys says in Braddon's trial, to prevent justice, though others did it with him, to prevent mercy.

One great argument more; that, which indeed, when it happened, did much alarm all thinking men, and make them shrewdly suspect foul play had been offered, was the ill-treatment those met with who dared but pry into those *Arcana Imperii*, and desire but in a legal way that the business might be reviewed, and searched to the bottom. This was granted in the case of poor sir Edmund, many years after his death, and commission given to inquire into it, to L'Estrange. But it is confessed there was a great deal of difference. One, as it was managed, tending to root up all belief of a popish plot. The other, if it had been honestly examined, might have done as much in reality to a protestant one. The great tenderness of some persons in this case, and their huge aversion and unwillingness to be touched thereabouts, made people more than suspect, that there was some sore or other in the case which would not endure it. Mr. Braddon had heard of a boy, who being playing before Essex's window that morning, saw a bloody razor thrown out of the window; he thought he should do the king service to make a discovery if any injury had been offered to one of his subjects, especially so great and good a person. He brings the boy with him to my lord Sunderland, and for his reward is himself brought before the council, severely reprimanded, and forced to give 2000l. bail to answer an information for suborning the boy to say what he did. Upon which, after a great many worse vexations, which besides the charge and trouble, hindered also his prosecution of the business while it was yet fresh and warm; he was at last tried: the very words in the indictment running thus, For his procuring and suborning false witnesses to prove that the earl of Essex was not a felon of himself, &c. Of which, according to Jeffreys's law, and the conscience of the then juries, he was found guilty, and fined for the same; though not the least syllable of practice or subornation proved against him; though the boy did himself acknowledge he had said those things, as well as several witnesses proved it; though it was terribly suspicious that some art had been afterwards used with the boy to make him deny it; though Jeffreys stormed and raved after his usual manner, when Mr. Wallop did put such a question, and would by no means have it be answered.

But whatever this courageous honest gentleman suffered from their spite and malice, he bore all with handsome, and truly English resolution. As he before his imprisonment, and since, was indefatigably diligent in getting at the bottom of this foul business; all Englishmen must own, he has deserved the love and honour of his country, who was not discouraged from acting even in the worst of times, against a whole enraged faction, where he had such firm and pregnant circumstances on which to ground his attempt; though he could not but be sensible he must undergo all censures of his friends, as forward and imprudent; as well as all the hate and malice of his own and his country's enemies. He deserves a much fairer commendation than here can be given him; but however, this was a just debt due to his courage and honesty, when he alone durst undertake what all the world else was afraid of; durst still continue firm to honour and conscience, and his first resolution, in spite of fines and imprisonments, and has outlived them all, to carry on his first undertakings; whose design therein is, no doubt, just and generous, whatever the event proves; and although so much dust may have, since it happened, been purposely thrown on the action, that



that it may be now more difficult, and perhaps unsuccessful to trace it, than it was before.

### *The* MARTYRDOM of WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL.

**T**HE next who fell under their cruelty, and to whose death Essex's was but a prologue, was lord Russel; without all dispute one of the finest gentlemen, that ever England bred; and whose pious life and virtue is as much treason against the court, by affronting them with what was so much hated there, as any thing else that was sworn against him. His family was ancient, though not raised to the honours it at present enjoys, till king Edward's time, when John Russel, a Dorsetshire gentleman, who had done many services, and received many favours from the crown, both in Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth's time, being by the latter made lord high admiral, and at his death lord high steward of England, for the solemnity of the coronation; obtained such a victory for his young master against the rebels, as was rewarded with the title of the earl of Bedford. The occasion of it was thus: Idolatry and superstition being now rooting out by the public authority, and images every where pulling down, the loyal papists mutinied, and one of their priests stabbed a commander of the king's, who was obeying his orders, and 10,000 of the deluded rabble rose in the defence of that barbarous action, and their old mass and holy water. Against whom this fortunate lord was sent with an army, who routed them all, relieved Exeter, which they had besieged, and took their gods, banners, crucifixes, and all the rest of their trumpery, wherein the deluded creatures trusted for victory. Thus the family of the Russels were early enemies to the Romish superstition, though this brave gentleman only paid the scores of all his ancestors. The son and heir of this John, was Francis, second earl of Bedford, who was as faithful to his crown as his father, an enemy and terror to the French, and a friend to the protestant religion, as may appear by the learned books of Wickliff, which he collected, and at his death bequeathed to a great man, who he knew would make good use of them. His eldest son, William lord Russel, the late duke of Bedford, is sufficiently known to every true Englishman, and his person and memory will be honoured by them as long as the world lasts. But it is necessary good men should not be immortal; if they were, we should almost lose their examples, it looking so like flattery. But to do them justice while they are living, with more safety and less censure, we may discourse of that noble gentleman, his son and name-fake William lord Russel, who made so great a figure in our courts and parliaments, before he was sacrificed to the cruelty and revenge of his popish enemies. If we could find his first offence, which lay behind the scene, and was indeed the cause of his death, though other colours were necessary to amuse the public, we must look some years backwards, as he himself does in his last speech, wherein he tells the world, He cannot but think his earnestness in the matter of the exclusion, had no small influence on his present sufferings; being chosen knight of the shire for Bedfordshire, where the evenness and sweetness of his behaviour, and his virtuous life, made him so well beloved, that he will never be forgotten. He began sooner than most others to see into that danger we were in from popery, and all those fatal consequences which have since happened; and described them as plainly as if he had more than the ordinary inspection of a prudent man into futurities.

Being marked out, and, among others, appointed for the slaughter, he was taken up and imprisoned for that end and purpose in the Tower, and brought to his trial above all the days in the year, on Essex's day, the 13th of July, 1683. He was brought to the Old Bailey, and the same morning tried for high treason. He earnestly desired he might have respite, and might not be tried that day, since he had some witnesses that could not be in town till the night; nay, they were in such post haste,

and so hot a scent for his blood, that on his earnest desire, they would not stay so much as till the afternoon, pretending it was against precedent, and they could not do it without the attorney general's consent; though it is notorious, that both Plunket, the titular Irish primate, and Fitz-Harris, before spoken of, were both of them tried the term after they were arraigned; though in both cases the attorney opposed it; and even here in the case of treason, at the Old Bailey too, Whitebread's trial was put off to another sessions. If it is pleaded, the case is different, and that there was reason for the one, but not for the other; it will be readily granted, though my lord's evidence were not ready, their's was; they had concerted business better, and just at that time news was brought hot into the house, that my lord of Essex had this morning prevented justice, as has been before remarked in the story of Essex; as also, that several of the jury had said, They had never found Russel guilty, had it not been for that accident. And indeed, were that all in the case, there would be still room for a great deal of charity: for though there was no proper evidence against the prisoner, yet very few persons in the world, perhaps, could have been found, whose minds would have been so firm, and reason so clear, as not to be, whether they would or no, hinged and biased by such a sudden report as this brought in among them, when they had no time to consider calmly of the matter; and this, no doubt, was very well known by those who ordered things in the manner before noted. But I say, it were to be wished, for the honour of the English nation, that this had been all the foul play in the case, and that there had not been so many thousand guineas employed in this and other trials, as the great agitators thereof have lately confessed to have been. The names of his jury, as I find them, are as follows:

John Martayn,	William Butler,
William Rouse,	James Pickering,
Jervas Seaton,	Thomas Jevé,
William Fashion,	Hugh Noden,
Thomas Short,	Robert Brough,
George Toriano,	Thomas Omeby.

When he found he must expect neither favour nor justice, as to the delaying of his trial, he excepted against the foreman of the jury, because not a freeholder; which for divers and sundry reasons, almost, if not all the judges, having the happiness to light on different ones, and scarce any two of the same, was overruled, and given against him; though that same practice since declared and acknowledged one of the great grievances of the nation. His indictment ran in these words, He did conspire and compass our lord the king, his supreme lord, not only of his kingly state, title, power, and government of this his kingdom of England, to deprive and throw down; but also our said sovereign lord the king to kill, and to death to bring and put, and the ancient government of this kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly subvert, and a miserable slaughter among the subjects of our said lord the king through his whole kingdom of England to cause and procure, an insurrection and rebellion against our said lord the king to move, procure, and stir up within this kingdom of England. And lower, He and divers others did consult, agree, and conclude insurrection and rebellion against our sovereign lord the king to move and stir up, and the guards for the preservation of the person of our said sovereign lord the king to seize and destroy.

Now that all this was not intended as a matter of form only, we may see by the king's council's opening the evidence. The first says, He was indicted for no less than conspiring the death of the king's majesty; and that in order to the same, he and others did meet and conspire together, to bring our sovereign lord the king to death, to raise war and rebellion against him, and to massacre his subjects; and in order to compass these wicked designs, being assembled, did conspire to seize the king's guards, and his majesty's person: and this (he tells the jury) is the charge against him.

The attorney general melts it a little lower, and tells them



them the meaning of all these tragical words, were a consult about a rising, about seizing the guards, and receiving messages from the earl of Shaftsbury concerning an insurrection.

Yet the proof against him does not come up so high even as this, though all care was used for that purpose, and kind questions put very frequently to lead and drive the evidence; only one of them witnessing to any one point in particular.

Colonel Rumsey, the first of these, swears, That he was sent with a letter from Shaftsbury, who lay concealed at Wapping, to meet lord Russel, Ferguson, &c. at Shepherd's, to know of them what resolution they were come to concerning the rising designed at Taunton. That when he came thither, the answer made was, Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and no more would be done in that business at that time. That Mr. Ferguson spoke the most part of that answer; but my lord Russel was present, and that he did speak about the rising of Taunton, and consented to it. That the company was discoursing also of viewing the guards, in order to surprise them, if the rising had gone on; and that some undertook to view them; and that the lord Russel was by, when this was undertaken. But this being the main hinge of the business, and this witness not yet coming up to the purpose, they thought it convenient to give him a jog, to refresh his memory, asking him, Whether he found my lord Russel averse, or agreeing to it? Who, no doubt, answered, Agreeing. But being afterwards on the trial asked, Whether he could swear positively, that my lord Russel heard the message, and gave any answer to it? All that he says is this, That when he came in, they were at the fire-side, but that they all came from the fire-side to hearken to his words.

The chief that Shepherd witnesses, is, That my lord Russel, &c. being at his house, there was a discourse of surprising the king's guards; and sir Thomas Armstrong having viewed them when he came thither another time, said, They were remiss, and the thing was seizable, if there were strength to do it, and that upon being questioned too, as Rumsey before him, Whether my lord Russel was there? He says, he was, at the time they discoursed of seizing the guards.

The florid lord Howard was the next witness, who very artificially begins low, being, forsooth, so terribly surprised with my lord of Essex's death, that his voice failed him, till the lord chief justice told him, the jury could not hear him; in which very moment his voice returned again, and he told the reason why he spoke no louder. After a long harangue of tropes and fine words, and dismal general stories, by which, as my lord complains, the jury were prepossessed against him; he at last makes his evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither, and swears, That after my lord Shaftsbury went away, their party resolved still to carry on the design of the insurrection without him; for the better management whereof they created a little cabal among themselves, which did consist of six persons, whereof my lord Russel and himself were two: that they met for that purpose at Mr. Hambden's house, and there adjusted the place and manner of the intended insurrection: that about ten days after they had another meeting on the same business at my lord Russel's, where they resolved to send some persons to engage Argyle and the Scots in the design, and (being asked too) that he was sure my lord Russel was there. Being asked whether he said any thing, he answered, That every one knew him to be a person of great judgment, and not very lavish of discourse. Being again goaded on by Jeffreys, with a—But did he consent? We did, says he, put it to the vote, it went without contradiction, and I took it that all there gave their consent accordingly.

The next witness West swears, That Ferguson and colonel Rumsey told him, That my lord Russel intended to go down and take his post in the West, when Mr. Trenchard had failed them. Whose hear-say evidence being not encouraged, Jeffreys ends very prettily, telling the court, they would not use any thing of garniture, but leave it entirely as it was.

Now as to colonel Rumsey the first witness: my

lord Cavendish proved on the trial, that my lord Russel had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore it was not likely he would intrust him with a secret of such importance.

Then as to his evidence, squeezed out of him, as it was, in both branches of the design, seizing the guards, and the rising of Taunton, he says in gross and general, That he was agreeing to one, and spoke about, and consented to the other. For his agreeing to the seizing the guards, he might think, as the lord Howard does after, that silence gives consent; for it appears not, nor does he swear, that my lord spoke one word about it. But he himself, in his last speech, which was not a Jesuit's, and which we have all the reason in the world to believe exactly true, since, as he himself says in it, He always detested lying, though ever so much for his advantage; and hoped none would be so unjust, or uncharitable, to think he would venture on it in these his last words, for which he was soon going to give an account to the great God, the searcher of hearts, and judge of all things. In this last speech he protests, that at this time of which Rumsey swears, there was no undertaking of securing and seizing the guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them, only some discourse there was of the practicability of it; he heard it mentioned as a thing which might easily be done, but never consented to it as a thing fit to be done. Now I would ask any man of sense and honour, who did but know my lord Russel, let them be ever so much his enemy (if there were any such) which of these two they really judge more worthy to be believed? There is but one against one. Rumsey, who either swore upon liking, for saving his life, or was a trepan, that he was consenting to the seizing the guards, or my lord Russel on his death and salvation solemnly affirming, That he was so far from consenting to any such thing, that there was not so much as any such undertaking mentioned in the company while he was with them. Especially when it is observable, that Rumsey never instances in the terms in which he gave his consent; the same is to be said of the other branch of his evidence, as to the message of the insurrection, which, he says, he brought into the room, found my lord Russel and the rest by the fire; whence they all came to him, and heard his message, and the lord Russel discoursed on the subject of it, and consented to it. To all which let us again oppose not only what he answered on his trial, wherein he says, That he would swear he never heard, or knew of that message, which Rumsey says he brought to them; but also what he says in confirmation thereof in his speech, I shall aver, that what I said of my not hearing colonel Rumsey deliver any message from my lord Shaftsbury, was true. And a little before, when I came into the room, I saw Mr. Rumsey by the chimney, though he swears he came in after that.

There is one thing more observable, That when West came to give in his garniture evidence, he runs in a length further than Rumsey, and remembers Rumsey had told him, what it seems he himself had forgot, That on Mr. Trenchard's failing them, my lord Russel was to go in his place, and take up his posts along in the West. And indeed had not West missed his cue, and by imitating my lord Howard's example, begun first with hear-say, he had made as stabbing an evidence as ever did any one of the others; or had they but let him run to the end of his story, and taken things methodically, as his lordship had done before him.

As to Shepherd, all must grant he says not a syllable to the purpose, or any thing which affects my lord. He can hardly tell whether he was there when there was the discourse of seizing the guards, but speaks not a word of my lord's hearing, or in the least wise consenting to the same.

Now as for my lord Howard's evidence, we may, without *scandalum magnatum*, affirm, that every lord is not fit to make a privy counsellor; no, nor every witty lord neither, especially in a business of such a concern. He does very well to say, the council of six all chose themselves; for had not he given his own vote for himself, hardly any body else would have done it, since his



character is so notoriously different from that which he himself gives of my lord Ruffel, whom, he says, every one knew to be a person of great judgment and not very lavish of discourse. For his evidence, he too is so happy to have a better memory than Rumsey, as well as West had; and says, that the duke of Monmouth told him, Rumsey had conveyed my lord Ruffel to Shaftsbury, on whose persuasion the insurrection was put off a fortnight longer. Of this Rumsey himself says not a single word.

His lordship says further, that when they had inquired how matters stood in the country, and the duke of Monmouth had found Trenchard and the west country failed them, on this it was put off again, and this about the 17th or 18th of October. Now this same action Rumsey speaks of, but takes a larger scope as to the time, the end of October, or the beginning of November, far enough from the 17th or 18th of the month before. Rumsey says, on this disappointment of the Taunton men and Trenchard, Shaftsbury resolved to be gone. Lord Howard, that he was so far from it, that he and his party resolved to do it without the lords, and had set one time and the other, and at last the 17th of November, which also not taking effect, then Shaftsbury went off. As to his evidence, which was closer; the story of the council of six, besides the former improbability, that he among all the men in England should be chosen one of them; it is remarkable, that in their former greater consultations at Shepherd's, which he and Rumsey mention, the lord Howard was never present, nor so much as touches on it in his evidence; though here, if any where, the grand affair of seizing the guards, and the answer to Shaftsbury about Taunton was concerted. All that appears of truth in the matter, seems to be what my lord Ruffel acknowledges, That those persons named, met very often; that there was no formed design, but only loose talk about those concerns. That there was no debate of any such thing as was sworn, nor putting any thing in a method; but my lord Howard being a man of a voluble tongue, and one who talks very well, they were all delighted to hear his oratory.

Indeed my lord Howard does not positively swear, even supposing this formed consult to be true, that my lord Ruffel actually consented to it. Only, that he was there, and that he took it, and that he did give his approbation.

Doubtless it is a very ill cause that needs either a lie or a cheat to defend it. My lord Ruffel himself being so ingenuous to acknowledge whatever of truth, any that knew him will believe to be in his part of the design, it would be an injury to his memory to do otherwise. It appears then from his own acknowledgment, that Howard, Armstrong, and such others, had sometimes discoursed of ill designs and matters in his company: and as he says in his speech, What the heats, wickedness, passions, and vanities of other men had occasioned, he ought not to be answerable for, nor could he repress them. Nay more, he did sufficiently disapprove those things which he heard discoursed of with more heat than judgment. But for himself, he declares solemnly again and again, That he was never in any design against the king's life, or any man's whatever; nor ever in any contrivance of altering the government. If so, what then becomes of all the story of the council of six? And is it not to be thrown among the same lumber with the old famous Nag's-Head-Tavern business? It will be still said he was an ill man, by being guilty by this very confession of misprision of treason. Supposing this true; that was not death, and he died, as he says, innocent of the crime he stood condemned for. And besides, every lord has not brow hard enough, nor tongue long enough, nor soul little enough, to make an informer against others to save his own life? I hope, says he, nobody will imagine that so mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my life by accusing others. The part that some have acted lately of that kind has not been such as to invite me to love life at a rate so dear!

However, all this does not depend on his naked word, since the evidence who swore against him being such as were neither credible, nor indeed so much as legal wit-

nesses, the accusation of itself must fall to the ground. If legal they were not credible, because as my lord Delamere observes in this case, they had no pardons, but hunted, as the cormorant does, with strings about their necks, which West, in his answer to Walcot's letter, ingenuously acknowledges, and says, It is through God and the king's mercy, he was not at the apparent point of death. That is, in a fair construction, was not just turning over, but was upon trial, to see whether he would do business, and deserve to escape hanging. Much such an honourable way of getting pardon, as the fellow who saved his own neck by turning hangman, and doing his own father the good office.

No more indeed was the great witness, the honourable lord who cast this noble person, a legal, as well as a credible witness. No man alive has any way to clear himself from the most perjured villain's malice, if he swears against him point blank, but either by circumstance of time; or invalidating his very evidence. Let any think of another way if they can. The first of these was precluded; it was that which had before been made use of to sham off a truer plot, and much more valid evidence. But here Rumsey and the rest came to no determinate time, but only about such a time; about the end of October, or beginning of November: and others cloud the precise time in so many words, that it is impossible to find it. All then that could be done, was as to the person. Now what thing can be invented, which can more invalidate the evidence any person gives, than his solemn, repeated, voluntary oath, indubitably proved against him, that such a person is innocent of that very crime of which he afterwards accuses him? If this be the case or no here, let any one read the following depositions, and make an indifferent judgment. My lord Anglesey witnesses, He was at the earl of Bedford's, after his son was imprisoned, where came in my lord Howard, and began to comfort him, saying, He was happy in so wise a son, and worthy a person; and who could never be in such a plot as that. That he knew nothing against him, or any body else, of such a barbarous design. But this was not upon oath, and only related to the assassination, as he says for himself in his paring distinction. Look then a little lower to Dr. Burnet, whom the lord Howard was with the night after the plot broke out, and then, as well as once before, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, did say, He knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any. Here is the most solemn oath, as he himself confesses voluntarily, nay, unnecessarily; though perhaps in my lord Bedford's case, good nature might work upon him. Here is the paring of his apple broke all to pieces. No shadow, no room left for his distinction between the insurrection and assassination; but without any guard or mitigation at all, he solemnly swears, he knew not of any plot, nor believed any existed.

However, it was no great matter, for the jury were resolved to know and believe it, whether he did or no. There is but little subterfuge more, and the case is clear. All this perjury, all these solemn asseverations he tells us were only to brazen out the plot, and to outface the thing for himself and party. This he fairly acknowledges; and let all the world be the jury, whether they would destroy one of the bravest men in it, on the evidence of such a person? But there is yet further answer. His cousin, Mr. Howard, who was my lord's intimate friend, who secured him in his house, to whom he might open his soul, and to whom it seems he did, he having made application to the ministers of state in his name, that he was willing to serve the king, and give him satisfaction; to him, I say, with whom he had secret negotiations, and that of such a nature; will any believe that he would outface the thing here too? That he would perjure himself for nothing, where no danger, no good came on it? No certainly, his lordship had more wit, and conscience, and honour; he ought to be vindicated from such an imputation, even for the credit of his main evidence; for my lord Grey, he tells us, was left out of their councils for his immoralities; and had he himself been such a sort of a man, those piercing heads in the council would have certainly found him out before,



before, and never admitted him among them. As for the very thing, Mr. Howard tells it as generously, and with as much honest indignation as possible, in spite of the checks the court gave him. He took it, says he, upon his honour, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a magistrate, that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this business, and particularly of the lord Russell; of whom, he added, that he thought he did unjustly suffer. So that if he had the same soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday (the very day before) this could not be true that he swore against the lord Russell. My lord Russell's suffering was imprisonment, and that for the same matter on which he was tried, the insurrection, not the assassination. If my lord Howard knew him guilty of that for which he was committed, though not the other, how could he then say, he suffered unjustly?

It would after all this, be almost superfluous to go any further, or insert the evidence given by Dr. Tillotson, Burnet, Cox, and others, not only of his virtuous and honourable behaviour, but especially of his judgment about any stir, or popular insurrections, that he was absolutely against them; that it was folly and madness till things came to be regulated in a parliamentary way, and thought it would ruin the best cause in the world to take any such ways towards its preservation.

But all this and more would not do, die he must, the duke ordered it, the witnesses swore it, the judges directed it, the jury found it; and when the sentence came to be passed, the judge asked, as is usual, What he had to say why it should not be pronounced? He answered, That whereas he had been charged in the indictment which was then read to him, with conspiring the death of the king, which he had not taken notice of before, he appealed to the judge and court, whether he were guilty within the statute on which he was tried, the witnesses having sworn an intention of levying war, but not of killing the king, of which there was no proof by any one witness. The recorder told him, That was an exception proper, and as he thought, his lordship did make it before the verdict. Whether the evidence did amount to prove the charge, was to be observed by the jury; for if the evidence came short of the indictment, they could not find it to be a true charge; but when once they had found it, their verdict did pass for truth, and the court was bound by it, as well as his lordship, and they were to go according to what the jury had found, not their evidence. Now I would fain know, what is the reason of the prisoner's being asked that question, What he has to say for himself? Is it only formality, or banter? He makes an exception, which the judge himself confesses proper. But who was counsel for the prisoner! Is not the bench? Or, does it not pretend to be so? And why is not this observed by them in their direction to the jury! The recorder seems to grant it fairly, that the evidence did not prove the charge, and says, The court was to go, not according to the evidence. Well, evidence, or none, the truth is, was not the question: for being found guilty, sentence past upon him; whence he was removed to Newgate. While he was there, the importunity of his friends, as he handsomely says in his speech, lest they should think him sullen or stubborn, prevailed with him to sign petitions, and make an address for his life, though it was not without difficulty that he did any thing that was begging to save it. But with how much success, it may easily be guessed by any who knew the duke's temper; nor is it forgotten how barbarously his lady and children were repelled, and the king's good nature not suffered to save one of the best men in his kingdom. Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson were with him much of the time between his sentence and death; where to the last, he owned that doctrine, which other good men, who were then of another judgment, have since been forced into, namely, The lawfulness of resistance against unlawful violence, from whomsoever it proceeds.

Now, after fruitless applications for his pardon; after a farewell and adieu in this world, to one of the best of women, who stood by him, and assisted him in his trial, and did not leave his presence, till at last on Saturday the

21st of July, he went into his own coach about nine o'clock with Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet; whence he was carried to Great-Lincoln's-Inn-Field to the scaffold prepared for him, where, among all the numerous spectators, he was one of the most unconcerned persons there: and very few rejoiced at so doleful a spectacle, but the Papists, who indeed had sufficient reason; my lord Powis's people expressing, as it is said, a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction. There, after he had again solemnly protested his innocency, and that he was far from any design against the king's person, or of altering the government; nay, that he did upon the words of a dying man profess, that he knew of no plot against the king's life or government; and delivering one of the finest speeches in the world to the sheriff, he prayed by himself, and with Dr. Tillotson's assistance; and embracing him and Dr. Burnet, he submitted to the fatal strokes, for the executioner took no less than three before he could sever his head, which when it was held up, as usual, there was so far from being any shout, that a considerable groan was heard round the scaffold. His body was given to his friends, and conveyed to Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, where it was buried among his ancestors. During the day of his martyrdom there was a great storm, and many loud claps of thunder.

*The MARTYRDOM of Captain WALCOT, HONE, and ROUSE, with a full Account of their Behaviour and Execution.*

CAPTAIN WALCOT and his fellow-sufferers, in order of time, should have gone first, he being convicted before my lord Russell, and executed the Friday, as he was on Saturday. But my lord Russell's fate having so immediate a dependence on the earl of Essex's, and all the plot hanging on him; especially they two making the greatest figure of any who suffered on this occasion; it looked more proper and natural to begin with them, and reserve the other to this place.

Captain Walcot was a gentleman of a considerable estate in Ireland, but more remarkable for the rare happiness of having eight children all at once living, and most of all, for his love to his country, which cost him his life, as our readers will perceive.

The supposed crime for which Walcot suffered, and which West and others witness against him, was consulting the death of the king, and charging the guards, at his return from Newmarket, while the dreadful blunderbuss was to be fired into the coach by Rumbald, or some others. His privacy to discourses about the king's death was but misprision. For his acting in it, they could not have pitched on a more unlikely man to command a party in so desperate an attempt as charging the guards, than one that was sick and bed-ridden of the gout, as about this time, and often besides, the captain was. Nor seems West's pretence more likely, that he refused to be actual in the assassination, because of the baseness of it, but offered to charge the guards, while others did it; much as wisely and tenderly, as if he had denied to cut a man's throat, but consented to hold his hands while others did it. This he denies with indignation in his speech, and appeals to all that knew him, whether they thought him such an idiot, that he should not understand it was the same thing to engage the king's guards, whilst others killed him; or to kill him with his own hands? Here then, it is plain, lies the pinch of the matter; West, Rumsey, &c. had been frequently discoursing at that bloody, villanous rate; West was most impatiently eager of having it done; he proposed the lopping them at a play, which would be in their own calling he said.

Colonel Rumsey and West were the main pillars, and almost the only witnesses on which the credit of that action depended, who appear all through the great and almost sole managers thereof, and who accuse others for being concerned in it. What and how much their credit weighs, we have already hinted, but shall yet confront it with further testimonies relating to this matter, and that of dying men, who could expect no pardon in this



this world, nor the other, for a falsehood. Besides Rumbald's solemn protestation; see Walcot's speech and paper, wherein he as deeply affirms, as a man can do, that West bought arms for this villanous design (which cannot be expressed with detestation enough) without any direction of his; nay, without any direction, knowledge, or privity of his. West says in his answer to this, as well as in his evidence, that Walcot joined in the direction about the nature and size of those arms; that he was very intimate and familiar with this Rumbald; who was to be the principal actor in the assassination. But Rumbald's death before recited, clears himself and Walcot, and shews us what West is. In another place he affirms, that Walcot told him Ferguson had the chief management of the intended assassination. Rumbald's hard name, as has been said already, Ferguson's ill name, and the absence of them both, brought them in all probability into the business; and Walcot's being past answering for himself or them, made it very advisable to charge so much on him. So in the same nature Ferguson was the author of that expression Walcot had from West; Ferguson undertook for the duke of Monmouth; Ferguson proposed to see for an opportunity between Windsor and Hampton-Court. The men to commit the assassination were all provided by Ferguson, Rumbald, &c. And I remember another of them, or he himself, talks of fifty men engaged for the very action. Now as mere good nature, and the love I have to my countrymen, will never suffer me to believe there could be so many Englishmen found, and Protestants too, who would consent to kill their king; never any one having acknowledged such a design besides poor Hone, who was so stupid, he could not give one sensible answer to what Cartwright asked him at his death: so plain a testimony, and dint of fact and reason, forces me to conclude these persons here charged were not guilty. See what Rouse says of it; he was told, they did not intend to spill so much as one drop of blood. But most particularly Holloway; he could not perceive Ferguson knew any thing of the Newmarket design, but Rumsey and West were deep in it. Again, Holloway asked West who was to act the assassination? To which he could give but a slender answer, and could, or would name but two men, Rumbald and his brother. Just such probable stuff as Colledge's seizing the king by himself at Oxford, so that (he goes on) we found they had but few men, if more than two, and no horses, only a parcel of arms he shewed at a gunsmith's. And lower, at another time, West only named Rumsey and Richard Goodenough as concerned in the assassination: West again proposed the assassination, but none seconded him: Rumsey was for the old strain of killing the king, to which not one consented: he could never find above five concerned in it. He heard Walcot speak against it; I knew Ferguson to be against any such intention.

To sum up the whole, the world is left to it's liberty to believe, at least three dying men's asseverations, against those who so plainly swore others necks into the halter, to get their own out, that West himself is not ashamed to own in his forementioned answer, that he was still in danger of death, though not so eminent as it had been; nor at the apparent point of death. And at the close of this paper, if it shall please the king to spare my life for my confession, it is a great happiness, &c. which part of his evidence every body will easily credit.

All this duly considered, a fair supposition lies of the innocency of this captain, and others, of what they were accused, found guilty, sentenced, and died for; it being on West's evidence, and such as his, that he and others were arraigned and condemned; the captain's defence being much the same with what he says in his speech. It is well known, that the witnesses against captain Walcot swore for their own lives with halters about their necks; and it is as true that most of the witnesses had talked at a mad rate, in the hearing of some of those whom they destroyed; but mark what captain Walcot in a most solemn manner with his last breath declared.

First of all he denied any design of killing the king, or of engaging the guards, whilst others killed him;

and said, that the witnesses invited him to meetings, where some things were discoursed of, in order to the asserting our liberties and properties; which we looked upon to be violated and invaded: That they importuned and perpetually solicited him, and then delivered him up to be hanged: That they combined together to swear him out of his life, to save their own; and that they might do it effectually, they contrived an untruth. That he forgave them, though guilty of his blood; but withal, earnestly begged, that they might be observed, that remarks might be set upon them, whether their end be peace; and he concluded (with what made sir Roger L'Estrange a great deal of sport, but yet heaven has made it good) That when God hath a work to do, he will not want instruments.

Rouse, who was tried with the captain, was charged with such a parcel of mad romance, as was scarce ever heard of; and one would wonder how perjury and malice, which use to be sober sins, could ever be so extravagant as to think of it. He was to seize the Tower, pay the rabble, uncase the aldermen, to be pay-master and flea-master-general, and a great deal more to the same tune. In his defence he says no great matter, but yet what looks a thousand times more like truth than his accusation; that the Tower business was only discourse of the feasibility of the thing (as Ruffel's about the guards) but without the least intent of bringing it to action; that all he was concerned in any real design, he had from Lee, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a discovery. But it seems Lee got the whip-hand of him; they were both at a kind of halter combat; Rouse's foot slipped, and Lee turned him over, and saved his own neck by so doing.

One Hone was likewise accused, and owns himself guilty of a design to kill the king and the duke of York, or one, or neither, for it is impossible to make any sense of him. When they came to suffer, Walcot read a paper, in which was a good rational confession of his faith; then comes to the occasion of his death; for which, he says, he neither blames the judges, jury, nor council, but only some men, that in reality were deeper concerned than he, who combined together to swear him out of his life to save their own, and that they might do it effectually, contrived an untruth, &c. He forgives the world and the witnesses; gives his friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prays that his may be the last blood spilled on that account; wishes the king would be merciful to others; says he knew nothing of Ireland; and concludes, with praying God to have mercy on him. He had then some discourse with Cartwright, wherein he tells him, that he was not for contriving the death of the king, nor to have had a hand in it; and being urged with some matters of controversy, tells him, he did not come thither to dispute about religion, but religiously to suffer.

Now though dying be a serious business, yet it is almost impossible to read Hone's discourse with the dean, without as violent temptations to laughter as compassion. Never was so exact an imitation of the scene of the Fisherman and Kings in the Rehearsal, when he tells them prince Prettyman killed prince Prettyman. One would think him very near in the same case with Bateman, who came after him. His replies are so incongruous, that there is hardly either sense or English to be made out of them. But the poor fellow talks of snares and circumstances, and nobody knows what, and says in one line, he was to meet the king and duke of York, but he did not know when, where, nor for what. In the next, he was for killing the king, and saving the duke; and when asked the reason, answers, the only sensible thing he said all through, that he knew no reason, that he did not know what to say to it. And when the dean charges him with the murderous design, that he knew as little of it, as any poor silly man ever did.

Next Rouse comes, gives an account of his faith, professing to die of the church of England, tells his former employment and manner of life, acknowledges he heard of clubs and designs, but was never at them, and a perfect stranger to any thing of that nature. Gives a relation of what passed between him and his majesty on his apprehension.



apprehension. Talks somewhat of fir Thomas Player, the earl of Shaftsbury, and accommodating the king's son, as he calls it, though not while the king reigned. Then falls upon Lee, and the discourse they had together, who, as he says, swore against him on the trial those very words he himself had used in pressing him to undertake the design. Speaks of a silver ball which he proposed to be thrown up on Black-Heath, and after some discourse with the ordinary, gives the spectators some good counsel. Then they all three singly prayed; and underwent their execution at Tower-Hill.

*The Martyrdom of Colonel ALGERNON SIDNEY.*

COLONEL Algernon Sidney, was the next victim to popish cruelty and malice; he was of the ancient and noble name and family of the Sidneys, deservedly famous to the utmost bounds of Europe; who, as the ingenious Mr. Hawles observes, was merely talked to death, under the notion of a commonwealth's man, and found guilty by a jury who were not much more proper judges of the case, than they would have been had he wrote in Greek or Arabic. He was arraigned for a branch of this plot at Westminster, the 17th of November 1683; where, though it cannot be said the grand jury knew not what they did, when they found the bill against him, since, no doubt, they were well instructed what to do; yet it appears, that they found it almost before they knew what it was, being so well resolved on the case, and agreed on their verdict, that had he been indicted for breaking open an house, or robbing on the highway, it was doomed to have been *billa vera*, as much as it was now. For though the indictment was never presented to them before they came into the hall, yet they immediately found it: the substance whereof was, for a conspiracy to depose the king, and stirring up rebellion, and writing a libel for that purpose. The most part of the evidence brought against him, was only hear-say, as against my lord Ruffel; nay, West, whose evidence was then refused, now was admitted to tell a long story of what he had from one and the other. Rumsey's was much of the same nature. In the rear came that never-failing evidence, the lord Howard, who witnesses he was one of the council of six, and engaged one of the deepest in their consults. And more than this, exercises his own faculty very handsomely, in an account of two speeches Mr. Hambden made on the occasion, which indeed were such fine things, that some might think it worth the while to swear against a man, only to have the reputation of reciting them; and let any man judge whom they are most like, Mr. Hambden, or my lord's own witty self.

A paper was the next evidence said to be of the prisoner's writing, which was found in his study. The substance of which was an inquiry into the forms of government, and reasons of their decays: the rights of the people, and the bounds of sovereignty, and original of power. In which were those heinous, treasonable expressions, the king is subject to the law of God as a man, to the people who made him such, as a king, &c. And examples of evil kings and tyrants, whom sometimes a popular fury had destroyed; at others, the *Ordines Regni* either reduced, or set them aside, when their government was a curse instead of a blessing to their people. Well, what treason in all this, and a great deal more? Nothing but a Jesuit's enchanted telescope could have found any in it. If there were any mistakes, as he says in his speech, they ought to have been confuted by law, reason, and scripture, not scaffolds and axes. First, It was not proved to be his writing, nor did he confess it; treason and life are critical things: one ought to be as fairly proved, as the other to be cautiously proceeded against. Though he might write it, he had the liberty of an Englishman, not to accuse himself: the very same thing which was afterwards put in practice by those reverend persons, who, later than he, and cheaper too, defended their country's liberty with only the loss of their own. But owning he wrote it,

how very few, if any things therein, are not now generally and almost universally believed, and are the foundation of the practice, and satisfaction of the conscience of every man, though then confuted with the single brand of commonwealth principles, being indeed such as all the world must, whether they will or no, be forced into the belief of, as soon as oppression and tyranny bears hard upon them, and becomes really unsupportable? But supposing they were now as wicked principles as they were called then; yet what was that to the then present governors? He answered Filmer for his own satisfaction, or rather began to do it, many years before the makers of this plot dreamed of that, or bringing him into it; kept it private in his own study, where it might have lain till doom's-day, had not they fetched it out to make somewhat of it. It was suggested, and innuendocd, that this book was written to scatter among the people, in order to dispose them to rebel, as it is in the indictment. But how ridiculous that is, any one will see who considers the bulk of it, which was such, that, as he says in his speech, the fiftieth part of the book was not produced, nor the tenth of that read, though he desired it, and it was usual; and yet after all, as it had never been shewn to any man, so it was not finished, nor could be in many years. Now is this a business likely to be calculated for a rebellion; when it could neither be finished till several years after it was over; and besides, if it had, the bulk made it so improper to be dispersed for that purpose for which it was pretendedly designed? No, those who are to poison a nation in that manner, know better things, and more likely ways. It is to be done in little pamphlets, and papers easily read over, understood, and remembered, as the declaration gentlemen the other day very well knew. But still here being not a syllable in these papers of king Charles, any more than of the king of Bantam, or the great mogul, against whom they might as well have made it treason; it was all supplied by a fine knack, called the innuendo, that is in English, such interpretation as they would please to affix on his words. Thus when he writes Tarquin, or Pepin, or Nero, they say, he meant king Charles; and so, scandalously of him, as well as wickedly of the gentleman, make a monster and a ravisher of their king, and then take away another's life for doing it. There was a minister I have somewhere read of, who was accused for writing a libel against queen Elizabeth, and her government; and the fact there, it is true, lay, as this does upon innuendoes, though much more plain and pregnant. But all the punishment inflicted on him, though thought severe enough, reached not his head, the loss of his hand being deemed sufficient, while with that which was left, he pulled off his hat, and prayed God to bless the queen. But this was under a truly protestant government and a mild reign.

Such was my lord Howard's evidence, that had the jury been any but such as they were, and Sidney describes them, they would not have hanged a Jesuit upon the credit of it; he having, one would think, that read the trials, taken a pride in damning himself deeper and deeper against every new appearance in public, on purpose to try the skill and face of the counsel in bringing him off again. To the evidence brought against him in my lord Ruffel's case, he had taken care to add the following:

First, the earl of Clare witnesses, that he said, after Sidney's imprisonment, if questioned again, he would never plead (had it not been a pleasant thing for my lord Howard to have been pressed to death for not speaking?) and that he thought colonel Sidney as innocent as any man breathing: Mr. Ducas says the same, so does my lord Paget, Mr. Edward, Philip Howard, Tracy, Penwick, and Mr. Blake; that he said he had not his pardon, and could not ascribe it to any reason, but that he must not have it till the drudgery of swearing was completed.

Now, though there was no reasonable answer could be given to all this; though Sidney pleaded the obligations my lord Howard had to him, and the great conveniency he might think there might be in his being hanged,



since he was some hundreds of pounds in his debt, which would be the readiest way of paying him; and had besides, as it appeared, a great mind to have the colonel's plate secured at his own house; though never man in the world certainly ever talked stronger sense, or better reason, or more evidently battered the judges, and left them nothing but railing; yet it was all a case with him, as well as the others; and the petty jury could as easily have found him guilty, without hearing his trial, as the grand jury did, as soon as ever they saw the bill. Never was any thing more base and barbarous, than the summing up the evidence and directions to the jury, who yet stood in no great need of them: nor more uncivil and saucy a reflection on the noble family and name of the Sidneys, than the judge's saying that he was born a traitor. Never any thing braver, or more manly, than his remonstrance to the king for justice, and another trial: nor, lastly, more Roman, and yet truly Christian than his end. The brave old man came upon a scaffold, as unconcerned as if he had been going to fight, and as lively as if he had been a Ruffel. In his last speech he gives almost all the substance of all those books which were lately written in the defence of the late transactions, and no disgrace to them neither; since truth and reason are eternal, and one and the same from all pens and parties, and at all times; however there may be some times so bad, that they will not bear some reason, any more than some doctrine. He there says as much in a little as ever man did: That magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not to the contrary. If that be treason, King Charles I. is guilty of it against himself, who says the same thing, That the power of magistrates is what the laws of the country make it: that those laws and oaths have the force of a contract, and if one part is broken, the other ceases. And other maxims of the same necessity and usefulness. He, besides this, gave a full account of the design of his book, of his trial, and the injustice done him therein; of the juries being picked, and important points of law over-ruled; and ends with a most compendious prayer, in which he desires God would forgive his enemies, but keep them from doing any more mischief; and then he laid down his head in eternal repose.

*The Petition of Col. ALGERNON SIDNEY to the King.*

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty: the humble  
Petition of ALGERNON SIDNEY, Esq.*

SHEWETH,

**T**HAT your petitioner, after a long and close imprisonment, was on the seventh day of this month, with a guard of soldiers brought into the Palace-Yard, upon a *Habeas Corpus* directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, before any indictment had been exhibited against him: but while he was there detained, a bill was exhibited and found; whereupon he was immediately carried to the King's-Bench, and there arraigned. In this surprise he desired a copy of the indictment, and leave to make his exceptions, or to put in a special plea, and counsel to frame it; but all was denied him. He then offered a special plea ready engrossed, which also was rejected without reading: and being threatened, that if he did not immediately plead guilty or not guilty, judgment of high treason should be entered, he was forced, contrary to law (as he supposes) to come to a general issue in pleading not guilty.

November 21, he was brought to his trial, and the indictment being perplexed and confused, so that neither he nor any of his friends that heard it, could fully comprehend the scope of it, he was wholly unprovided of all the helps that the law allows to every man for his defence. Whereupon he did again desire a copy, and produced an authentic copy of the statute of 46 Ed. III. whereby it is enacted, That every man shall have a copy of any record that touches him in any manner, as well that which is for or against the king, as any other person; but could neither obtain a copy of his indictment, nor that the statute should be read.

The jury by which he was tried, was not (as he is informed) summoned by the bailiffs of the several hundreds, in the usual and legal manner; but names were agreed upon by Mr. Graham, and the under sheriff, and directions given to the bailiff to summon them: and being all so chosen, a copy of the panel was of no use to him. When they came to be called, he excepted against some for being your majesty's servants, which he hoped should not be returned, when he was prosecuted, at your majesty's suit; many more for not being freeholders, which exceptions, he thinks, were good in law; and others were lewd and infamous persons, not fit to be on any jury; but all was over-ruled by the lord chief justice, and your petitioner forced to challenge them peremptorily, whom he found to be picked out as most suitable to the intentions of those who sought his ruin; whereby he lost the benefit allowed him by law of making his exceptions, and was forced to admit of mechanic persons, utterly unable to judge of such a matter as was to be brought before them. This jury being sworn, no witness was produced who fixed any thing beyond hearsay upon your petitioner, except the lord Howard, and them that swore to some papers said to be found in his house, and offered as a second witness, and written in an hand like to that of your petitioner.

Your petitioner produced ten witnesses, most of them of eminent quality, the others of unblemished fame, to shew that lord Howard's testimony was inconsistent with what he had declared before (at the trial of the lord Ruffel) under the same religious obligation of an oath, as if it had been legally administered.

Your petitioner did further endeavour to shew, That besides the absurdity and incongruity of his testimony, he being guilty of many crimes which he did not pretend your petitioner had any knowledge of, and having no other hope of pardon, than by the drudgery of swearing against him, he deserved not to be believed. And similitude of hands could be no evidence, as was declared by the lord chief justice Keiling, and the whole court, in the lady Carr's case; so that no evidence at all remained against him.

That whosoever wrote those papers, they were but a small part of a polemical discourse in answer to a book written about thirty years ago, upon general propositions, applied to no time, nor any particular case; that it was impossible to judge of any part of it, unless the whole did appear, which did not; that the sense of such parts of it as were produced, could not be comprehended, unless the whole had been read, which was denied; that the ink and paper sheweth them to be written many years ago; that the lord Howard not knowing of them, they could have no concurrence with what your petitioner is said to have designed with him and others; that the confusion and errors in the writing shewed they had never been so much as reviewed, and being written in a hand that no man could well read, they were not fit for the press, nor could be in some years, though the writer had intended it, which did not appear. But they being only the present crude and private thoughts of a man, for the exercise of his own understanding in his studies, and never shewed to any, or applied to any particular case, could not fall under the statute of 25 Edw. III. which takes cognizance of no such matter, and could not by construction be brought under it; such matters being thereby reserved to the parliament, as is declared in the proviso, which he desired might be read, but was refused.

Several important points of law did hereupon emerge, upon which your petitioner, knowing his own weakness, did desire that counsel might be heard, or they might be referred to be found specially. But all was over-ruled by the violence of the lord chief justice, and your petitioner so frequently interrupted, that the whole method of his defence was broken, and he not suffered to say the tenth part of what he could have alleged in his defence. So the jury was hurried into a verdict they did not understand.

Now, forasmuch as no man that is oppressed in England, can have relief, unless it be from your majesty, your petitioner humbly prays, that the premises considered,



dered, your majesty would be pleased to admit him into your presence; and if he doth not shew, that it is for your majesty's interest and honour to preserve him from the said oppression, he will not complain though he be left to be destroyed.

*The following is an Abstract of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, Dec. 7, 1683, by ALGERNON SIDNEY, Esq. previous to his Execution.*

HAVING first excused his not speaking, as well because it was an age that made truth pals for treason, for the truth of which, he instances his trial and condemnation, and that the ears of some present were too tender to hear it, as because of the rigour of the season, and his infirmities, &c. then after a short reflection upon the little said against him by other witnesses, and the little value that was to be put on the lord Howard's testimony, whom he charges with an infamous life, and many palpable perjuries, and to be biased only by the promise of pardon, &c. and makes, even though he had been liable to no exceptions, to have been but a single witness; he proceeds to answer the charge against him from the writings found in his closet by the king's officers, which were pretended, but not lawfully evidenced to be his; and pretends to prove, that had they been his, they contained no condemnable matter, but principles, more safe both to princes and people too, than the pretended high-flown plea for absolute monarchy, composed by Filmer, against which they seemed to be levelled; and which, he says, all intelligent men thought, were founded on wicked principles, and such as were destructive, both to magistrates, and people too. Which he attempts to make out after this manner.

First, says he, if Filmer might publish to the world, that men were born under a necessary indispensable subjection to an absolute king, who could be restrained by no oath, &c. whether he came to it by creation, inheritance, &c. nay, or even by usurpation; why might he not publish his opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any known law? Which opinion, he professes, consisted in the following particulars.

1. That God hath left nations at the liberty of modelling their own governments.
2. That magistrates were instituted for nations, and not *à contra*.
3. That the right and power of magistrates was fixed by the standing laws of each country.
4. That those laws sworn to on both sides, were the matter of a contract between the magistrates and people, and could not be broken without the danger of dissolving the whole government.
5. That usurpation could give no right; and that kings had no greater enemies than those who asserted that, or were for stretching their power beyond its limits.
6. That such usurpations commonly effecting the slaughter of the reigning person, &c. the worst of crimes was thereby most gloriously rewarded.
7. That such doctrines are more proper to stir up men to destroy princes, than all the passions that ever yet swayed the worst of them, and that no prince could be safe, if his murderers may hope such rewards; and that few men would be so gentle as to spare the best kings, if by their destruction a wild usurper could become God's anointed, which he says was the scope of that whole treatise, and asserts to be the doctrine of the best authors of all nations, times, and religions, and of the scripture, and so owned by the best and wisest princes, and particularly by Louis XIV. of France, in his declaration against Spain, anno 1667, and by King James, of England, in his speech to the parliament, 1603; and adds, that if the writer had been mistaken, he should have been fairly refuted, but that no man was ever otherwise punished for such matters, or any such things referred to a jury, &c. That the book was never finished, &c. nor ever seen by them whom he was charged to have endeavoured by it to draw into a conspiracy: that nothing in it was particularly or mali-

ciously applied to time, place, or person, but distorted to such a sense by innuendoes, as the discourses of the expulsion of Tarquin, &c. and particularly of the translation made of the crown of France from one race to another, had been then applied by the then lawyers' innuendoes, to the then king of England; never considering, adds he, that if such acts of state be not allowed good, no prince in the world has any title to his crown, and having by a short reflection shewn the ridiculousness of deriving absolute monarchy, from patriarchal power, he appeals to all the world, whether it would not be more advantageous to all kings, to own the derivation of their power to the consent of willing nations, than to have no better title than force, &c. which may be over-powered.

Notwithstanding the innocence and loyalty of that doctrine, he says, He was told he must die, or the plot must die; and complains, that in order to the destroying the best Protestants of England, the bench was filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar; and instances how, against law, they had advised with the king's counsel about bringing him to death, suffered a jury to be picked by the king's solicitors, and the under sheriff admitted non-freeholders jurymen, received evidence not valid; refused him a copy of his indictment, or to suffer the act of the 46th of Edw. III. to be read, that allows it hath over-ruled the most important points of law, without hearing, and assumed to themselves a power to make constructions of treason, though against law, sense, and reason, which by the statute of the 25th of Edw. III. by which they pretended to try him, was reserved only to the parliament; and so praying God, to forgive them, and to avert the evils that threatened the nation, to sanctify those sufferings to him, and though he fell a sacrifice to idols, not to suffer idolatry to be established in this land, &c. He concludes with a thanksgiving, That God had singled him out to be a witness of his truth, and for that good old cause, in which from his youth he had been engaged, &c. &c. &c.

*The Martyrdom of Mr. JAMES HOLLOWAY, at Tyburn, April 30, 1684.*

THIS gentleman was by trade a merchant; but his greatest dealing lay in linen manufacture, which, as appears from his papers, he had brought to such a height here in England, as, had it met with suitable encouragement, would, as he made it appear, have employed 80,000 poor people, and 40,000 acres of land, and be 200,000l. a year advantage to the public revenues of the kingdom. The return of the *Habeas Corpus* writ calls him, late of London, merchant, though he lived mostly at Bristol. He seems to be a person of sense, courage, and vivacity of spirit, and a man of business. All we can have of him is from that public print, called his Narrative, concerning which it must be remembered, as before, that we have no very firm authority to assure us all therein contained was his own writing; and perhaps it might be thought convenient he should die, for fear he might contradict some things published in his name. But on the other side, where he contradicts the other witnesses, his evidence is strong, since surely that was not the interest of the managers to invent of their own accord; though some truth they might utter, though displeasing, to gain credit to the rest. Taking things however as we find them, it will be convenient for method's sake, to take notice first of the proceedings against him, then of some pretty plain footsteps of practice upon him, and shuffling dealing in his case; and lastly, of several things considerable in his history.

Mr. Holloway was accused for the plot, as one who was acquainted with West, Rumsey, and the rest; and having been really present at their meetings and discourses on that subject, absconded when the public news concerning the discovery came into the country; though this, as he tells the king, more for fear, that if he was taken up, his creditors would never let him come out of gaol, than any thing else. After some time he got to sea in a little vessel,



vessel, went over to France, and so to the West-Indies, among the Caribbee-Islands, where much of his concern lay : but writing to his factor at Nevis, he was by him treacherously betrayed, and seized by the order of sir William Stapleton, and thence brought prisoner to England, where after examination, and a confession of at least all that he knew, having been outlawed in his absence on an indictment of treason, he was on the 21st of April 1684, brought to the King's-Bench, to shew cause why execution should not be awarded against him, as is usual in that case ; he opposed nothing against it, only saying, if an ingenuous confession of truth could merit the king's pardon, he hoped he had done it. The attorney being called for, ordered the indictment to be read, and gave him the offer of a trial, waving the outlawry, which he refused, and threw himself on the king's mercy ; on which execution was awarded, though the attorney, who had not so much law even as Jeffreys, was for having judgment first pass against him, which is never done in such cases, according to which he was executed at Tyburn April the 30th.

Strange it seemed to all men, that a man of so much spirit, as Mr. Holloway appeared to be, should so tamely die without making any manner of defence, when that liberty was granted him : it seemed as strange, or yet stranger, that any Protestant should have any thing that looked like mercy or favour from the persons then at the helm. That they should be so gracious to him as it is there called, to admit him to a trial, which looked so generously, and was so cried up ; the attorney calling it, A mercy and a grace ; and the lord chief justice saying, He could assure him it was a great mercy, and that it was exceeding well. Now all this blind or mystery will be easily unriddled, by two or three lines which Holloway speaks just after : My lord, says he, I cannot undertake to defend myself, for I have confessed before his majesty, that I am guilty of many things in that indictment. Which was immediately made use of as was designed ; good Mr. Justice Withens crying out full-mouthed, I hope every body here will take notice of his open confession, when he might try it if he would ; surely none but will believe this conspracy now, after what this man has owned. So there was an end of all the mercy. A man who had before confessed in order to be hanged, had gracious liberty given him to confess it again in public, because they knew he had precluded all manner of defence before, and this public action would both get them the repute of clemency, and confirm the belief of the plot. Now that there had been practice used with him, and promises of pardon, if he had taken this method, and own himself guilty without pleading, is more than probable, both from other practices of the same nature used towards greater men, and from some expressions of his which look exceeding fair that way. Thus in his paper left behind him, I had, says he, some other reasons why I did not plead, which at present I conceal, as also why I did not speak what I intended. Other reasons, besides his confession to his majesty, and reasons to be concealed. Now what should those be but threatenings and promises, to induce him to silence, and public acknowledgment of all ? Which appears yet plainer from another passage : I am satisfied that all means which could be thought on, have been used to get as much out of me as possible. If all means, then without straining, those observed before.

If though he made so fair and large an acknowledgment, here is more mystery still ; why was not his life spared ? Let any one read his confession and speech, or these passages observed out of them, and he will no longer wonder at it. He was a little squeasy-conscienced, and would not strain so far as others in accusing men of those black crimes whereof they were innocent ; nay, as was before said, vindicating them from those aspersions cast upon them, and for which some of them, particularly my lord Russel, suffered death. He says, The assassination was carried on but by three or four, and could never hear so much as the names of above five for it ; that he and others had declared their abhorrence of any such thing ; that Ferguson was not in it. And besides, speaks some things with the liberty of an Eng-

lishman ; shews the very root of all those heats which had been raised ; says what was true enough, That the protestant gentry had a notion of a devilish design of the Papists to cut off the king's friends, and stirring men in both the last parliaments ; that they long had witnesses to swear them out of their lives, but no juries to believe them ; that now the point about the sheriffs was gained, that difficulty was over ; that the king had bad council about him, who kept all things from his knowledge ; that if things continued thus, the protestant gentry resolved to get the king from his evil council, and then he would immediately be of their side, and suffer all popish offenders to be brought to justice. Hence it was plain, no assassination, no plot against the king and government intended ; only treason against the duke of York and the Papists, who were themselves traitors by law. But yet one bolder stroke than all this : he prays the king's eyes may be opened, to see his enemies from his friends, whom he had cause to look for nearer home. Was a man to expect pardon after this ? No certainly, which he soon grew sensible of, and prepared for death, the council, as he says, taking it very heinously that he should presume to write about such matters.

In respect to what sheriff Daniel urges, That what he said about the king were but glossy pretences ; he answers him very well, that it was far otherwise. Here was plain matter of fact : the kingdom in imminent danger, the fit just coming on, which hath since so nearly shaken to pieces the whole frame of church and state ; which has so many years been rising to this completeness : ordinary ways and usual remedies could not prevail ; these Protestants were forced to betake themselves to extraordinary efforts, in defence of the government and laws, and not against them, any more than it would have been to have taken arms, and rescued the king from a troop of banditti, who had got possession of his person ; the Papists who had him, being as visibly and notoriously obnoxious to the government, and as dead men in law, most of them, as public thieves and robbers. Thus much of Mr. Holloway, the popish tender mercy towards him, his confession, execution, &c.

Mr. Holloway declared, that Mr. West proposed the assassination, but none seconded him ; that he could not perceive that Mr. Ferguson knew any thing of it ; and Holloway said, It was our design to shed no blood ; he being interrogated, by Mr. Ferguson's friend, Mr. Sheriff Daniel, Whether he knew Ferguson ? He answered, That he did know him, but knew him to be against any design of killing his Majesty.

#### *The MARTYRDOM of Sir THOMAS ARMSTRONG.*

THE next object however had not so fair play, because they knew he would make better use of it. They had this lion in the toils, and did not intend to let him loose again to make sport, least the hunters themselves should come off ill by it. He had been all his life a firm servant and friend to the royal family, in their exile and afterwards : he had been in prison for them under Cromwell, and in danger both of execution and starving ; for all which they now rewarded him. He had a particular honour and devotion for the duke of Monmouth, and pushed on his interest on all occasions, being a man of as undaunted English courage, as ever our country produced. He was with the duke formerly in his actions in Flanders, and shared there in his danger and honour. His accusation was, his being concerned in the general plot, and that too of killing the king ; but he was indeed hanged for running away, and troubling them to send so far after him. The particulars pretended against him, were what the lord Howard witnessed in Russel's trial, of his going to kill the king when their first design failed. But this was there only a supposal, though advanced into a formed accusation, and aggravated by the attorney, as the reason why he had a trial denied him, when Holloway had one offered, both of them being alike outlawed. On which outlawry sir Thomas was kidnapped in Holland, and brought over hither in chains, and robbed



robbed by the way into the bargain. Being brought up, and asked what he had to say, that sentence should not pass upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Ed. VI. wherein it is provided, That if a person outlawed render himself in a year after the outlawry pronounced, and traverse his indictment, and shall be acquitted on his trial, he shall be discharged of the outlawry. On which he accordingly then and there made a formal surrender of himself to the lord chief justice, and asked the benefit of the statute, and a fair trial for his life, the year not being yet expired. If ever any thing could appear plain to common sense, it was his case. The statute allows a twelve-month, the year was not out, he surrendered himself, demands the benefit of it; and all the answer he could get, was the positive lord chief justice's, We don't think so, and we are of another opinion. He could not have so much justice as to have counsel allowed to plead it, though the point sufficiently deserved it, and here was the life of an old servant of the king's concerned in it. When he still pleaded, That a little while before, one, meaning Holloway, had the benefit of a trial offered him, if he would accept it, and that was all he now wished for.

But the lord chief justice answered, That was only the grace and mercy of the king. The attorney added, The king did indulge Holloway so far as to offer him a trial, and his majesty perhaps might have had some reason for it: the very self-same reason, no doubt of it, which Holloway said he had for not pleading. But sir Thomas (the attorney went on) deserved no favour, because he was one of the persons that actually engaged to go, on the king's hasty coming from Newmarket, and destroy him by the way as he came to town; and that this appeared upon as full and clear an evidence, and as positively testified, as any thing could be, and this in the evidence given in of the late horrid conspiracy. Now I would fain know who gave this clear and full evidence in the discovery of the conspiracy? Howard's was mere supposition, and he was all who so much as mentioned a syllable of it, that ever could be found on search of all the papers and trials relating to that affair. To this sir Thomas answered in his speech, that had he come to his trial, he could have proved my lord Howard's base reflections on him to be notorious falsehood, there being at least ten gentlemen, besides all the servants in the house, would have testified where that very day he dined.

Sir Thomas still demanded the benefit of the law, and no more: to which Jeffreys answered, with one of his usual barbarous insults over the miserable, that he should have it by the grace of God; ordering, that execution be done on Friday next according to law. And added, that he should have the full benefit of the law: repeating the jest, lest it should be lost, as good as three times in one sentence. Though had not his lordship slipped out of the world so sily, he had had as much benefit the same way, and much more justly than sir Thomas.

The chief justice then proceeds, and tells him, we are satisfied that according to law we must award execution upon this outlawry: thereupon Mrs. Matthews, sir Thomas's daughter, said, My lord, I hope you will not murder my father: for which being brow beaten and checked, she added, God Almighty's judgments light upon you.

He was brought to the place of execution the Friday after. Dr. Tennison being with him, and on his desire, after he had given what he had to leave, in a paper, to the sheriff, prayed a little while with him. He then prayed by himself; and after having thanked the doctor for his great care and pains with him, submitted to the sentence, and died more composedly; and full as resolutely as he had lived. It is observable, that more cruelty was exercised on him than any who went before him, not only in the manner of his death, but the exposing his limbs and body; a fair warning what particular gratitude a Protestant is to expect for having obliged a true Roman-Catholic.

There is another thing worth remembering, in all other cases as well as this, though occasion is here taken to do it, is, that whereas in Holloway's case, Jeffreys observed, that not one of all concerned in this conspiracy

had dared to deny it; and lower, to deny the truth of the fact absolutely: it is so far from being true, that every one who suffered, did it as absolutely as possible. They were tried or sentenced for conspiring against the king and government; that was their plot; but this they all deny, and absolutely too; and safely might do it: for they consulted for it, not conspired against it, resolving not to touch the king's person; nay, if possible, not to shed one drop of blood of any other, as Holloway and others say. For the king's life, sir Thomas says as the lord Russell, Never had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him. Russell, and almost all besides, say, they had never any design against the government. Sir Thomas here says the same, as he never had any design against the king's life, nor the life of any man, so he never had any design to alter the government.

According as he lived, he says, he died a sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the church of England, though he heartily wished he had more strictly lived up to the religion he believed. And though he had but a short time, he found himself prepared for death; and indeed, as all his life shewed him a man of courage, so his death, and all the rest of his behaviour, did, a penitent man, a man of good sense, and a good Christian.

Sir Thomas Armstrong at the place of execution departed himself with courage becoming a great man, and with the seriousness and piety suitable to a very good Christian. Sheriff Daniel told him, he had leave to say what he pleased, and should not be interrupted, unless he upbraided the government; sir Thomas thereupon told him that he should not say any thing by way of speech; but delivered him a paper, which he said contained his mind; he then called for Dr. Tennison, who prayed with him, and then he prayed alone.

He thus expressed himself in his paper, that he thanked Almighty God he found himself prepared for death, his thoughts set upon another world, and weaned from this; yet he could not but give so much of his little time, as to answer some calumnies, and particularly what Mr. Attorney accused him of at the bar. Also that he prayed to be allowed a trial for his life according to the laws of the land, and urged the statute of Edward the Sixth, which was expressly for it; but it signified nothing, and he was with an extraordinary roughness condemned, and made a precedent; though Holloway had it offered him, and he could not but think all the world would conclude his case very different, else why refused to him. He added that Mr. Attorney charged him for being one of those that were to kill the king; he took God to witness, that he never had a thought to take away the king's life, and that no man ever had the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him; and that he never was in any design to alter the government. He then concluded with observing that if he had been tried, he could have proved the lord Howard's base reflections upon him, to be notoriously false; he concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, a Protestant in the communion of the church of England, and heartily wished he had lived more strictly up to the religion he believed: that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through his blessed Redeemer, in whom he only trusted, and verily hoped that he was going to partake of that fulness of joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof infinitely pleased him. He thanked God he had no repining, but cheerfully submitted to the punishment of his sins; he freely forgave all the world, even those concerned in taking away his life, though he could not but think his sentence very hard, he being denied the laws of his country.

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*The MARTYRDOM of ALDERMAN CORNISH before  
his own Door near Guildhall.*

IN order to make an end of this plot altogether, it will be necessary once more to invert the order in which things happened, and though Mr. Cornish suffered not

till



till after the judges returned from the West, as well as Bateman after him, yet we shall here treat of them both, and so conclude this business.

The alderman was seized in October 1685; and the Monday after his commitment, which was on Tuesday or Friday, arraigned for high treason, having no notice given him till Saturday noon. His charge was for conspiring to kill the king, and promising to assist the duke of Monmouth, &c. in their treasonable enterprises. He desired his trial might be deferred, because of his short time for preparation; and that he had a considerable witness an hundred and forty miles off, and that the king had left it to the judges, whether it should be put off or no. But it was denied him; the attorney telling him, He had not deserved so well of the government as to have his trial delayed. That was in plain English, because he had been a Protestant sheriff, he should not have justice done him.

Rumsey and Goodenough were the evidences against him. Rumsey swears, That when he was at the famous meeting at Mr. Shepherd's, Mr. Shepherd being called down, brought up Mr. Cornish; and when he was come in, Ferguson opened his bosom, and from under his stomacher pulled out a paper in the nature of a declaration of grievances, which Ferguson read, and Shepherd held the candle while it was reading; that Mr. Cornish liked it, and said, What interest he had, he would join with it; and that out of compassion he had not before accused Mr. Cornish.

Next Goodenough swears, That he talked with Cornish of the design of seizing the Tower. Mr. Cornish said, He would do what good he could, or to that purpose.

Mr. Gospright's evidence was opposed to Goodenough's, who testified Mr. Cornish opposed his being under-sheriff, saying, That he was an ill man, obnoxious to the government, and he would not trust an hair of his head with him. And is it then probable that he would have such discourses with him as would endanger head and all? Mr. Love, Jekil, and sir William Turner, witnesses to the same effect.

Now as to Rumsey's evidence, the perjury lies so full and staring, that it is impossible to look into the trial with half an eye without meeting it. Compare what he says on Russel's trial, and here, and this will be as visible as the sun. Being asked there, whether there was any discourse about a declaration, and how long he staid; he says, He was there about a quarter of an hour, and that he was not certain whether he had heard something about a declaration there, or whether he had heard Ferguson report afterwards, that they had then debated it. Now turn to Cornish's trial, he is there strangely recovered in his memory, and having had the advantage, either of recollection, or better instruction, remembers that distinctly in October 1685, which he could not in July 1683, he had been there a quarter of an hour; the time he states in the lord Russel's trial, but lengthens it out, and improves it now, to so long time as Mr. Shepherd's going down, bringing Cornish up, Ferguson's pulling out the declaration, and reading it, and that, as Shepherd says in Russel's trial, a long one too, as certainly it must be, if, as it was sworn, it contained all the grievances of the nation, and yet all this still in a quarter of an hour; thus contradicting himself both to time and subject.

He is of such villanous credit, that his evidence is scarce fit to be taken even against himself. Let us see then how Shepherd does point-blank contradict, and absolutely overthrow it in every particular, as expressly as it is possible to ruin any evidence. He says, at one meeting only Mr. Cornish was at his house to speak to one of the persons there; that then he himself came up stairs, and went out again with Mr. Cornish. That there was not one word read, nor any paper seen while Mr. Cornish was there, and this he was positive of, for Mr. Cornish was not one of the party.

Pray who should know best, Rumsey what Shepherd did, or he what he did himself? Could a man hold the candle while a declaration was read, as Rumsey swears Shepherd did, and yet know nothing of it, nay, protest the quite contrary? What sizes the consciences of his

jury were, let any Christian, Turk, or Jew, be judge; and Providence has already visibly done it on the foreman of it, who came to an untimely end, being beaten to pieces by the fall of some timber at a fire in Thames-Street.

The chief thing pretended to support Rumsey's evidence, and hinder Shepherd's from saving the prisoner, was, that Shepherd strengthened Rumsey, and proved Cornish guilty of a lie. But if we inquire into the matter, we shall find one and the other equally true.

On his trial, Cornish is said to have denied his being at the meeting, and discoursing with the duke of Monmouth: which they would have us believe Shepherd swears he was, though not a syllable of it appears. He had been there several times, Shepherd says, but was not of their consult, knew nothing of their business, nor can he be positive whether it was the duke of Monmouth he came to speak to that evening. But supposing in two or three years time, and on so little recollection, Cornish's memory had slipped in that circumstance, what is that to Shepherd's evidence against the very root of Rumsey's, which hanged the prisoner?

He was found guilty in spite of all, and condemned, and even that Christian serenity of mind and countenance, wherewith it was visible he bore his sentence, the bench turned to his reproach.

Mr. Cornish continued in the same excellent temper whilst in Newgate, and gave the world a glaring instance of the happiness of such persons as live a pious life, when they come to make an end of it, let the way thereof be ever so violent. His carriage and behaviour at his leaving Newgate were as follow.

Approaching the press-yard, and seeing the halter in the officer's hand, he said, Is this for me? The officer answered, Yes; he replied, Blessed be God, and kissed it; and after said, O blessed be God for Newgate, I have enjoyed God ever since I came within these walls, and blessed be God who hath made me fit to die. I am now going to that God that will not be mocked, to that God that will not be imposed upon, to that God that knows the innocency of his poor creature. And a little after he said, Never did any poor creature come unto God with greater confidence in his mercy, and assurance of acceptance with him, through Jesus Christ; for there is no other way of coming to God but by him, to find acceptance with him: there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus. Then speaking to the officers, he said, Labour every one of you to be fit to die, for I tell you, you are not fit to die: I was not fit to die myself before I came hither; but oh! blessed be God, he hath made me fit to die, and hath made me willing to die! In a few moments I shall have the fruition of the blessed Jesus, and that not for a day, but for ever. I am going to the kingdom of God, where I shall enjoy the presence of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the holy angels: I am going to the general assembly of the first-born, and of the spirits of just men made perfect: O that God should ever do so much for me! O that God should concern himself so much for poor creatures, for their salvation, blessed be his name! for this was the design of God from all eternity, to give his only Son to die for poor miserable sinners. Then the officers going to tie his hands, he said, What, must I be tied then? Well, a brown thread might have served the turn; you need not tie me at all, I shall not stir from you, for thank God I am not afraid to die. As he was going out, he said, Farewell, Newgate: farewell all my fellow prisoners here; the Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all.

So much for his behaviour in the way to his martyrdom. The place of it was most spitefully and ignominiously ordered, almost before his own door, and near Guildhall, to scare any good citizen from appearing vigorously in the discharge of his duty for his country's service, by his example. If any thing was wanting in his trial, from the haste of it, for the clearing his innocence, he sufficiently made it up in solemn affirmations thereof on the scaffold: God is my witness, said he, the crimes laid to my charge were falsely and maliciously  
sworn



sworn against me by the witnesses; for I never was at any consult or meeting where matters against the government were discoursed of. He adds, I never heard or read any declaration tending that way. Again, as for the crimes for which I suffer, upon the words of a dying man, I am altogether innocent. Lower he adds, he died as he had lived, in the communion of the church of England, in whose ordinances he had been often a partaker, and now felt the blessed effects thereof in these his last sufferings.

Mr. Cornish was observed by those who stood near the sledge, to have solemnly, several times, averred his absolute innocence of any design against the government, and particularly that for which he died.

There were some persons, sufficiently known, who were present at, and expressed a great deal of barbarous joy at his death: though some of them then were so confounded with his constancy and cheerful bravery, as wickedly to report, that he was drunk or mad when he died.

His quarters were set up on Guildhall, *in terrorem*, and for the same reason, no doubt, before mentioned, for which he was executed so near it.

### The MARTYRDOM of Mr. CHARLES BATEMAN.

MR. Bateman, the surgeon, a man of good sense, good courage, and good company, and a very large and generous temper, of considerable repute and practice in his calling, was the next and last. He was a great lover and vindicator of the liberties of the city and kingdom, and of more interest than most of his station.

He was sworn against by Rouse, Lee, and Richard Goodenough, upon the old stories of seizing the Tower, city, and Savoy. We had had a much better defence, had he himself been able to have made it: but being kept close prisoner in Newgate, the windows and rooms all dark, and little or no company, he being a free jolly man, and used formerly to conversation and diversion, soon grew deeply melancholy; and when he came on his trial, appeared little less than perfectly distracted; on which the court very kindly gave his son liberty to make his defence; the first instance to be sure of that nature; since he himself might probably, had he been in his senses, have remembered and pleaded many things more, which would have invalidated their evidence against him. But had not the mistaken piety of his son undertook his defence, certainly they could never have been such cannibals to have tried one in his condition. Yet could but what he brought for him, been allowed its weight and justice, he had escaped well enough. For as for Lee, one Baker witnessed, He had been practised upon by him in the year 1683, and would have had him insinuate into Bateman's company, and discourse about state affairs to trepan him, by which means he should be made a great man. It was urged besides, that there were three years between the fact pretended, and Lee's prosecution of him, which, though they had but one witness, could not have brought him to punishment, which would have been judged sufficient by any, but those who would be content with nothing but blood. For Goodenough, he was but one witness, and pardoned only so far, as to qualify him to do mischief. However he was found guilty; and just before his execution very much recovered himself, dying as much like a Christian, and with as great a presence of mind as most of the others.

### A FULL ACCOUNT of the SUFFERINGS and MISERIES of Dr. OATES.

IT is now necessary for the thread of our history, to resume a subject, which, it is not doubted, will be ungrateful enough to some persons; and that is, the popish-plot; the belief of which, by the indefatigable industry of that party, and the weekly pains of their observator, and especially this last pretended plot against

the government, was now almost entirely obliterated out of the minds of the less thinking part of the nation. To accomplish which more fully, it was thought necessary by the managers, either quite to take off, or expose to miseries and disgraces worse than death, all those few persons who remained honest and firm to their first evidence: the generality of the world judging by outward appearance, and thinking it impossible but that one who stood in the pillory, and was whipped at the cart's tail, must be a perjured rogue without more ado. Mr. Bedloe was dead, and his testimony therefore would be easier forgotten; though at his last breath after the sacrament, he solemnly and juridically confirmed every word of it before one of the judges, who was happily in Bristol at the time of his death. Most of the under-evidences in the plot were threatened, or promised, or brought off from what they had witnessed, or forced to leave the land for the securing their persons. None remains now besides Oates and Dangerfield, with whom all means possible, fair and foul, had been used, to make them turn villains, and deny their evidence; but to their eternal praise, they still continued firm to their first testimony, to the rage and confusion of their enemies. They therefore went first to work with the doctor; and it will be worth while to consider the reason of his first prosecution, by which men that are not very much prejudiced, may see the reason and justice of those which follow, and it was for scandalizing the duke of York with that notorious truth, that he was reconciled to the church of Rome, adding, what every man knows, that it was high treason so to be. Would but the doctor's greatest and most passionate enemies reflect on this beginning of his sorrows, as well as calmly examine all that is to come, they must form a juster judgment of his person and actions, than what seems too deeply fixed in them, ever to be rooted out; for which he was adjudged to pay that reasonable little fine of 100,000l. which, till he paid, he was committed to the King's Bench, though there was no great haste for his doing it.

Thus having him in prison, they resolved to strike at the root with him, and therefore after new fruitless attempts to make him quit and revoke his evidence, they made the last effort on his constancy and honesty; and indeed life itself, indicting him on the 8th and 9th of May 1685, for perjury in some branches of his evidence, given in some of it, almost seven years before. His first accusation was, for swearing in Ireland's trial, he himself was here in London, whereas it was pretended he was at that very time at St. Omer's. The second, that Ireland was at that time in town, when they would have it believed he was in Staffordshire.

All the evidence for the first were lads of St. Omer's, who, though they blundered ill-favouredly in former attempts the same way, and were accordingly told so by the court on other trials, were now grown expert in the business, being all of a religion that makes perjury meritorious; all youths and boys, and under such a discipline as obliges them to obey their superiors, without any reserve, or questioning the reason or justice of the thing; all, or most of them afterwards, rewarded with places of trust and profit under king James, as, no doubt, promised them before for their good service. They all swore point-blank, that Oates was at St. Omer's, when he swears he was here at the consult. Not one of these witnesses who had not been bred at St. Omer's, and but one who pretended to be a Protestant. For the second indictment, of Ireland's not being in town in August, as Oates had sworn him; they brought several witnesses to prove it, and that he was at that time in Staffordshire; most, if not all of which were stout Roman-Catholics.

Now in answer to these, let us first be persuaded fairly to consider what may be said in his defence, and most part of his vindication is over: and first, these were most, or all of them, the self-same witnesses, who in the successive trials, Whitebread's, Harcourt's, &c. and Mr. Langhorn's, could not find credit; and who had several witnesses who swore point-blank contrary to what they affirmed, some of whom were dead before this last trial. Let us then consider what defence Oates made for himself,



self, which in spite of his own and Jeffreys's passions, seems strenuous and incontrovertible.

The doctor had in the former trials produced no less than eight persons who swore positively to his being in town at that very time, when the Jesuits and their youngsters would so fain have had him been out of it, whose names were Mr. Walker, an ancient minister of the church of England, Sarah Ives, Mrs. Mayo, sir Richard Barker, Mr. Page, Mr. Butler, William Smith, and Mr. Clay, a Romish priest, four of which, Mayo, Butler, Page, and Walker, he now produced again at his trial; the two first of whom positively swore the same they did before: the minister was too old to remember, and the last too fearful positively to affirm what they had done before.

Now as to the second indictment, a crowd of witnesses, such as they were, came to testify Ireland was in Staffordshire when Oates swore he was in London.

He had formerly answered to this same objection, and proved by the oaths of Mr. Bedloe, and Sarah Pain, and afterwards of Mr. Jennison, that Ireland was in town, when others witness he was in the country. But now at his trial, Bedloe and Pain being dead, and Jennison fled into Holland, he was absolutely incapacitated of making any defence that way; and so was found guilty of both indictments.

Truly the judgment against him was just as merciful as could be expected from Papists, acting by a Jeffreys, part of which was, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on Wednesday, and on the Friday following from Newgate to Tyburn, and stand in the pillory five times a year, and be prisoner during life. Which he bore with a great deal of strength and courage; though had not Providence provided him a body and soul, made, one would think on purpose for it, it would have killed him, if he had had the strength of twenty men. He had in all above 2000 lashes, as some that were by reckoned them up; such a thing as was never inflicted by any Jew, Turk, or Heathen, but Jeffreys; nay, the merciful Jews thought one less than God Almighty had appointed sufficient, and never gave but 39 at a time; all St. Paul's three times not coming near the third part of the doctor's. Had they hanged him, they had been merciful; had they lead him alive, it is a question whether it had been so much torture. How good and merciful those persons, who will vindicate this worse than barbarous and inhuman action, are, let the world and future ages be judges; in the mean while we will safely defy all history to shew one parallel of it either on man or dog, from the creation of the world to this time.

Indeed there needs no more aggravation of it, or urging what is plain enough, that the thus dealing with him, even supposing his crime as great as they would have it, was yet the highest affront and indignity even to humanity itself. It will, besides this, be an unanswerable observation; that it had been impossible for a man to have held out the second whipping, after the first was over, while the wounds were fresh about him, and every new stroke more than a double torment, either to have undergone this without confession, or dropping down dead with extremity of pain, had he not both had truth on his side, and also a more than common support and assistance from him who saw his innocence. This whipping of his being the greatest confirmation to his evidence that was possible.

Now after his return to prison, after all this usage, yet if possible, more barbarous, tearing off the plasters from his wounds, crushing him with irons, thrusting him into holes and dungeons, and endeavouring to render him as infamous to the nation, and all the world, as Cain or Judas; he bore up against all this, and more, with so strange and almost miraculous a patience, that during his four years imprisonment, he was never once heard to sigh, or manifest any impatience under his condition. He refused all the offers of the Jesuits, who even after this had the impudence to propose to him his recanting his evidence. He had still a strong belief that he should see better times, and get his freedom again, which he had in that general gaol delivery, granted all England,

by the then prince of Orange's heroic undertaking. Since that, he has presented his case and petition to the parliament; to the House of Commons, as well as the House of Lords; and though the honourable House of Lords were offended at what they judged a slight of their jurisdiction, in his addressing to the House of Commons, while his cause lay before them, and expressed their resentment thereof accordingly; the commons have since that taken his case into consideration, and, as well as four succeeding parliaments before them, owned his cause, and censured severely the proceedings of Jeffreys against him.

#### *The SUFFERINGS of Mr. JOHNSON about the same Time.*

**A**BOUT the same time, the pious, reverend, and learned Mr. Johnson met with much the same usage. His great crimes were, being my lord Ruffel's chaplain, writing the famous Julian the apostate, and endeavouring to persuade the nation, not to let themselves be made slaves and Papists, when so many others were doing their part to bring them to it. And it is a question whether any man in the world, besides his friend the reverend Dr. Burnet, did more service with his pen, or more conduced to our great and happy revolution, both among the army, and in other places. For some of these good services, he was accused, imprisoned, tried, and condemned to be divested of his canonical habit, and be whipped as far as Oates was before him; which was performed, and which he underwent, as he did, with courage and constancy above a man, and like a Christian and a martyr. He remained ever after in the King's Bench, till delivered by the prince's arrival.

#### *The SUFFERINGS and MARTYRDOM of Mr. DANGERFIELD, who was cruelly assassinated.*

**M**R. Dangerfield's father was a gentleman, who lived in good fashion at Waltham-Abbey, or thereabouts; had been a great sufferer for king Charles I. and charged this his son on his death-bed, after his discovery of the plot, never to have any hand in any thing against the government; which he promised, and faithfully observed. He was a man of business and courage, and therefore employed by the Papists, while among them, in their desperate and most dangerous concerns. He was then of a religion that excused and encouraged the worst things he or any other man could be guilty of. The great thing which brought him on the stage, was Mrs. Celier's business, called the Meal-Tub plot. The Papists had designed to kill two birds with one stone, divert the laws and people from themselves, and ruin their enemies; for which end they had amongst them made a plot to bring in the best men, and patriots of the kingdom into a pretended design against the king and government, by a kind of an association, like that which afterwards took better effect. And for this transaction Mr. Dangerfield was made choice of, a list of their names, with the design, being by him, according to order, conveyed into one colonel Mansel's chamber. But he was discovered, and seized in the design, and acknowledged all the intrigue, giving so clear an account of it, that they had never to this very day the impudence to pretend any contradiction, or trip in his evidence, nor any other way but flat denial. But there was somewhat yet deeper in the case, which he afterwards revealed in his depositions before the parliament, that he was employed by the same party to kill the king, and encouraged and promised impunity and reward, and part of it given him by a great person for that purpose.

While the stream ran violently for Popery, he went over, for security, into Flanders, but continued not long there; and returning back, he was some time after seized, and carried before the council, where, before the king himself, persisting to a tittle, in all his former evi-

dence,



dence, he was committed to Newgate; and after having lain there for some time, petitioned for a trial, which they could not do upon any account but *Scandalum Magnatum*, and that in a matter which lay only before the parliament to whom he had revealed it. Yet for that he was tried, and found guilty, as William Williams the speaker afterwards for licensing his narrative, by order of parliament. He was to undergo the same whipping Oates and Johnson did. Before he went out, he had strong bodings of his death, and chose the following text for his funeral sermon, "There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary are at rest;" saying, he was confident they had such a particular malice against him, he should never return alive: confirmed the truth of all his former evidence, and took a last farewell of his friends. After the sentence was executed on him, in his return home, one Francis stabbed him in the eye with a sort of a tuck in the end of his cane, which touching his brain, he was hardly ever sensible after, but died of the wound in a few hours, not without great suspicion of poison, his body being swelled and black, and full of great blains all over. The murderer fled, but was pursued by the rabble, who had torn him to pieces, had not the officers rescued him. He defended and justified the fact whilst in Newgate, saying, he had the greatest men in the kingdom to stand by him; to whom, after his trial, and being found guilty upon clear evidence, great applications were made, which had been successful for his pardon, had not Jeffreys himself gone to Whitehall, and told the king, he must die, for the rabble were now thoroughly heated. Attempts were made to bribe Mr. Dangerfield's wife, that she might consent to the pardon of her husband's murderer; but she too well deserved to be related to him, to sell his blood; and had an appeal ready against him, had he been pardoned. So the poor state martyr was hanged, as Coleman was before him. Mr. Dangerfield's body was conveyed to Waltham-Abbey, with several coaches attending him, and there handsomely interred.

#### The SUFFERINGS of Mr. NOISE.

OF the several gentlemen who suffered innocently for Lee's plot, Mr. Noise was one, though omitted in due place, who though he lost not his life immediately by it, was yet put to such extremities, as both injured his reason, and ruined his fortune. He was born of a good family not far from Reading in Berkshire; and being a younger son, was bound apprentice to a linen draper in London. In which capacity he was a great promoter of the apprentices' address, intended to be presented to the king for redress of grievances, and further prosecution of the popish plot. A crime, which those concerned could never pardon, and which was now looked on, both by himself, and all his friends, as the cause of these calamities.

The witness Lee swore against him that he was concerned in this plot, which he absolutely denying, though no other witness came in against him, and he was never brought to a trial, he underwent a tedious and severe imprisonment, loaded with irons, and kept from his friends, so long till his trade was ruined before he was set free, and he himself then rendered so unfit for business, that he was forced entirely to leave it off, and betake himself to travel: where, never quite recovering himself, he in a little time after fell sick and departed this life.

#### The MARTYRDOM of Messrs. BENJAMIN and WILLIAM HEWLING, at Taunton and Lyme.

WHOEVER wish to see true pure popish mercy, let them look on these two gentlemen, the only sons of their virtuous and sorrowful parents; the comforts, props, and hopes of their name and family, carefully educated, virtuously disposed both of them; after all repeated applications, if but for one of their lives, barbarously exe-

cuted. A particular care was taken by their father in their education, forming their minds by his own example, and constant instructions and prayers, as well as other pains of ingenious masters, to the strictest rules of piety and virtue. Nor was their pious and very tender mother less careful in that instance.

Mr. Benjamin Hewling the elder had tutors in the mathematics, and other parts of philosophy; a course of which he went through successfully enough, and so as to render him as complete in his mind, as nature had formed his body: after which he went to Holland, as did his brother, Mr. William Hewling, from whence this last returned with the duke: both of them had commands in the army; the elder had a troop of horse, the younger was a lieutenant of foot; they discharged their places with much more conduct and bravery than could be expected from such young soldiers, being entirely satisfied in the cause they fought for, since it was no less than the interest of all that was dear to them in this world or the other. The eldest had particularly signalized himself in several skirmishes, and was sent with a detachment of his own troops, and two more, to Minehead in Somersetshire, to bring cannon to the army, at the very instant the duke engaged the king's forces at fatal Sedgemoor, and came not up till after the field was entirely lost; to whose absence, with so considerable a party of the duke's horse, and the most resolved men of all he had, the loss of the day was principally owing. Finding all things in disorder, and the rout beyond recovering, he was forced to disperse his troops, every one shifting as they could for themselves. He and his brother kept together, where, what befell them after, their friends have given an exact account, and which is here accordingly inserted.

#### A particular Account of the Behaviour of Messrs. WILLIAM and BENJAMIN HEWLING, before and at their Execution, as communicated by their Friends.

THE gracious dealings of God, manifested to some in dying hours, have been of great advantage to those living that heard the same, giving them an occasion thereby to reflect on their own state, and to look after the things of their peace, before they be hid from their eyes; as also a great encouragement to strengthen the faith of those that have experienced the grace of God to them.

"To that end, it is thought necessary, by parents especially, to preserve to their children that remain, those blessed experiences that such have had, which God hath taken to himself.

"Here therefore is presented a true account of the admirable appearances of God towards two young men; Mr. Benjamin Hewling, who died when he was about 22 years of age, and Mr. William Hewling, who died before he arrived to 20 years: they engaged with the duke of Monmouth, as their own words were, for the English liberties, and the Protestant religion, and for which Mr. William Hewling was executed at Lyme the 12th of September 1685; and Mr. Benjamin Hewling at Taunton, the 30th of the same month; and however severe men were to them, yet the blessed dispensation of God towards them was such, as hath made good his word, that out of the mouths of babes he hath ordained strength, that he may still the enemy and the avenger. Then, reader, would you see earthly angels, (men that are a little too low for heaven, and much too high for earth) would you see poor frail creatures trampling this world under their feet, and with an holy, serene countenance smiling at the threats of tyrants, who are the terrors of the mighty in the land of the living? Would you see shackled prisoners behave themselves like judges, and judges stand like prisoners before them? Would you see some of the rare exploits of faith in it's highest elevation, immediately before it be swallowed up in the beatifical vision? To conclude, would you see the heavenly Jerusalem portraited on earth? Would you hear the melodious voice of ascending saints in a ravishing concert ready to join with the heavenly chorus in their delightful hallelujahs? Then draw near, come and see!



If thou be a man of an heavenly spirit, here is pleasant and suitable entertainment for thee; and after thou hast conversed a while with these excellent spirits, it may be thou wilt judge as I do, that dead saints are sweeter companions (in some respects) for thee to converse with, than those that are living: and when thou shalt see the magnificent acts of their faith, their invincible patience, their flaming love to Christ, their strange contempt and undervaluings of the world, their plainness and simplicity in the profession of the gospel, their fervent and brotherly-love to each other, their ravishing prospect (as it were on the top of mount Pisgah) of the heavenly Canaan, their swan-like songs and dying speeches. And reader, you know the first lisps of little children, and last farewells of dying saints are always most sweet and charming: those fore-tastes of the river of pleasure, the transporting glimpses they had of the crown of glory; I say, when you see and read these exemplary truths, wonder not that the pious Hewlings longed so vehemently to be in a better world, though they were to pass through a thousand deaths, or the fiery trial to it.

"After the dispersing of the duke's army, they fled and put to sea, but were driven back again, and with the hazard of their lives got on shore, over dangerous rocks; where they saw the country filled with soldiers, and they being unwilling to fall into the hands of the rabble, and no way of defence or escape remaining to them, they surrendered themselves prisoners to a gentleman, whose house was near the place they landed at, and were from thence sent to Exeter gaol, the 12th of July, where remaining some time, their behaviour was such, that (being visited by many) caused great respect towards them, even of those that were enemies to the cause they engaged in; and being on the 27th of July put on board the Swan frigate, in order to their bringing up to London, their carriage was such, as obtained great kindness from the commander, and all other officers in the ship; and being brought into the river, captain Richardson came and took them into his custody, and carried them to Newgate, putting great irons about them, and put them apart from each other, without giving liberty for the nearest relation to see them, notwithstanding all endeavours and entreaties used to obtain it, though in the presence of a keeper; which though it did greatly increase the grief of their relations, God, who wisely orders all things for good to those he intends grace and mercy to, made this very restraint and hard usage a blessed advantage to their souls, as may appear by their own words, when after great importunity and charge, some of their near relations had leave to speak a few words to them before the keeper, to whom they replied, they were contented with the will of God, whatever it should be. Having been in Newgate three weeks, there was order given to carry them down into the west, in order to their trial; which being told them, they answered, they were glad of it; and that morning they went out of Newgate, several that beheld them, seeing them so cheerful, said, Surely they had received their pardon, else they could never carry it with that courage and cheerfulness. Although this must be observed, that from first to last, whatever hopes they received from friends, they still thought the contrary, never being much affected with the hopes of it, nor cast down, nor the least discouraged at the worst that man could do. In their journey to Dorchester, the keepers that went with them, said their carriage was so grave, serious, and christian-like, that it made them admire to see and hear what they did from such young men."

A near relation that went into the West, to see the issue of things, and to perform whatever should be necessary for them, gives also an account as follows:

"At Salisbury, the 30th of Aug. I had the first opportunity of conversing with them: I found them in a very excellent composure of mind, declaring their experience of the grace and goodness of God to them in all their sufferings, in supporting and strengthening, and providing for them, turning the hearts of all in whose hands they had been, both at Exon, and on ship-board, to shew pity and favour to them; although since they came to

Newgate they were hardly used, and now on their journey loaded with heavy irons, and more inhumanly dealt with. They with great cheerfulness professed, that they were better, and in a more happy condition than ever in their lives, from the sense they had of the pardoning love of God in Jesus Christ to their souls, wholly referring themselves to their wise and gracious God to chuse for them life or death; expressing themselves thus: Any thing that pleases God, what he sees best, so be it: we know he is able to deliver, but if not, blessed be his name, death is not terrible now, but desirable. Mr. Benjamin Hewling particularly added, As for the world, there is nothing in it to make it worth while to live, except we may be serviceable to God therein. And afterwards said, Oh! God is a strong refuge, I have found him so indeed.

"The next opportunity I had was at Dorchester, where they both were carried, there remaining together four days: by reason of their strait confinement our conversation was much interrupted; but this appeared, that they had still the same presence and support from God, no way discouraged at the approach of their trial, nor of the event of it, whatever it should be.

"The 6th of September, Mr. Benjamin Hewling was ordered to Taunton to be tried there: taking my leave of him, he said, Oh! blessed be God for afflictions; I have found such happy effects, that I would not have been without them for all this world.

"I remained still at Dorchester to wait the issue of Mr. William Hewling, to whom, after trial, I had free access, whose discourse was much filled with admirings of the grace of God in Christ, that had been manifested towards him, in calling him out of his natural state. He said, God by his Holy Spirit did suddenly seize upon his heart, when he thought not of it in his retired mode in Holland, as it were secretly whispering in his heart, Seek ye my face, enabling him to answer his call, and to reflect upon his own soul, shewing him the evil of sin, and necessity of Christ, from that time carrying him on, to a sensible adherence to Christ for justification and eternal life. He said, hence he found a spring of joy and sweetness, beyond the comforts of the whole earth. He further said, he could not but admire the wonderful goodness of God, in so preparing him, for what he was bringing him to, which then he thought not of; giving him hope of eternal life, before he called him to look death in the face, so that he did cheerfully resign his life to God before he came, having sought his guidance in it; and that both then and now, the cause did appear to him very glorious, notwithstanding all he had suffered in it, or what he further might. Although for our sins God hath withheld these good things from us. But he said, God had carried on his blessed work in his soul, in and by all his sufferings; and whatever the will of God were, life or death, he knew it would be best for him.

"After he had received his sentence, when he returned to prison, he said, methinks I find my spiritual comforts increasing, ever since my sentence. There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, it is God that justifies, who shall condemn?

"When I came to him the next morning (when he had received news, that he must die the next day, and in order to it was to be carried to Lyme that day) I found him in a more excellent raised spiritual frame than before: he said, he was satisfied God had chosen best for him; he knows what the temptations of life might have been; I might have lived and forgotten God, but now I am going where I shall sin no more. Oh! it is a blessed thing to be free from sin, and to be with Christ. Oh! the riches of the love of God in Christ to sinners. Oh! how great were the sufferings of Christ for me beyond all I can undergo! How great is that glory to which I am going! It will soon swallow up all our sorrow here.

"When he was at dinner, just before his going to Lyme, he dropped many abrupt expressions of his inward joy, such as these: Oh! the grace of God, the love of Christ; oh! that blessed supper of the Lamb, to be for ever with the Lord! He further said, When I went to Holland,



you knew not what snares, sins, and miseries I might fall into, or whether ever we should meet again: but now you know whither I am going, and that we shall certainly have a most joyful meeting.

"He said, pray give my particular recommendations to all my friends, with acknowledgements for all their kindness. I advise them all to make sure of an interest in Christ, for he is the only comfort when we come to die.

"One of the prisoners seemed to be troubled at the manner of the death they were to die; to whom he replied, I bless God I am reconciled to it all.

"Just as he was going to Lyme, he wrote these few lines to a friend, being hardly suffered to stay so long:

"To \* \* \* \* \*

"I am going to launch into eternity, and I hope and trust into the arm of my blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit you and all my dear relations; my duty to my dear mother, and love to all my sisters, and the rest of my friends.

WILLIAM HEWLING."

"When they passed through the town of Dorchester to Lyme, multitudes of people beheld them, with great lamentations, admiring his deportment at his parting with his sister.

"When they passed upon the road between Lyme and Dorchester, his discourse was exceeding spiritual (as those declared who were present) taking occasion from every thing to speak of the glory they were going to. Looking out on the country as he passed, he said, This is a glorious creation, but what then is the paradise of God to which we are going? It is but a few hours, and we shall be there, and for ever with the Lord.

"At Lyme, just before they went to die, reading John xiv. 18, he said to one of his fellow-sufferers, Here is a sweet promise for us: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you: Christ will be with us to the last. One taking leave of him, he said, Farewell till we meet in heaven; presently I shall be with Christ: Oh! I would not change conditions with any in this world; I would not stay behind for ten thousand worlds.

"To another that asked him how he did now, he said, Very well, he blessed God. And further asking him, if he could look death in the face with comfort now it approached so near? He said, Yes, I bless God I can with great comfort; God has made this a good night to me, my comforts are much increased since I left Dorchester: then taking leave of him, said, Farewell, I shall see you no more. To which he replied, How! see me no more? Yes, I hope to meet you in glory. To another that was by him to the last, he said, pray remember my dear love to my brother and sister, and tell them, I desire they would comfort themselves that I am gone to Christ, and we shall quickly meet in the glorious Mount Sion above.

"Afterwards he prayed for about three quarters of an hour with the greatest fervency, exceedingly blessing God for Jesus Christ, adoring the riches of his grace in him, in all the glorious fruits of it towards him, praying for the peace of the church of God, and of these nations in particular, all with such eminent assistance of the spirit of God, as convinced, astonished, and melted into pity the hearts of all present, even the most malicious adversaries, forcing tears and expressions from them; some saying, they knew not what would become of them after death; but it was evident he was going to great happiness.

"When he was just going out of the world, with a joyful countenance, he said, Oh! now my joy and comfort is, that I have a Christ to go to, and so sweetly resigned his spirit to Christ, the 12th of September 1685.

"An officer who had shewed so malicious a spirit as to call the prisoners devils, when he was guarding them down, was now so convinced, that he after told a person of quality, that he was never so affected, as by his cheerful carriage and fervent prayer, such, as he believed, was never heard, especially from one so young; and said, I believe, had the lord chief justice been there, he would not have let him die.

"The sheriff having given his body to be buried, although it was brought from the place of execution without any notice given, yet very many of the town, to the number of 200, came to accompany him; and several young women of the best of the town, laid him in his grave in Lyme church-yard, the thirteenth day of September 1685.

"When I came to Taunton, to Mr. Benjamin Hewling, he had received the news of his brother's being gone to die with so much comfort and joy, and afterwards of the continued goodness of God increasing it to the end. He expressed it to this effect, We have no cause to fear death, if the presence of God be with us; there is no evil in it, the sting being taken away; it is nothing but our ignorance of the glory that the saints pass into by death, which makes it appear dark for ourselves or relations; if in Christ, what is this world that we should desire an abode in it? It is all vain and unsatisfying, full of sin and misery: intimating also his own cheerful expectations soon to follow, discovering then, and all along, great seriousness, and sense of spiritual and eternal things, complaining of nothing in his present circumstances, but the want of a place of retirement to converse more uninterruptedly with God and his own soul, saying, That his lonely time in Newgate was the sweetest in his whole life. He said, God having some time before struck his heart (when he thought of the hazard of his life) to some serious sense of his past life, and the great consequences of death and eternity, shewing him, that they were the only happy persons that had secured their eternal states; the folly and madness of the ways of sin, and his own thralldom therein, with his utter inability to deliver himself; also the necessity of Christ for salvation: he said it was not without terror and amazement for some time, the sight of unpardoned sin, with eternity before him. But God wonderfully opened to him the riches of his free grace in Christ Jesus for poor sinners to flee to, enabling them to look alone to a crucified Christ for salvation: he said this blessed work was in some measure carried on upon his soul, under all his business and hurries in the army; but never sprung forth so fully and sweetly till his close confinement in Newgate. There he saw Christ and all spiritual objects more clearly, and embraced them more strongly; there he experienced the blessedness of a reconciled state, the excellency of the ways of holiness, the delightfulness of communion with God, which remained with very deep and apparent impressions on his soul, which he frequently expressed with admiration of the grace of God towards him. He said, Perhaps my friends may think this summer the saddest time of my life; but I bless God it hath been the sweetest and most happy of it all; nay, there is nothing else worth the name of happiness. I have in vain sought satisfaction from the things of this world, but I never found it; but now I have found rest for my soul in God alone.

"O how great is our blindness by nature, till God open our eyes, that we can see no excellency in spiritual things, but spend our precious time in pursuing shadows, and are deaf to all the invitations of grace, and glorious offers of the gospel! How just is God in depriving us of that we so much slighted and abused! Oh! his infinite patience and goodness, that after all he should yet sanctify any methods to bring a poor sinner to himself! Oh! electing love, distinguishing grace! what great cause have I to admire and adore it!

"He said, What an amazing consideration is the suffering of Christ for sin, to bring us to God; his suffering from wicked men was exceeding great: but alas, what was that to the dolours of his soul, under the infinite wrath of God? This mystery of grace and love is enough to swallow up our thoughts to all eternity.

"As to his own death, he would often say, He saw no reason to expect any other; I know God is infinitely able to deliver, and I am sure will do it, if it be for his glory, and my good; in which, I bless God, I am fully satisfied; it is all my desire that he would choose for me, and then I am sure it will be best, whatever it be; for truly, unless God have some work for me to do in the world for his



his service and glory, I see nothing else to make life desirable: in the present state of affairs, there is nothing to cast our eyes upon, but sin, sorrow, and misery: and truly, were things ever so much according to our desires, it is but the world still, which will never be a resting place. Heaven is the only state of rest and happiness; there we shall be perfectly free from sin and temptation, and enjoy God without interruption for ever.

"Speaking of the disappointment of their expectations in the work they had undertaken, he said with reference to the glory of God, the prosperity of the gospel, and the delivery of the people of God, we have great cause to lament it; but for that outward prosperity that would have accompanied it, it is but of small moment in itself; as it could not satisfy, so neither could it be abiding; for at length death would have put an end to it all: also adding, nay, perhaps we might have been so foolish, as to have been taken with that part of it, to the neglect of our eternal concerns; and then, I am sure, our present circumstances are incomparably better.

"He frequently expressed great concern for the glory of God, and affection to his people, saying, If my death may advance the glory of God, and hasten the deliverance of his people, it is enough; saying, It was a great comfort to him, to think of so great a privilege as an interest in all their prayers.

"In his conversation, particularly valuing and delighting in those persons, where he saw most holiness shining; also great pity to the souls of others, saying, That the remembrance of our former vanity may well cause compassion to others in that state. And in his converse prompting others to seriousness, telling them, Death and eternity are such weighty concerns, that they deserve the utmost attention of our minds; for the way to receive death cheerfully, is to prepare for it seriously; and if God should please to spare our lives, surely we have the same reason to be serious, and spend our remaining days in his fear and service.

"He also took great care that the worship of God, which they were in a capacity of maintaining there, might be duly performed; as reading, praying, and singing of psalms, in which he evidently took great delight.

"For those three or four days before their deaths, when there was a general report that no more should die; he said, I do not know what God hath done beyond our expectation; if he doth prolong my life, I am sure it is all his own, and by his grace I will wholly devote it to him.

"But the 29th of September, about ten or eleven at night, we found the deceitfulness of this report, they being then told they must die the next morning, which was very unexpected, as to the suddenness of it; but herein God glorified his power, grace, and faithfulness, in giving suitable support and comfort by his blessed presence, which appeared upon my coming to him at that time, finding him greatly composed; he said, Though men design to surprise, God doth and will perform his word, to be a very present help in trouble.

"The next morning when I saw him again, his cheerfulness and comfort were much increased, waiting for the sheriff with the greatest sweetness and serenity of mind; saying, Now the will of God is determined, to whom I have referred it, and he hath chosen most certainly that which is best.

"Afterward with a smiling countenance he discoursed of the glory of heaven, remarking with much delight the third, fourth, and fifth verses of the 22d of the Revelations, "And there shall be no more curse; but the throne of God, and of the Lamb, shall be in it, and his servants shall serve him, and they shall see his face, and his name shall be in their foreheads, and there shall be no night there, and they shall need no candle nor light of the sun, and they shall reign for ever and ever." Then he said, Oh, what a happy state is this! shall we be loth to go to enjoy this! Then he desired to be read to him, 2 Cor. v. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;" to the tenth or eleventh verses. In all, his comforts still

increasing, expressing his sweet hopes and good assurance of his interest in this glorious inheritance, and being now going to the possession of it, seeing so much of this happy change, that he said, Death was more desirable than life; he had rather die than live any longer here. As to the manner of his death, he said, When I have considered others under these circumstances, I have thought it very dreadful, but now God hath called me to it, I bless God I have quite other apprehensions of it; I can now cheerfully embrace it as an easy passage to glory: and though death separates from the enjoyments of each other here, it will be but for a very short time, and then we shall meet with such enjoyments as now we cannot conceive, and for ever rejoice in each others happiness. Then reading the scriptures, and musing with himself, he intimated the great comfort God conveyed to his soul in it; saying, O what an invaluable treasure is this blessed word of God; in all conditions here is a store of strong consolation. One desiring his Bible, he said, No, this shall be my companion to the last moment of my life. Thus praying together, reading, meditating, and conversing of heavenly things, they waited for the sheriff, who, when he came, void of all pity or civility, hurried them away, scarce suffering them to take leave of their friends. But notwithstanding this, and the doleful mourning of all about them, the joyfulness of his countenance was increased. Thus he left his prison, and thus he appeared on the sledge, where they sat about half an hour, before the officers could force the horses to draw, at which they were greatly enraged, there being no visible obstruction from weight or way. But at last the mayor and sheriff hauled them forward themselves, Balaam-like, driving the horses.

"When they came to the place of execution, which was surrounded with spectators, many that waited their coming with great sorrow, said, That when they saw him and them come with such cheerfulness and joy, and evidence of the presence of God with them, it made death appear with another aspect.

"They first embraced each other with the greatest affection; then two of the elder persons praying audibly, they joined with great seriousness. Then he desired leave of the sheriff to pray particularly, but he would not grant it, only asked him if he would pray for the king? He answered, I pray for all men. He then requested they might sing a psalm; the sheriff told him, It must be with the ropes about their necks; which they cheerfully accepted, and sung with such heavenly joy and sweetness, that many present said, It both broke and rejoiced their hearts.

"Thus in the experience of the delightfulness of praising God on earth, he willingly closed his eyes on a vain world, to pass to that eternal employment, September 30, 1685.

"All present of all sorts were exceedingly affected and amazed. Some officers that had before insultingly said, Surely these persons have no thoughts of death, but will find themselves surprised by it; after said, that they now saw he and they had something extraordinary within, that carried them through with such joy. Others of them said, that they were so convinced of their happiness, that they would be glad to change conditions with them. All the soldiers in general, and others, lamented exceedingly, saying, That it was so sad a thing, to see them so cut off, they scarce knew how to bear it.

"Some of the most malicious in the place, from whom nothing but railing was expected, said (as they were carried to their grave in Taunton church, voluntarily accompanied by most of the town) that these persons had left a sufficient evidence, that they were now glorified saints in heaven.

"A great officer in the king's army has been often heard to say, That if you would learn to die, go to the young men of Taunton.

"Much more was uttered by them, which shewed the blessed and glorious frames of their hearts.

"Mr. Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before his death, writ the following letter, which shewed the great composure of his mind.



## A LETTER

*From Mr. HEWLING to his Mother; written two Hours before his Execution.*

*Taunton, September 30, 1685.*

"HONOURED MOTHER,

"THAT news which I know you have a great while feared, and we expected, I must now acquaint you with, that notwithstanding the hopes you gave in your two last letters, warrants are come down for my execution, and within these few hours I expect it to be performed. Blessed be the Almighty God, that gives comfort and support in such a day; how ought we to magnify his holy name for all his mercies, that when we were running in a course of sin, he should stop us in full career, and shew us that Christ whom we had pierced, and out of his free-grace enable us to look upon him with an eye of faith, believing him able to save to the utmost all such as come to him. Oh admirable long-suffering patience of God, that when we were dishonouring his name, he did not take that time to bring honour to himself by our destruction. But he delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but had rather he should turn to him and live; and he has many ways of bringing his own to himself. Blessed be his holy name, that through affliction he has taught my heart in some measure to be conformable to his will, which worketh patience, and patience worketh experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed. I bless God I am not ashamed of the cause for which I lay down my life; and as I have engaged in it, and fought for it, so now I am going to seal it with my blood. The Lord carry on the same cause which hath been long on foot; and though we die in it, and for it, I question not but in his own good time he will raise up other instruments more worthy to carry it on to the glory of his name, and the advancement of his church and people.

"Honoured mother, I know there has been nothing left undone by you, or my friends, for the saving of my life, for which I return many hearty acknowledgments to yourself and them all; and it is my dying request to you and them, to pardon all undutifulness and unkindness in every relation. Pray give my duty to my grandfather and grandmother, service to my uncles and aunts, and my dear love to all my sisters; to every relation and friend a particular recommendation. Pray tell them all how precious an interest in Christ is when we come to die, and advise them never to rest in a Christless estate. For if we are his, it is no matter what the world do to us, they can but kill the body, and blessed be God the soul is out of their reach, for I question not but their malice wishes the damnation of that, as well as the destruction of the body; which has too evidently appeared by their deceitful flattering promises. I commit you all to the care and protection of God, who has promised to be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and to supply the want of every relation. The Lord God of heaven be your comfort under those sorrows, and your refuge from those miseries we may easily foresee coming upon poor England, and the poor distressed people of God in it. The Lord carry you through this vale of tears with a resigning, submissive spirit, and at last bring you to himself in glory; where I question not but you will meet your dying son,

BENJAMIN HEWLING."

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. CHRISTOPHER BATTISCOMB, at LYME.

THIS was another young gentleman of a good family, and very great hopes, and of a fair estate, which lay in Dorsetshire, somewhere between Dorchester and Lyme. He had studied some time at the Temple, and having occasions in the country about the time of my

lord Ruffel's business, he was there seized, on suspicion of being concerned in it, and clapt into the county gaol at Dorchester, where he behaved himself with that prudence and winning sweetness, and shewed so much wit, and innocent pleasantness of temper, as extremely obliged both all his keepers and fellow-prisoners, and even persons of the best quality in that town. It is indeed a genteel, well bred place, as almost any in England, at such a distance from London. The streets are fair and large, and buildings pretty regular; two sweet, plentiful rivers running by it. It stands on a chalky hill, but wants not store of good water. The market-house is a pleasant little pile, that very much sets off the town. There are three churches in it, and one in its adjoining parish. It is endowed with several alms houses, a good grammar-school well enough provided, which has had the happiness of ingenious masters, and by their care, produced no inconsiderable number of good scholars. There are two or three old Roman fortifications near the town, which Camden and Speed took notice of. The people of it are generally civil and gallant enough, if not a little on the extreme that way. They knew how to value such a gentleman as Battiscomb, and made him such frequent visits in the prison, till the place itself was far from being scandalous, that there generally was all the conversation, and where you might be sure to meet the best company in the town of both sexes. Mr. Battiscomb had the happiness not to be displeasing to the fair sex, who had as much pity and friendship for him as consisted with the rules of decency and virtue; and perhaps their respect for him did not always stop at friendship, though it still preserved the other bounds inviolable. Pity is generally but a little way from love, especially when the object of it is any thing extraordinary. But after he had been there some time, and nothing could be proved against him, which could any ways affect him, he was at length, almost unwillingly, delivered from this sort of happy slavery. And when the duke landed, appeared with him, and served him with equal faith and valour, till the rout at Sedgmoor, when he fled with the rest, and got up as far as Devonshire, where he was seized in a disguise, and brought to Dorchester, to his former confinement.

Mr. Battiscomb behaved himself there the second time in the same manner as he did at the first, though now he seemed more thoughtful, and in earnest than before, as knowing nothing was to be expected but speedy death; though his courage never drooped, but was still the same, if it did not increase with his danger. At his trial Jeffreys railed at him with so much eagerness and barbarity, that he was observed almost to foam upon the bench. He was so angry with him, because he was a lawyer, and could have been contented all such as he should be hanged up without any trial; and truly it was no great matter whether he or the rest had had that formality or no. Mr. Battiscomb was as undaunted at the bar, as in the field, or at his execution. How he demeaned himself in prison before his death, take this following account verbatim, as it was written by his friends. Though what occurred most remarkable after his sentence, must not be omitted. Several young ladies in the town went to Jeffreys to beg his life, who repulsed them at such a brutish rate, as nobody with one spark of humanity would have been guilty of, and in a manner even too uncivil to be mentioned. The particulars may be seen in the petition of the widows and orphans of that country.

*A particular Account transferred by his Relations.*

"MR. BATTISCOMB was observed to be always serious and cheerful, ready to entertain spiritual discourse, manifesting affection to God's people and his ordinances; he seemed to be in a very calm indifference to life or death, referring himself to God to determine it, expressing his great satisfaction as to some opportunities of escape that were slipt, saying, That truly he sometimes thought the cause was too good to flee from suffering in it, though he would use all lawful means for his life; but the providence of God having prevented this,



this, he was sure it was best for him, for, he said, he blessed God he could look into eternity with comfort. He said, with respect to his relations and friends, to whom his death would be afflictive, that he was willing to live, if God saw good; but for his own part, he thought death much more desirable. He said, I have enjoyed enough of this world, but I never found any thing but vanity in it, no rest or satisfaction. God, who is an infinite spiritual being, is the only suitable object for the soul of man, which is spiritual in its nature, and too large to be made happy by all that this world can afford, which is but sensual. Therefore methinks, I see no reason why I should be unwilling to leave it by death, since our happiness can never be perfected till then, till we leave this body, where we are so continually clogged with sin and vanity, frivolous and foolish trifles. Death in itself is indeed terrible, and natural courage is too low to encounter it; nothing but an interest in Christ can be our comfort in it, he said, which comfort I hope I have; intimating much advantage to his soul by his former imprisonment.

“ When he went from Dorchester to Lyme, after he had received the news of his death the next day, he was in the same serious cheerfulness, declaring still the same apprehension of the desirableness of death, and the great supports of his mind under the thoughts of so suddenly passing through it, alone from the hope of the security of his interest in Christ; taking leave of his friends with this farewell, Though we part here we shall meet in heaven. Passing by his estate, going to Lyme, he said, Farewell temporal inheritance, I am now going to my heavenly, eternal one. At Lyme, the morning that he died, it appeared that he had the same supports from God, meeting death with the same cheerfulness; and after he had prayed a while to himself, without any appearance of reluctance, yielded up his spirit, September 12, 1685.

*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. WILLIAM JENKYN,  
who was condemned at Dorchester.*

**T**HIS gentleman's father was sufficiently known, and his circumstances hard enough, being seized only for his opinion, and clapped up close in Newgate; where the inconvenience of the place, and want of the exercise he formerly enjoyed, quickly killed him, as he used to say before his confinement, it would certainly do if ever it happened. Thus was he requited by that very person, for whom with Mr. Love he ventured his life so deeply, and so hardly escaped with it. It was his inhuman treatment which edged and animated his son; and the revenge of his father's blood may be presumed to have gone very far in pushing him on to engage his life and fortune in this undertaking, he having given mourning rings for his father with this poetry, William Jenkyn, murdered in Newgate. He was his father's only son, who had taken care to have him educated suitable to his birth, and ingenious inclinations; he improved sufficiently in all useful learning, and was now about one or two and twenty. He and several young gentlemen rode down from London a little before the duke landed, and were taken on suspicion, and laid up in Ilchester gaol, till the duke himself came and relieved them. He continued in his army till the rout, when, if I mistake not, he got to sea, and was forced back again with the Hewlings, or some others. He was condemned at Dorchester assizes.

To a friend discoursing with him at Dorchester about his pardon, and telling him the doubtfulness of obtaining it, he replied, Well, death is the worst they can do, and I bless God, that will not surprise me, for I hope my great work is done. At Taunton, being advised to govern the airiness of his temper, telling him, it made people apt to censure him, as inconsiderate of his condition, to which he answered, Truly, this is so much my natural temper, that I cannot tell how to alter it; but I bless God I have, and do think seriously of my eternal concerns; I do not allow myself to be vain, but I find cause to be cheerful, for my peace is made

with God, through Jesus Christ my Lord; this is my only ground of comfort and cheerfulness, the security of my interest in Christ; for I expect nothing but death, and without this I am sure death would be most dreadful; but having the good hope of this, I cannot be melancholy. When he heard of the triumphant death of those that suffered at Lyme, he said, This is a good encouragement to depend upon God. Then speaking about the mangling of their bodies, he said, Well, the resurrection will restore all with great advantage; the fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians is comfort enough for all believers. Discoursing much of the certainty and felicity of the resurrection at another time, he said, I will (as I think I ought) use all lawful means for the saving of my life, and then if God please to forgive me my sins, I hope I shall as cheerfully embrace death. Upon the design of attempting an escape, he said, We use this means for the preserving of our lives, but if God is not with us, it will not effect it; it is our business first to apply to him for direction and success, if he sees good, with resigning our lives to him, and then his will be done. After the disappointments, when there was no prospect of any other opportunity, he spake much of the admirableness of God's providence in those things that seem most against us, bringing the greatest good out of them; for, said he, we can see but a little way, God is only wise in all his disposals of us; if we were left to choose for ourselves, we should choose our own misery. Afterwards discoursing of the vanity and unsatisfyingness of all things in this world, he said, It is so in the enjoying, we never find our expectations answered by any thing in it, and when death comes it puts an end to all things we have been pursuing here; learning and knowledge (which are the best things in this world) will then avail nothing; nothing but an interest in Christ is then of any worth. One reading to his fellow-prisoners, Jer. xlii. 12. “ I will shew mercy unto you, that he may have mercy upon you, and cause you to return to your own land;” he said, Yes, we shall, but not in this world, I am persuaded. September the 29th at night, after he heard he must die the next morning, he was exceedingly composed and cheerful, expressing his satisfaction in the will of God: the next morning he was still more spiritual and cheerful, discovering a very sweet serenity of mind in all that he said or did: whilst he was waiting for the sheriff, reading the scriptures, meditating and conversing with those about him of divine things, amongst other things, said he, I have heard much of the glory of heaven, but I am now going to behold it, and understand what it is. Being desired to disguise himself to attempt an escape, he said, No, I cannot tell how to disturb myself about it, and methinks it is not my business, now I have other things to take up my thoughts; if God saw good to deliver me, he would open some other door; but seeing he has not, it is more for the honour of his name we should die, and so be it. One saying to him that most of the apostles died violent deaths, he replied, Nay, a greater than the apostles, our Lord himself died, not only a shameful, but a painful death. He further said, This manner of death hath been the most terrible thing in the world to my thoughts, but I bless God, I am now neither afraid nor ashamed to die. He said, The parting with my friends, and their grief for me, is my greatest difficulty; but it will be for a very short time, and we shall meet again in endless joys, where my dear father is already entered, him shall I presently joyfully meet. Then musing with himself a while, he with an extraordinary seriousness sung two verses of one of Herbert's divine poems.

He then read the 53d of Isaiah, and said, He had heard many blessed sermons from that chapter, especially from the 6th verse, “ All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, but the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all;” seeming to intimate some impression made on his soul from them; but was interrupted; then he said, Christ is all: when the sheriff came, he had the same cheerfulness and serenity of mind in taking leave of his friends, and on the sledge, which seemed to increase to the last (as those present have affirmed) joining in prayer, and in singing



singing a psalm with great appearance of comfort and joy in his countenance, inasmuch that some of his enemies (that had before censured his cheerfulness for unthoughtfulness of his danger, and therefore expected to see him much surprised) now professed they were greatly astonished, to see such a young man leave the world, and go through death like Mr. Jenkyn.

*The MARTYRDOM of LADY ALICIA LISLE, who was beheaded at Winchester.*

IF those persons who suffered about Monmouth's business, fell only into the hands of Cannibals, some of them, at least, had escaped better than they did from Jeffreys. Those more tame and civil creatures would have spared the old and withered, though they had devoured the young and tender. But no age, no sex made any difference here; and as those who were just come into the world, children and girls of ten or a dozen years old were refused pardon; so those who were half out of it, would not be suffered to tumble into the grave entire, though, as Juvenal says of Priam, they had scarce blood enough left to tinge the knife of the sacrifices. An instance of this was my lady Lisle, of such an age, that she almost slept on her very trial, condemned for as small a matter as has been known, by one of those dormant laws, made only *in terrorem*, but hardly ever executed, only for corresponding with Nelthorp, an out-lawed person, and, as was pretended, giving him shelter at her house, and Hicks, who brought him thither. For Hicks, he was not then convicted, nor in any proclamation, and so it is a question whether she could, even in rigour of law, deserve death on his account. For Nelthorp, he himself says in his last speech, that he was wholly a stranger to that worthy lady; neither did she, as he verily believes, know who he was, or his name, till he was taken. For this she was found guilty, and lost her head at Winchester. Her case was thought so hard, that the honourable house of parliament afterwards reversed her judgment. At her death she made a speech, as follows:

*The last Speech of LADY ALICIA LISLE.*

"GENTLEMEN, friends, and neighbours, it may be expected that I should say something at my death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents instructed me in the fear of God, and I now die of the reformed Protestant religion; believing that if ever Popery should return into this nation, it would be a very great and severe judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes; I thank God through Jesus Christ, that I do depart under the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel; God having made this chastisement an ordinance to my soul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occasion, as any person in this place or nation; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear: the Lord is a sovereign, and will take what way he sees best to glorify himself, in and by his poor creatures; and I do humbly desire to submit to his will, praying to him, that I may possess my soul in patience. The crime that was laid to my charge, was for entertaining a nonconformist minister and others in my house; the said minister being sworn to have been in the late duke of Monmouth's army; but I have been told, that if I had denied them, it would not at all have affected me: I have no excuse but surprise and fear, which I believe my jury must make use of to excuse their verdict to the world. I have been also told, that the court did use to be of counsel for the prisoner; but instead of advice, I had evidence against me from thence; which, though it were only by hear-say, might possibly affect my jury; my defence being but such, as might be expected from a weak woman; but such as it was, I did

not hear it repeated again to the jury; which, as I have been informed, is usual in such cases. However, I forgive all the world, and therein all those that have done me wrong; and in particular, I forgive colonel Penruddock, although he told me, that he could have taken these men before they came to my house. And I do likewise forgive him, who desired to be taken away from the grand jury to the petty jury, that he might be the more nearly concerned in my death. As to what may be objected in reference to my conviction, that I gave it under my hand, that I had discoursed with Nelthorp; that could be no evidence against me, being after my conviction and sentence: I do acknowledge his majesty's favour in revoking my sentence: I pray God to preserve him, that he may long reign in mercy, as well as justice, and that he may reign in peace; and that the Protestant religion may flourish under him. I also return thanks to God and the reverend clergy, that assisted me in my imprisonment."

*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP, in London.*

THE name of this gentleman is often met with in West's and Rumsey's plot, and for a good reason, he being not near to answer for himself. As to what he was accused, out-lawed, and executed for, his being concerned in a design for the assassination of the king and duke, he solemnly avers, as may be seen below in his speech, that he was always highly against it, and detested any such thing, was never in the least concerned in it, neither in purse or person; never knew of any arms bought for that intent, nor did believe there was any such design. Than which, what words could be more full and satisfactory? He went away in the heat of swearing, and returned with the duke of Monmouth, thinking it his duty, as he says, to hazard his life for the preservation of the Protestant religion and English liberties; but as to the duke of Monmouth's being declared king, he was wholly passive in it. He was at first committed to Salisbury prison, where he had several disputes with a learned and good man, whose opinion then differed from his, concerning the lawfulness of defending ourselves by arms against illegal violence, which was his firm judgment. Thence he was brought to London, and imprisoned in Newgate. He rejected there, with scorn, some offers made him of saving his own life by taking away other men's; and though he was under inexpressible trouble during his close confinement there, which at length arose to distraction, and the impair of his reason; yet it is remarkable that he, as Bateman before him, before he came to die, after sentence, was very calm and lively again, the entire exercise of his judgment and understanding returning, with more joy and comfort than he had before pain and misery.

He wrote one letter to his parents, another to his children, together with his last speech at his execution the 30th of October 1685. At two o'clock in the morning he wrote the letter to his parents, &c. wherein he speaks much of his brother and fellow-sufferer, Mr. Ayloff, who suffered martyrdom in London, if I mistake not, whom he says, he could embrace with more joy in the field of suffering, than ever he could have done had he met him in the field crowned with victory and laurels.

*The last Speech of Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP.*

"THE great and inexpressible trouble and distraction I have been under since I came into trouble, especially since my close confinement in Newgate, hath so broken my reason, that for many weeks last past, till the day my sentence was passed, I have not had any composure of mind, and have been under the greatest trouble imaginable; since my dearest wife hath had the favour granted her of coming to see me, I am at present under great composedness of mind, through the infinite goodness of the Lord. As to what I stand out-lawed for, and am now sentenced to die, I can with comfort appeal to



to the great God, before whose tribunal I am to appear, that what I did was in the simplicity of my heart, without seeking any private advantage to myself; but thinking it my duty to hazard my life for the preservation of the Protestant religion and English liberties, which I thought invaded, and both in great danger of being lost. As to the design of assassinating the late king, or his present majesty, it always was a thing highly against my judgment, and which I always detested; and I was never in the least concerned in it, neither in the purse nor person, nor ever knew of any arms bought for that intent, nor did I believe there was any such design, or ever heard of any disappointment in such an affair, or time, or place, save what, after the discovery of the general design, Mr. West spoke of, as to arms bought by him; and as to myself, I was in the North when the late king was at Newmarket, and the first news I had of the fire, was at Beverley in Yorkshire. As to my coming over with the late duke of Monmouth, it was in prosecution of the same ends; but the Lord in his holy and wise providence hath been pleased to blast all our undertakings; though there seemed to be a very unanimous and zealous spirit in all those that came from beyond the seas: and as to the duke of Monmouth's being declared king, I was wholly passive in it, I never having been present at any public debate of that affair, and should never have advised it, but complained of it to colonel Holmes, and captain Patchet. I believe the lord Grey and Mr. F—— the chief promoters of it. As to the temptation of being an evidence, and bringing either into trouble or danger of his life the meanest person, upon the account for which I suffer, I always abhorred and detested the thoughts of it, both when in and out of danger, and advised some very strongly against it; except when under my distraction in prison, that amongst other temptations did violently assault me; but through the goodness of my dearest God and Father, I was preserved from it, and indeed was wholly incapable, and could never receive the least shadow of comfort from it, but thought death more eligible, and was some time before, out of my distracted and disquieted condition, wholly free from it; though not without other temptations far more criminal in the sight of men. I bless the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolations, that I find a great resignedness of my will to his, finding infinitely more comfort in death, than ever I could place in life, though in a condition that might seem honourable; every hour seeing the will of God in ordering this affair more and more cleared up to me. God hath given, God hath taken, blessed be his holy name, that hath enabled me to be willing to suffer, rather than to put forth my hand to iniquity, or to say a confederacy with those that do so. I am heartily and sincerely troubled for what hath happened, many men's lives being lost, and many poor distressed families ruined; the Lord pardon what of sin he hath seen in it. He in his wonderful providence hath made me and others concerned, instruments, not only for what is already fallen out, but, I believe, for hastening some other great work he hath to do in these kingdoms; whereby he will try and purge his people, and winnow the chaff from the wheat; the Lord keep those that are his, faithful unto the end.

"I die in charity with all the world, and can readily and heartily forgive my greatest enemies, even those that have been evidences against me; and I most humbly beg the pardon of all that I have in the least any way injured; and in a special manner humbly ask pardon of the lady Lisle's family and relations, for that my being succoured there one night with Mr. Hicks, brought that worthy lady to suffer death: I was wholly a stranger to her ladyship, and came with Mr. Hicks; neither did she (as I verily believe) know who I was, or my name, till I was taken: and if any other have come to any loss or trouble, I humbly beg their pardon; and were I in a condition, I would, as far as I was able, make them a requital.

"As to my faith, I neither look nor hope for mercy, but only in the free grace of God, by the application of the blood of Jesus, my dearest and only Saviour, to my

poor sinful soul. My distresses have been exceeding great as to my eternal state, but through the infinite goodness of God, though I have many sins to answer for, yet I hope and trust, as to my particular, that Christ came for this very end and purpose, to relieve the oppressed, and to be a physician to the sick. I come unto thee, O blessed Jesus! refuse me not, but wash me in thine own blood, and then present me to thy Father as righteous. What, though my sins be as crimson, and of a scarlet dye, yet thou canst make them as white as snow. I see nothing in myself but what must utterly ruin and condemn me; I cannot answer for one action of my whole life, but I cast myself wholly upon thee, who art the fountain of mercy, in whom God is reconciling himself to the world; the greatest of sins and sinners may find an all-sufficiency in thy blood to cleanse them from all sin. O dearest Father of mercy, look upon me as righteous in and through the imputed righteousness of thy Son; he payed the debt by his own offering himself up for sin, and in that thy justice is satisfied, and thy mercy is magnified. Grant me thy love, O dearest Father! assist me, and stand by me in the needful hour of death, give thy angels charge over my poor soul, that the evil one may not touch nor hurt it. Defend me from his power, deliver me from his rage, and receive me into thine eternal kingdom, in and through the alone merits of my dearest Redeemer, for whom I praise thee: to whom, with thyself and holy Spirit, be ascribed all glory, honour, power, might, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen.

"Dear Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit, Amen.

"RICHARD NELTHORP."

Newgate, Oct. 29, 1685.

#### The MARTYRDOM of Mrs. ELIZABETH GAUNT, at Wapping.

THE most likely reason that Mrs. Gaunt was burnt, was, it is very possible, because she lived at Wapping; the honest seamen, and hearty Protestants thereabouts, being such known enemies to Popery and arbitrary government, that the friends of both gave all who opposed it the name of Wappingers, as an odious brand and title. She was a good, honest, charitable woman, who made it her business to relieve and help whoever suffered for the forementioned cause, sparing no pains, refusing no office to get them assistance, in which she was the most industrious and indefatigable woman living. Among others whom she had just relieved, who were obnoxious persons, was one Burton, whom with his wife and family she had kept from starving, for which (may the very name of them be registered with eternal infamy) they swore against her, and took away her life: though she says in her speech, there was but one witness against her as to any money she was charged to give him, and that he himself, an out-lawed person, his outlawry not yet reversed; he not being out-lawed when she was with him; and hid him away. That which she wrote in the nature of a speech, has a great deal of sense and spirit, and some strange expressions which were mentioned in the introduction to all these matters; which she concludes with these words addressed to her enemies, "From her that finds no mercy from you."

If it were possible to represent the due character of this excellent woman, the task would be most agreeable. That she stood most deservedly entitled to an eternal monument of honour in the hearts of all sincere lovers of the reformed religion. All true Christians (though in some things differing in persuasion with her) found in her an universal charity and sincere friendship, as is well known to many here, and also to a multitude of the Scotch nation, ministers and others, who for conscience-sake were formerly thrust into exile. These found her a most refreshing refuge. She dedicated herself with unwearied industry, to provide for their supply and support, and therein (I do incline to think) she outstripped every individual person (if not the whole body of Protestants in this great city). Hereby she became exposed



to the implacable fury of bloody Papists, and those blind tools who co-operated to promote their accursed designs. And so there appeared little difficulty to procure a jury (as there were well-prepared judges) to make her a sacrifice as a traitor to the state. Her judges, the king's counsel, the solicitor-general, the common-serjeant, &c. racked their inventions to draw Burton and his wife to charge Mrs. Gaunt with the knowledge of his being in a plot, or in the proclamation, but nothing of that could be made out, nor is there any sort of proof that Mrs. Gaunt harboured this ungrateful wretch, or that she gave him either meat or drink, as the indictment charges her; but notwithstanding that, her jury brought her in guilty, and she was condemned.

The sentence was executed upon this excellent woman on the Friday following, being the 23d of October, 1685, when she left her murderers the following memorial.

*SPEECH of Mrs. GAUNT, written the Day before her EXECUTION.*

**N**OT knowing whether I should be suffered or able, because of weaknesses that are upon me through my hard and close imprisonment, to speak at the place of execution; I wrote those few lines to signify, That I am well reconciled to the way of my God towards me, though it be in ways I looked not for; and by terrible things, yet in righteousness; having given me life, he ought to have the disposing of it, when and how he pleases to call for it; and I desire to offer up my all to him, it being but my reasonable service; and also the first terms that Jesus Christ offers, that he that will be his disciple, must forsake all, and follow him; and therefore let none think hard, or be discouraged at what hath happened unto me; for he doth nothing without cause, in all he hath done to us, he being holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works; and it is but my lot in common with poor desolate Sion at this day. Neither do I find in my heart the least regret for what I have done in the service of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in succouring and securing any of his poor sufferers, that have shewed favour to his righteous cause; which cause, though now it be fallen and trampled upon, as if it had not been appointed, yet it shall revive; and God will plead it another rate than ever he hath done yet, and reckon with all its opposers and malicious haters; and therefore let all that love and fear him, not omit the least duty that comes to hand, or lies before them, knowing that now it hath need of them, and expects they shall serve him. And I desire to bless his holy name, that he hath made me useful in my generation to the comfort and relief of many desolate ones, and the blessing of those that are ready to perish has come upon me, and being helped to make the heart of the widow to sing. And I bless his holy name, that in all this, together with what I was charged with, that I have done his will, though it does cross man's will; and the scriptures that satisfy me are, Isaiah xvi. 3. 'Hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth.' And Obad. 14. 'Thou shouldst not have given up those of his that did escape in the day of his distress.' But man says, You shall give them up, or you shall die for it. Now whom to obey, judge ye: So that I have cause to rejoice and be exceeding glad, in that I suffer for righteousness sake, and that I am accounted worthy to suffer for well-doing, and that God has accepted any service from me, which has been done in sincerity, though mixed with manifold infirmities, which he hath been pleased for Christ's sake to cover and forgive. And now as concerning my fact, as it is called, alas! it was but a little one, and might well become a prince to forgive; but he that shews no mercy, shall find none: and I may say of it in the language of Jonathan, 'I did but taste a little honey, and lo! I must die for it.' I did but relieve an unworthy, poor, distressed family, and lo! I must die for it. Well, I desire in the Lamb-like Gospel-Spirit to forgive all that are concerned, and to say, Lord, lay it not to their charge; but I fear he will not: nay, I believe when he comes to make inquisition for blood, it will be found at the door of the

furious judge; who, because I could not remember things through my dauntedness at Burton's wife and daughter's villainy, and my ignorance, took advantage thereof, and would not hear me, when I had called to mind that which I am sure would have invalidated their evidence; though he granted something of the same nature to another, yet denied it to me. My blood will also be found at the door of the unrighteous jury, who found me guilty upon the single oath of an out-lawed man; for there was none but his oath about the money, who is no legal witness, though he be pardoned, his out-lawry not being recalled; and also the law requires two witnesses in point of life: and then about my going with him to the place mentioned, it was by his own words, before he was out-lawed, for it was two months after his absconding; and though in a proclamation, yet not high treason, as I have heard, so that I am clearly murdered by you. And also bloody Mr. A—, who has so insatiably haunted after my life; and though it is no profit to him, through the ill will he bore me, left no stone unturned, as I have ground to believe, till he brought it to this; and shewed favour to Burton, who ought to have died for his own fault, and not bought his life with mine; and captain R—, who is cruel and severe to all under my circumstances, and did at that time, without all mercy, or pity, hasten my sentence, and held up my hand, that it might be given; all which, together with the great one of all, by whose power all those, and a multitude more of cruelties are done, I do heartily and freely forgive, as against me; but as it is done in an implacable mind against the Lord Christ, and his righteous cause and followers, I leave it to him who is the avenger of all such wrongs, who will tread upon princes as upon mortar, and be terrible to the kings of the earth: and know this also, that though ye are seemingly fixed, and because of the power in your hand, are writing out your violence, and dealing with a despiteful hand, because of the old and new hatred; by impoverishing and every way distressing of those you have got under you; yet unless you can secure Jesus Christ, and all his holy angels, you shall never do your business, nor your hands accomplish your enterprizes; for he will be upon you ere you are aware; and therefore, O that you would be wise, instructed, and learn, is the desire of her that finds no mercy from you.

“ELIZABETH GAUNT.

*Newgate, October 22, 1685.*

“P. S. Such as it is, you have it from her, who hath done as she could, and is sorry she can do no better: hopes you will pity and cover weakness, shortness, and any thing that is wanting; and begs that none may be weakened or humbled at the lowness of my spirit; for God's design is to humble and abase us, that he alone may be exalted in this day; and I hope he will appear in the needful time; and it may be reserves the best wine till last, as he hath done for some before me; none goeth to warfare at his own charge, and the Spirit bloweth, not only where, but when it listeth; and it becomes me, who have so often grieved, quenched, and resisted it, to wait for and upon the motions of the Spirit, and not to murmur; but I may mourn, because through want of it, I honour not my God, nor his blessed cause, which I have so long loved and delighted to love; and repent of nothing about it, but that I served him and it no better.”

*Particulars of Mr. ROSEWELL's Trial and Preservation.*

**M**R. Rosewell, a very worthy divine, was tried about the same time for treasonable words in his pulpit, upon the accusation of very vile and lewd informers; and a Surrey jury found him guilty of high treason, upon the most villanous and improbable evidence that had been ever given, notwithstanding sir John Talbot (no countenancer of Dissenters) had appeared with great generosity and honour, and testified, That the most material witness was as scandalous and infamous a wretch as ever breathed.



About this time it was given out by those who thirsted for blood, that Mr. Rosewell and Mr. Hays should die together; and it was upon good ground believed, that the happy deliverance of Mr. Hays did much contribute to the preservation of Mr. Rosewell; though it is very probable, that he had not escaped, had not sir John Talbot's worthy and most honourable detestation of that accursed villany, prompted him to repair from the court of King's-Bench, to king Charles II. and to make a faithful representation of the case to him, whereby, when inhuman bloody Jeffreys came a little after in a transport of joy, to make his report of the eminent service he and the Surrey jury had done in finding Mr. Rosewell guilty; the king (to his disappointment) appeared under some reluctancy, and declared that Mr. Rosewell should not die. And so he was most happily delivered from his intended martyrdom.

*The MARTYRDOM of the EARL of ARGYLE, at the Market-Cross in Edinburgh.*

**L**ET us now take a step over into Scotland, that poor country, which has been harassed and tired for these many years, to render them perfect slaves; that they might help to enslave England, to prevent which, and secure the Protestant religion, which it was grown impossible to do, but by arms; this good lord embarked from Holland about the same time with the duke, and arrived in Scotland with what forces he could make; to which were added some others who joined him: which after several marches and counter-marches, were at length led into a boggy sort of a place, on pretence, or with intention to bring him off from the other army then upon the heels of them, where they all lost one another, dispersed and shifted for themselves; the earl being taken by a countryman, and brought to Edinburgh, where he suffered for his former unpardonable crime, requiring care should be taken of the Protestant religion, and explaining his taking the test conformable thereto; for the legality of which he had the hands of most of the eminent lawyers about the city. He suffered at Edinburgh the 30th of June 1685. His speech has a great deal of piety and religion, nor will it be any disgrace to say, it was more like a sermon.

*The following is a correct Copy of the last Speech of the EARL of ARGYLE, June 30, 1685.*

**J**OB tells us, 'Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble:' and I am a dear instance of it. I shall not now say any thing of my sentence, or escape about three years and a half ago; nor of my return, lest I may thereby give offence, or be tedious: only being to end my days in your presence, I shall, as some of my last words, assert the truth of the matter of fact, and the sincerity of my intentions, and professions that are published.

"That which I intend mainly now to say, is, To express my humble, and (I thank God) cheerful submission to his divine will; and my willingness to forgive all men, even my enemies; and I am heartily well satisfied there is no more blood spilt, and I shall with the stream thereof to stop at me: and that (if it please God) to say, as to Zerubbabel, Zech. iv. 6. 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

"I know afflictions spring not out of the dust: God did wonderfully deliver and provide for me, and has now by his special Providence brought me to this place; and I hope none will either insult or stumble at it, seeing they ought not; for God Almighty does all things well, for good and holy ends, though we do not always understand it. Love and hatred is not known by what is before us, Eccles. ix. 1.

"Afflictions are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and are not only tolerable, but desirable.

"We ought to have a deep reverence and fear of God's displeasure; but withal, a firm hope and dependence on him for a blessed issue, in compliance with his will; for God chastens his own, to refine them, and not to ruin them, whatever the world may think, Heb. xii. 3 to 12.

"We are to imitate our Saviour in his sufferings, 1 Pet. ii. 23.

"We are neither to despise our afflictions, nor to faint under them; both are extremes.

"We are not to suffer our spirits to be exasperated against the instruments of our trouble; for the same affliction may be an effect of their passion, and yet sent by God to punish us for sin: though it is a comfort when we may say to them with David, Psal. lix. 3. 'Not for my transgression, but for my sin, O Lord.'

"Nor are we, by fraudulent, pusillanimous compliances in wicked courses, to bring sin upon ourselves: faint hearts are ordinary false hearts; chusing sin rather than sufferings, and a short life with eternal death, before temporal death and a crown of glory: such seeking to save a little, lose all; and God readily hardens them to proceed to their own destruction. How many, like Hazael, 2 Kings viii. 13. run to excesses they never thought they were capable of! Let rulers and others read seriously, and weigh Prov. i. 10 to 20, &c. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good.

"For me, I hope by God's strength to join with Job, chap. xiii. 15. and the Psalmist, Psal. xxii. 4. and shall pray, as Psal. lxxiv. 19 to 24, and shall hope, as Psal. xciv. 14, 15.

"I do freely forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cause of my being brought to this place, first or last; and I pray God forgive them. I pray God send truth and peace in these three kingdoms; and continue and increase the glorious light of the gospel, and restrain the spirit of prophanity, atheism, superstition, Popery, and persecution, and restore all that have backslidden from the purity of their life or principles; and bless his whole people with all blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present trials.

"And I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, That the great, good, and merciful God would sanctify my present lot, and for Jesus Christ's sake pardon all my sins, and receive me to his eternal glory.

"It is suggested to me, That I have said nothing of the royal family; and it remembers me, that before the justices at my trial about the test, I said, That at my death I would pray, that there should never want one of the royal family to be a defender of the true, ancient, Apostolic, Catholic, Protestant faith; which I do now: and that God would enlighten and forgive all of them that are either luke-warm, or have shrunk from the profession of it. And in all events, I pray God may provide for the security of his church, that antichrist, nor the gates of hell may never prevail against it."

*The MARTYRDOM of Colonel RUMBOLD, at the Market-Cross, in Edinburgh.*

**C**OLONEL Richard Rumbold suffered at the same place, June 26, 1685, most of what occurred considerable in his defence and speech, you have had already in the business of the assassination. Two or three passages more there are worth remarks in the same; as arguments of his sense and courage. For this cause, he says, were every hair of his head and beard a life, he would joyfully sacrifice them all. That he was never antimonarchical in his principles, but for a king and free parliament; the king having power enough to make him great, and the people to make them happy. That he died in the defence of the just laws and liberties of the nations. That none was marked by God above another; for no man came into the world with a saddle on their backs, nor others booted and spurred to ride upon it. And being asked if he thought not his sentence dreadful? answered, He wished he had a limb for every town in Christendom.

*The Last Speech of Colonel RICHARD RUMBOLD, previous to his Execution, with several Things that passed on his Trial, June 26, 1685.*

**C**OLONEL Richard Rumbold was brought about eleven o'clock in the morning from the castle of Edinburgh, to the justices court, in a great chair,



on men's shoulders; where at first he was asked some questions, most of which he answered with silence; at last said, He humbly conceived, it was not necessary for him to add to his own accusation, since he was not ignorant they had enough already to do his business; and therefore he did not intend to fret his conscience at that time with answering questions. After which, his libel being read, the Court proceeded in usual manner; first asking him if he had any thing to say for himself before the jury closed? His answer was, He owned it all, saving that part, of having designed the king's death; and desired all present to believe the words of a dying man; he never directly or indirectly intended such a villany; that he abhorred the very thoughts of it; and that he blessed God he had that reputation in the world, that he knew none that had the impudence to ask him the question; and he detested the thoughts of such an action; and he hoped all good people would believe him, which was the only way he had to clear himself; and he was sure that this truth should be one day made manifest to all men. He was again asked, If he had any exception against the jury? He answered, No; but wished them to do as God and their consciences directed them. Then they withdrew, and returned their verdict in half an hour, and brought him in guilty. The sentence followed; For him to be taken from that place to the next room, and from thence to be drawn on a hurdle, betwixt two and four o'clock, to the Cross of Edinburgh, the place of execution, and there to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He received his sentence with an undaunted courage and cheerfulness. Afterwards he was delivered into the town magistrate's hands; they brought to him two of their divines, and offered him their assistance upon the scaffold; which he altogether refused, telling them, That if they had any good wishes for him, he desired they would spend them in their own closets, and leave him now to seek God in his own way. He had several offers of the same kind by others, which he put off in like manner. He was most serious and fervent in prayers the few hours he lived (as the centinels observed, who were present all the while). The hour being come, he was brought to the place of execution, where he saluted the people on all sides of the scaffold, and after having refreshed himself with a cordial out of his pocket, he was supported by two men while he spoke to the people as follows.

"GENTLEMEN and BRETHREN,

"IT is for all men that come into the world once to die, and after death to judgment; and since death is a debt that all of us must pay, it is but a matter of small moment what way it be done; and seeing the Lord is pleased in this manner to take me to himself, I confess, something hard to flesh and blood, yet, blessed be his name, who hath made me not only willing, but thankful for his honouring me to lay down the life he gave, for his name; in which, were every hair in this head and beard of mine a life, I should joyfully sacrifice them for it, as I do this: and Providence having brought me hither, I think it most necessary to clear myself of some aspersions laid on my name; and first, That I should have had so horrid an intention of destroying the king and his brother.

[He now repeated what he had said before to the justices on this subject.]

"It was also laid to my charge, That I was antimonarchical.

"It was ever my thoughts, That kingly government was the best of all, justly executed: I mean, such as by our ancient laws; that is, a king, and a legal, free-chosen parliament. The king having, as I conceive, power enough to make him great; the people also as much property as to make them happy; they being, as it were, contracted to one another. And who will deny me, that this was not the just constituted government of our nation? How absurd is it then for men of sense to maintain, That though the one party of this contract breaketh all conditions, the other should be obliged to

perform their part? No; this error is contrary to the law of God, the law of nations, and the law of reason. But as pride hath been the bait the devil hath caught most by ever since the creation, so it continues to this day with us. Pride caused our first parents to fall from the blessed estate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiser than God allowed, which brought an everlasting curse on them and their posterity. It was pride caused God to drown the old world. And it was Nimrod's pride in building Babel, that caused that heavy curse of division of tongues to be spread among us, as it is at this day. One of the greatest afflictions the church of God groaneth under, that there should be so many divisions during their pilgrimage here; but this is their comfort that the day draweth near, when, as there is but one Shepherd, there shall be but one sheepfold. It was therefore in the defence of this party, in their just rights and liberties, against Popery and slavery—

[When he said this they beat the drums: to which he replied]

"They need not trouble themselves, for he should say no more of his mind on that subject, since they were so disengenuous, as to interrupt a dying man, only to assure the people, he adhered to the true Protestant religion, detesting the erroneous opinions of many that called themselves so; and I die this day in the defence of the ancient laws and liberties of these nations: and though God, for reasons best known to himself, hath not seen it fit to honour us, so as to make us the instruments for the deliverance of his people; yet as I have lived, so I die in the faith, that he will speedily arise for the deliverance of his church and people. And I desire of you all to prepare for this with speed. I may say, This is a deluded generation, veiled with ignorance, that though Popery and slavery be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; though I am sure there was no man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the world with a saddle on his back, neither any booted and spurred to ride him; not but that I am well satisfied, that God hath wisely ordered different stations for men in the world, as I have already said; kings having as much power as to make them great, and the people as much property as to make them happy. And to conclude, I shall only add my wishes for the salvation of all men, who were created for that end."

When he had thus spoken, he prayed most fervently near three quarters of an hour, freely forgiving all men, even his greatest enemies, begging most earnestly for the deliverance of Sion from all her persecutors, particularly praying for London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, from which the streams run that rule God's people in these three kingdoms.

*Summary of the last Speech of Mr. JOHN KING, at the Place of Execution at Edinburgh, on the 14th Day of August 1679.*

"MEN and BRETHREN,

"I DO not doubt but that many that are spectators here, have some other end, than to be edified by what they may see and hear in the last words of one going to eternity; but if any one of you have ears to hear, which I nothing doubt but some of this great congregation have, I desire your ears and attention, if the Lord shall help and permit me to speak, to a few things.

"I bless the Lord, since Infinite Wisdom and holy Providence has so carved out my lot to die after the manner that I do, not unwillingly, neither by force: it is true, I could not do this of myself, nature always having an inclination to put the evil day far off, but through grace I have been helped, and by this grace I hope I shall: it is true, through policy I might have shunned such a hard sentence, if I had done some things; but though I could, I durst not, God knows, redeem my life with the loss of my integrity and honesty. I bless the Lord, that since I have been apprehended and made a prisoner, God



God hath very wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable word, 'Fear not, be not dismayed. I am with thee, I will strengthen thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness,' Isaiah xli. 10. I thank the Lord he never yet gave me leave so much as to have a thought, much less to seek after any shift that might be in the least sinful: I did always, and yet do judge it better to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; therefore I am come hither to lay down my life. I bless the Lord I die not as a fool dieth, though I acknowledge I have nothing to boast of in myself: yea, I acknowledge I am a sinner, and one of the chief that have gone under the name of a professor of religion; yea, amongst the unworthiest of those that have preached the gospel; my sins and corruptions have been many, and have defiled me in all things, and even in following and doing my duty, I have not wanted my own sinful infirmities and weaknesses, so that I may truly say, I have no righteousness of my own, all is evil, and like filthy rags; but blessed be God that there is a Saviour and an advocate, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and I do believe that Jesus Christ is come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief, and that through faith and his righteousness I have obtained mercy; and that through him, and him alone, I desire and hope to have a glorious victory over sin, Satan, hell, and death; and that I shall attain unto the resurrection of the just, and be made partaker of eternal life. I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I have according to my poor capacity, preached salvation in his name; and as I have preached, so do I believe, and with all my soul have commended it, and still do commend to all of you the riches of his grace, and faith in his name, as the alone and only way whereby we can come to be saved.

"It may be, many may think (but I bless the Lord, without any solid ground) that I suffer as an evil-doer, and as a busy body in other men's matters; but I reckon not much upon that, having the testimony of my own conscience for me. It was the lot of our blessed Saviour himself, and also the lot of many of his eminent, precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil-doers; yea, I think I have so good ground not to be scared at such a lot, that I count it my non-such honour; and oh what am I, that I should be honoured so, when so many worthies have panted after the like, and have not come at it: my soul rejoiceth in being brought into conformity with my blessed Lord and head, and so blessed a company in this way and lot; and I desire to pray that I may be to none of you this day upon this account a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence; and blessed is he that shall not be offended in Christ and his poor followers and members, because of their being condemned as evil-doers by the world.

"As for those things for which sentence of death hath passed against me, I bless the Lord my conscience doth not condemn me: I have not been rebellious, nor do I judge it rebellion for me to have endeavoured in my capacity, what possibly I could for the borne-down and ruined interest of my Lord and Master, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted, not only in their liberties, privileges, and persons, but also in their lives; therefore it was for that I joined with that poor handful; the Lord knows, who is the searcher of hearts, that neither my design nor practice was against his majesty's person, and just government, but I always studied to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord, and I thank God my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty; I have been loyal, and I do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord.

"I have been looked upon by some, and represented by others to be of a divisive and factious humour, and one that stirred up division in the church, but I am hopeful that they will all now give me their charity, being within a little to stand before my judge, and I pray the Lord forgive them that did so misrepresent me; but I thank the Lord whatever men have said against me concerning this, that on the contrary I have often dissuaded from

such ways and practices, as contrary to the word of God, and of our covenanted and reformed religion; and as I ever abhorred division and faction in the church, as that which tends to its utter ruin, if the Lord prevent it not, so I would in the bowels of my Lord and Master, if such an one as I may presume to persuade, and exhort both ministers and professors; if there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, that you be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind; in lowliness of mind, let each esteem others better than themselves, Phil. ii. 3. harmoniousness and honesty in the things of God, can never enough be sought after, and things that tend to the prejudice and hurt of Christ's interest, can never enough be fled from and avoided.

"And as I come hither willingly to lay down my tabernacle, so also I die in the belief and faith of the holy scriptures, and in the faith of the Apostles, and primitive Christians, and Protestant reformed churches, and particularly the church of Scotland, whereof I am a poor member.

"I shall but say a few words.

"First, All you that are profane, I would seriously exhort you, that you return to the Lord by serious repentance; if you do, iniquity shall not be your ruin; if you do not, know that the day of the Lord's vengeance is near and hasteneth on. Oh know for your comfort; there is a door of mercy yet open, if you be not despisers of the day of salvation. And you that have been, and yet are reproachers and persecutors of godliness, and of such as live godly; take heed, oh take heed, sad will be your day, when God arises to scatter his enemies, if you repent not for your ungodly deeds.

"Secondly, All those who are taken up with their own private interests, and if that go well, they care the less for the interest of Christ, take heed and be zealous, and repent, lest the Lord pass the sentence, I will spew you out of my mouth.

"Thirdly, For the truly godly, and such as are lamenting after the Lord, and are mourning for all the abominations of this city, and are taking pleasure in the very rubbish and stones of Zion; be of good courage, and cast not away your confidence. I dare not say any thing to future things, but surely the Lord has a handful that are precious to him, to whom he will be gracious; to these it is a dark night at present, how long it will last the Lord knows! Oh let not the sad disasters, that this poor people meet with, though very astonishing, terrify you; beware of snares that abound, cleave fast to your reformed religion, do not shift the cross of Christ, if you be called to it; it is better to suffer than sin, account the reproaches of Christ greater riches than all the treasures of the world.

"In the last place, let not my death be grievous to any of you; I hope it will be more profitable both for you and me, and for the church and interest of God, than my life could have been. I bless the Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive all men, even as I desire to be forgiven of God; pray for them that persecute you, bless them that curse you. As to the cause of Christ, I bless the Lord I never had cause, to this day, to repent for any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for his name. I thank the Lord who has shewed mercy to such a vile sinner as I am, and that ever he should advance me to so high a dignity, as to be made a minister of his blessed and everlasting gospel; and that ever I should have a seal set to my ministry, upon the hearts of some in several places and corners of this land: the Lord visit Scotland with more and more faithful pastors, and send a reviving day unto the people of God; in the mean time be patient, be steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; and live in love and peace one with another, and the Lord be with his poor afflicted, groaning people that yet remain.

"Now I bid farewell to all my friends and dear relations: farewell my poor wife and children, whom I leave in the good hands of him who is better than seven husbands, and who will be a father to the fatherless. Farewell all creature comforts; welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory;



glory, welcome everlasting love, everlasting praise :  
bless the Lord, O my soul ! and all that is within me.

“ JOHN KING.”

*Summary of the Dying Words of Mr. JOHN KIDD, at  
the Place of Execution at Edinburgh, on the 14th Day  
of August 1679.*

“ Right worthy and well-beloved Spectators and Auditors,

“ **C**ONSIDERING what bodily distempers I have been exercised with, since I came out of the torture, viz. scarce two hours out of my naked bed in one day, it cannot be expected, that I should be in a case to say any thing to the purpose at this juncture, especially seeing I am not as yet free from it; however I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me, and desire with all my soul to bless him for this my present lot.

“ It may be there are a great many here that judge my lot very sad and deplorable. I must confess death itself is very terrible to flesh and blood, but as it is an outlet to sin, and an inlet to righteousness, it is the Christian's great and inexpressible privilege; and give me leave to say this, that there is something in a Christian's condition, that can never put him without the reach of insufferableness, even shame, death, and the cross being included.

“ And then if there be peace betwixt God and the soul, nothing can damp peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; this is a most supporting ingredient in the bitterest cup, and under the sharpest and fiercest trial he can be exposed unto, this is my mercy, that I have something to lay claim unto, viz. The intimations of pardon and peace between God and my soul.

“ And as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace, that I never had the least challenge for it, but on the contrary, I judge it my honour, that ever I was counted worthy to come upon the stage upon such a consideration; another thing that renders the most despicable lot of the Christian, and mine sufferable, is a felt and sensible presence from the Lord, strengthening the soul when most put to it, and if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to say, O death, where is thy sting? And could not but cry out, welcome to it, and all that follows upon it: I grant the Lord from an act of sovereignty may come, and go as he pleases, but yet he will never forsake his people, and this is a cordial to me in the case I am now exposed unto.

“ Thirdly, The exercising and putting forth his glorious power, is able to transport the soul of the believer, and mine, above the reach of all sublunary difficulties; and therefore seeing I have hope to be kept up by this power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, or any other that is or may be in my case, in the least deplorable, seeing we have ground to believe, that in more or less he will perfect his power and strength in weakness.

“ Fourthly, That I may come a little nearer to the purpose in hand, I declare before you all, in the sight of God, angels, and men, and in the sight of that sun, and all that he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, in regard of my original and actual transgressions. I must confess, they are more in number than the hairs of my head. They are gone up above my head, and are past numbering; I cannot but say as Jacob said, I am less than the least of all God's mercies; yet I must declare to the exalting of his free grace, that to me, who am the least of all saints, is this grace made known, and that by a strong hand, and I dare not but say, he has loved me, and washed me in his own blood from all iniquities, and well is it for me this day, that ever I heard, or read that faithful saying, That Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.

“ Fifthly, I must also declare in his sight, I am the most unworthy that ever opened his mouth to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in the gospel. Yea, the sense of this made me altogether unwilling to fall about

so great a work, until by the importunity of some, whose names are precious and favourable to me, and many others, I was prevailed with to fall about it, and yet I am hopeful, not altogether without some fruit; and if I durst say it without vanity, I never found so much of the presence of God upon my spirit, as I have found in exercises of that nature, though I must still confess attended with inexpressible weakness, and this is the main thing for which I must lay down my tabernacle this day, viz. That I did preach Christ and the gospel in several places of this nation; for which I bless him (as I can) that ever such a poor obscure person as I am, have been thus privileged by him; for making mention of his grace as I was able.

“ In the next place, though to many I die desired, yet I know, to not a few my death is not desired; and it is the rejoicing of my heart, that I die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has loved me, and given himself for me, and in the faith of the prophets and apostles, and in this faith of theirs there is not a name under Heaven by which men can be saved, but the name of Jesus, and in the faith of the doctrine and worship of the Kirk of Scotland, as it is now established according to the word of God, confession of faith, catechisms larger and shorter; and likewise I join my testimony against Popery, perjury, profanity, heresy, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine.

“ In the close, as a dying person, and one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it on godly ministers to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and not to hold their peace in such a day, when so many ways are taken for injuring of him, his name, way, sanctuary, ordinances, crown, and kingdom; I hope there will be found a party in this land, that will continue for him and his matters in all hazards; and as faithfulness is called for in ministers, so professors would concern themselves that they countenance not, nor abet any thing inconsistent with former principles and practices. Let the land consider, how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like Ephraim long ago, a cake not turned.

“ As concerning that which is the ground of my death, viz. preaching here and there in some corners; I bless my God, I have not the least challenge for it; and though those that condemned me are pleased to call such preachings rendezvous of rebellion, yet I must say this of them, they were so far from being reputed such in my eyes, that if ever Christ had a people, or party, wherein his soul took pleasure, I am bold to say, these meetings were a great part of them; the shining and glory of God was eminently seen amongst these meetings, the convincing power and authority of our Lord went out with his servants in those blasphemously nick-named conventicles: this I say, without reflection upon any. I have a word to say further, that God is calling persons to repentance, and to do their first work: O that Scotland were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are sworn in the covenant.

“ Again, That Christians of grace and experience would study more straitness and stability in this day, when so many are turning to the right hand, and many to the left; he that endureth to the end shall be saved; he hath appointed the kingdom for such as continue with him in his temptations.

“ Next, if ever you expect to have the form of the house shewed you in all the laws thereof, goings-out thereof, and comings-in thereof, then think it no shame to take shame to you for all that has been done: sitting down on this side Jordan, is like to be our bane. Oh! when shall we get up and run after him, till he brings us into the promised land, let us up and after him with all our heart, and never rest till he return.

“ I recommend my wife and young one to the care and faithfulness of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the God that fed me to this day, and who is the God of my salvation, their God and my God, their Father and my Father. I am also hopeful, that Christians, friends and relations, will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.



"Lastly, I do further bear my testimony to the cross of Christ, and bless him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in such a lot as this: glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this; and therefore let none that loves Christ and his righteous cause, be offended in me.

"And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands, so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, and of all his interest therein; though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all these things to the infinitely wise God, who has done, and will do all things well. Oh that he would return to this land again, to repair our breaches, and take away our backsliding, and appear for his work! Oh that he would pass by Scotland once again, and make our time a time of love; come Lord Jesus, come quickly! Himself hasten it in his own time and way. The Lord is my light and life, my joy, my song, and my salvation; the God of his chosen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghost keep up and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, the edification of his people, and my own eternal advantage. Amen.

"JOHN KIDD."

Having now given our readers a faithful account of the behaviour and dying speeches of the most eminent persons who suffered in Scotland, we shall return again for London, where the last person of quality that suffered, was the duke of Monmouth, whose expedition and sufferings are next related.

*The MARTYRDOM of JAMES, DUKE of MONMOUTH, who was beheaded at Tower-Hill.*

THE last person with whom we shall conclude this mournful tragedy, and the greatest in it, is the late James, duke of Monmouth; one indeed who, if he had been less, might have been one of the greatest men either in England or the world. By reason of some passages in his life, not so defensible, it was thought, at first, better to draw a veil before that unfortunate prince, and say nothing at all of him. But what allowances are made for custom and education, God only knows. I remember a shrewd answer given to an objection of this nature, Where, said one, should he learn any better? But, however, where there has been any time to think soberly of past actions, or none of that nature reiterated, charity is obliged to judge favourably. And besides, the good West-Countrymen would be very angry if they should not find their master that they loved so well, and suffered so much for, among the rest of these noble heroes. None can deny but he was a great general, a man of courage and conduct, and great personal valour, having signalized himself both at Mons and Maestricht, so as to gain a high and just reputation. He was all along true and firm to the Protestant interest in and out of parliament, though abhorring any base way of promoting it, as well as his friend my lord Russell. This is intended rather as a character, or very short compendium, than any history of his life. He was all along the people's darling, whose hearts were entirely his, by his courtesy and affability, as other persons lost them by their sourness and haughty pride. After Russell's death he went into Flanders, whence had he prosecuted his design, and gone, as it is said he intended, into the emperor's service, how many laurels might he have won, and how many more would now be growing for him? But his fate was otherwise. After the defeat of his army at Sedgmoor, he fled with my lord Gray, who was first taken, and he himself a little after brought up to London, and on his attainder in parliament, beheaded on Tower-Hill. It is said, a certain brave old officer, who then came over with him, and since with the prince, offered with a small party of horse to have ventured through the guards, and took him off the scaffold. But they could not be got together; his time

was come. Providence had designed other things, that our deliverance should be more just, peaceable, and wonderful, and that the glory thereof should be reserved for their sacred majesties king William and queen Mary.

*Summary of his last Words.*

"I REPENT in general of all my sins, and am more particularly concerned for what blood hath been spilt on my account, and the rather seeing the issue is such as I fear will prove of fatal consequence to the reformed Protestant religion.

"Instead of being counted factious and rebellious, the very opposing Popery and arbitrary power, now arising and appearing plain enough, would sufficiently have protected my cause; besides, several other most heinous and notorious crimes (such as the unhappy fate of the earl of Essex, and my father of ever blessed memory, and others now covered over with jesuitical policy), should have been detected and avenged.

"I have lived and shall now die in the faith of this, that God will work a deliverance for his people, and then will be discovered the great and horrid, and scarcely to be paralleled villanies our enemies have been guilty of; but now you see my case is desperate, yet know that I die a martyr for the people, and shall rather pity the state, that their false and covetous minds have brought themselves and me to, than discover who are the persons concerned in my overthrow; and I heartily forgive all that have wronged me, even those that have been instrumental in my fall, earnestly praying for their souls.

"And I hope king James will shew himself to be of his brother's blood, and extend his mercy to my children, even as he was wont to his greatest enemies, they being not capable to act, and therefore not conscious of any offence against the government."

NOW Argyle and Monmouth being laid in their graves, king James was so puffed up with a petty victory over a few clubmen, and so wrapt up with a conceit, that he had now conquered the whole nation, (so that now believing himself impregnable) he resolves to be revenged upon the western people for siding with his capital enemy Monmouth, and to that purpose, sends down his executioner in ordinary, Jeffreys, not to decimate according to the heathen way of mercy, but with the beesom of his cruelties, to sweep the country before him, and to depopulate instead of punish; at which time acquaintance or relation of any that fell in the field, with a slender circumstance tacked to either, was a crime sufficient for the extirpation of the family. And young and old were hanged by clusters, as if the chief justice had designed to raise the price of halters; besides the great number of those that upon bare suspicion were transported beyond sea, and there sold for slaves; and the purchase-money given away to satisfy the hunger of needy Papists. After-ages will read with astonishment the barbarous usage of those poor people; of which, among many instances, this one may seem sufficient, whereby to take the dimensions of all the rest: that when the sister of the two Hewlings hung upon the chief justice's coach, imploring mercy on the behalf of her brothers, the merciless judge, to make her let go, caused the coachman to cut her hands and fingers with the lash of his whip. Nor would he allow the respite of the execution but for two days, though the sister with tears in her eyes offered a hundred pounds for so small a favour. And whoever sheltered any of those forlorn creatures, were hurried to the slaughter-house with the same inexorable outrage, without any consideration either of age or sex; witness the execution of the lady Lisle at Winchester. As for Argyle and the duke, though they might die pitied, yet in regard they had declared open hostility, it was no more than upon ill success they were to expect.

Now, to complete our Western martyrology, and that we



we may not be too tedious, shall proceed to give the particular cases of those that were condemned and executed in the West, with their Christian behaviour and dying speeches, as their plain country friends have preserved them.

### The MARTYRDOM of Mr. MATTHEW BRAGG.

MR. Matthew Bragg, the next sufferer under consideration was a gentleman descended from an ancient and good family; he was bred an attorney, in which he practised the law: his case being this, he happened to be upon the road riding home to his house, being come from a gentleman's house for whom he kept courts. He, as before, being met with by a party of horse belonging to the duke of Monmouth, who were going to search the house of a Roman-Catholic for arms, who lived two or three miles from the place where they met him, they required him to go with them, and shew them the way, he knowing the country better than they did; he desired to be excused, telling them, It was none of his business, and besides he had no arms. But his excuses signified nothing, they forced him amongst them, where they went; when being come, a party immediately entered the house, and searched it: Mr. Bragg never dismounted, they being then satisfied, took him along with them to Chard, where the duke of Monmouth then was. Being there, after having set up his horse where he used to do, often having occasion there, he was much tampered with to engage in the design, but he refused it; but the next morning made haste out of town, not seeing the duke at all; calling for his horse, it was told him, that it was seized for the duke's service. So then he took his cane and gloves, and walked to his own house, which was about five or six miles, and was no more concerned in the affair, than that after the duke's defeat at King's-Sedgemoor, some busy person informed, and required a warrant from a justice of peace for the said Mr. Bragg, who obliged himself to enter into a recognizance to appear at the next assizes; the said justice accounting the matter in itself but trivial; and indeed all men did judge him out of danger. At Dorchester he appeared in court to discharge his bail, on which he was presently committed, and the next day being arraigned, pleading not guilty, put himself on the trial, by God and his country, which found him and twenty-eight more of thirty guilty; the lord chief justice often saying, If any lawyer or parson came under his inspection, they should not escape; the evidence against him was the Roman-Catholic, whose house was searched, and a woman of ill fame, to whom the lord chief justice was wonderfully kind; but his evidence, which were more than twenty, to prove his innocence, signified nothing, the jury being well instructed by the lord chief justice. Being thus found guilty, sentence was presently pronounced, and execution awarded, notwithstanding all the interest that was made for him, as before observed.

Being now condemned on Saturday, and ordered to be executed on Monday, he spent the residue of his little time very devoutly, and much becoming a good Christian, and a true Protestant of the church of England, all which availed nothing with this Protestant judge. He was frequently visited by a worthy divine of the church of England, who spent much time with him, and received great satisfaction from him. The said divine told me, That his deportment, behaviour, and conversation, was so much like an extraordinary Christian, that he could not in the least doubt but this violent passage would put him into the fruition of happiness. He wished and desired a little longer time, out of no other design, but thoroughly to repent of his sins, and make himself more sensible of, and fit for to receive the inheritance that is prepared for those that continue in well doing to the end. When he came to the place of execution with great courage and resolution, being as he said, prepared for death, he behaved himself very gravely and devoutly. When he was on the ladder, being asked, Whether he was not sorry for his being concerned in the rebellion?

He replied, That he knew of none that he was guilty of; and prayed them not to trouble him; adding, He was not the first that was martyred; he was so much a Christian as to forgive his enemies. And after some private devotions he suddenly was translated, as we have all hopes to believe, from earth to heaven. The only favour of this Protestant judge was, to give his body to his friends, in order to it's interment amongst his family.

### The MARTYRDOM of Mr. SMITH, Constable of Chardstock, at the same Time.

THE next eminent person that suffered with him at the same time and place, was one Mr. Smith, who was constable of Chardstock, who having some money in his hands that belonged to the militia, which came to the knowledge of some of the duke's friends, they obliged him to deliver it to them, which he was forced to do; and for this was indicted for high-treason, in assisting the duke of Monmouth, to which he pleaded Not guilty. The evidence against him were the same with those that had been against Mr. Bragg. The said Mr. Smith informed the court and the jury, what little credit ought to be given to the evidence. The lord chief justice thundered at him, saying, Thou villain, methinks I see thee already with a halter about thy neck; thou impudent rebel, to challenge these evidences that are for the king. To which the prisoner replied very boldly, My lord, I now see which way I am going, and right or wrong I must die; but this I comfort myself with, that your lordship can only destroy my body; it is out of your power to touch my soul. God forgive your rashness; pray, my lord, know it is not a small matter you are about, the blood of man is more precious than the whole world. He then was stopped from saying any more. The evidences being heard, a strict charge was given the jury about him. To be short, the jury brought him in guilty; so that he with the rest received sentence of death all together, and were executed on Monday; but by particular order from my lord, he was ordered to be first executed. The day being come for execution, being Monday, he with a courage undaunted was brought to the place, where with Christian exhortations to his brethren that suffered with him, he was ordered to prepare, being the first to be executed, where he spoke the following words:

#### " CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

" I AM now, as you see, launching into eternity; so that it may be expected I should speak something before I leave this miserable world, and pass through those sufferings, which are dreadful to flesh and blood; which indeed shall be but little, because I long to be before a just judge, where I must give an account, not only for the occasion of my sufferings now, but for sins long unrepented of, which indeed have brought me to this dismal place and shameful death. And truly, dear countrymen, having ransacked my soul, I cannot find my small concern with the duke of Monmouth doth deserve this heavy judgment on me; but I know, as I said before, it is for sins long unrepented of; I die in charity with all men; I desire all of you to bear me witness, I die a true professor of the church of England; beseeching the Lord still to stand up in the defence of it. God forgive my passionate judge, and cruel and hasty jury; God forgive them, they know not what they have done. God bless the king; and though his judges had no mercy on me, I wish he may find mercy when he standeth most in need of it: make him, O Lord, a nursing father to the church; let mercy flow abundantly from him, if it be thy will, to those poor prisoners, to be hereafter tried; and, Lord, if it be thy holy will, stop this issue of Christian blood, and let my guiltless blood be the last spilt on this account. Gentlemen all, farewell, farewell all the things of the world."

Then having sung some few verses of a psalm, and put up some private ejaculations to himself, he said, " O Lord,



Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so submitted to the executioner, September 7, 1685.

*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. JOSEPH SPEED, of Culliton.*

**T**HIS man suffered at the same time and place: when he came near the place of his execution, spying his countryman and friend, he called him, and said, I am glad to see you here now, because I am not known in these parts; being answered by his friend, I am sorry to see you in this condition: he replies, It is the best day I ever saw; I thank God I have not led my life as unchristian-like as many have done, having since the years of sixteen always had the checks of conscience on me, which made me to avoid many gross and grievous sins; my course of life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot justify myself; all men err. I have not been the least of sinners, therefore cannot excuse myself; but since my confinement I have received so great a comfort, in some assurance of the pardon of my sins, that I can now say, I am willing to die, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and say to death, Where is thy sting? And to grave, Where is thy victory? Being asked by some rude soldiers, whether he was not sorry for the rebellion he was found guilty of? He courageously replied, If you call it a rebellion, I assure you I had no sinister ends in being concerned; for my whole design in taking up arms under the duke of Monmouth, was to fight for the Protestant religion, which my own conscience dictated me to, and which the said duke declared for, and had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for so doing, and do not question, if I have committed any sin in it, but that it is pardoned: pray, Mr. Sheriff, let me be troubled no more in answering of questions, but give me leave to prepare myself (those few minutes I have left) for another world, and go to my Jesus, who is ready to receive me: then calling to his friend, who stood very near him, said, My dear friend, you know I have a dear wife and children, who will find me wanting, being somewhat incumbered in the world; let me desire you as a dying man, to see that she be not abused; and as for my poor children, I hope the Father of heaven will take care of them, and give them grace to be dutiful to their distressed mother; and so with my dying love to all my friends, when you see them, I take leave of you, and them, and all the world, desiring your christian prayers for me to the last moment; then repeating some sentences of scripture, as, Colossians iii. 1, 2. If ye then, &c. and praying very fervently, said, I thank God I have satisfaction; I am ready and willing to suffer shame for his name: and so pouring forth some private ejaculations to himself, and lifting up his hands, the executioner did his office: the soldiers then present said, They never before were so taken with a dying man's speech; his courage and christian-like resolution caused many violent men against the prisoners, to repent of their tyranny towards them; some of whom in a short time died full of horror: and thus fell this good man, a true Protestant, and one that held out to the last.

*The MARTYRDOM of JOHN SPRAGE and Colonel HOLMES, at Bridport and Lyme.*

**J**OHNSprage, who suffered at Bridport, was a very good man, and behaved himself with a great deal of christian-like courage to the end: his speech and his devotions, &c. must be omitted, not being possible to take them, by reason of the rudeness, &c. and the shortness of the time allowed him by the officers.

There were executed with Mr. John Sprage twelve in the county of Dorset. Mr. John Sprage of Lyme, a man more fit to die, than he that condemned him was fit to live: he was a zealous Christian, and a man that in a manner lived in heaven while on earth; he was but of an ordinary estate in this world: but to be short, his praise, his worth, his fame will never die in those places where known: he went about doing good, even in his

worldly employments, as I have been credibly informed; hardly any thing coming that way, but what his spiritual meditations were upon. He was apprehended near Salisbury, brought to Dorchester, where I saw him several times, and was conversant with him before his trial; he carried himself very moderately to all; some of divers principles in matters of religion, he continually prayed with them, advising and instructing them to those holy duties which were necessary to salvation. Being asked, how he could endure those hardships he had undergone since his being taken? Says he, If this be all, it is not so much; but my friend, if you were to take a journey in those ways you were not acquainted with, you would (I hope) desire advice from those that had formerly used those ways, or lived near by them: Yes, says he. Then said he, The ways of affliction which I have lately travelled in, I had advice many a time from a minister, who hath often told his congregation of the troublesomeness of the road, and of the difficulty of getting through; and hath given me, and hundreds of others to understand the pits and stones in the way, and how to avoid them; he has been a man used to these roads many years; I have taken his advice; I am got thus far on comfortably, and I trust shall do so to the end; I am not afraid to fight a duel with death, if so it must be: now I thank God I can truly say, O death, where is thy sting? And, O grave, where is thy victory? Two or three days after their sentence, they were drawn to execution, but were very rudely and opprobriously dealt with, to the shame of those that then had the charge over them; their rigour unto them was more like Turks than Christians. But to conclude, being come to the place of execution he prayed very devoutly with them all, but by the rudeness of the guards, there could be no copy taken that could be said to be true: all of them died very courageously, especially this stout christian champion, who spoke to them in these words (looking on the soldiers) saying, Little do you think that this very body of mine, which you are now come to see cut in pieces, will one day rise up in judgment against you, and be your accuser, for your delight in spilling of christian blood; the heathens have far more mercy: O it is sad, when England must out-strip Infidels and Pagans! but pray take notice, do not think that I am not in charity with you; I am so far, that I forgive you and all the world; and do desire the God of mercies to forgive you, and open your hearts, and turn you from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the Lord Jesus Christ; and so farewell. I am going out of the power of you all; I have no dependence but upon my blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit my dear wife and children, and all my family.

There were many of note executed at Lyme, particularly colonel Holmes, who was the first of those there executed, near the same place where they landed, when they came ashore with the duke of Monmouth, being brought to the place after some difficulty; for the horses that were first put into the sledge would not stir, which obliged those concerned to get others, which they did from the coachman, who had that morning brought them to town; when they were put into the sledge, they broke it in pieces, which caused the prisoners to go on foot to the place of execution; where being come, as I told you before, the colonel began thus at the foot of the ladder: he sat down with an aspect altogether void of fear, but, on the contrary, with a kind of smiling countenance, began to speak to the spectators to this purpose, that he would give them an account of his first undertaking in the design, which was long before in London; for there he agreed to stand by, and assist the duke of Monmouth, when opportunity offered; in order to which, he went to Holland with him, and there continued until this expedition, in which God had thought fit to frustrate his and other good men's expectations: he believed the Protestant religion was bleeding, and in a step towards extirpation, and therefore he with these his brethren that were to suffer with him, and thousands more, had adventured their lives and their all to save it; but God Almighty had not appointed them to be the instruments in so glorious a work; yet notwithstanding



withstanding he did verily believe, and doubted not, that God would make use of others, that should meet with better success, though the way or means was not yet visible, but of this he did not doubt; he also was satisfied of the duke's title, so that matter did not afflict him on account of his engaging on this score: and going on further with a discourse of this nature, he was asked by a person, Why he did not pray for the king? He with a smiling countenance answered, I am sorry you do not yet understand the difference between speaking and praying: and having ended his discourse, he then prepared himself by prayer for his dissolution, which for half an hour was very devout and pious.

Having finished his prayer, he took occasion to speak to his suffering brethren, taking a solemn leave of them, encouraging them to hold out to the end, and not to waver, observing that this being a glorious sun-shining day, I doubt not, though our breakfast be sharp and bitter, it will prepare us, and make us meet for a comfortable supper, with our God and Saviour, where all sin and sorrow shall be wiped away; so embracing each of them, and kissing of them, told the sheriff, You see I am imperfect, only one arm, I shall want assistance to help me upon this tragical stage; which was presently done, and execution suddenly took place.

The colonel with eleven more were brought from Dorchester to Lyme, six in a coach, and six in a cart; as he was drawn through the town, he cheerfully beholding the people, advised them not to be discouraged at their severe deaths; for that though it was their hard fortunes to lose the day in so good a cause, yet he questioned not but it would be revived again, and by such means as he nor they could not imagine; God, I hope and trust, will never let this nation fall into Popery. Being brought to the inn, where they stopped near two hours, until the butchers had prepared every thing for the slaughter, they were visited by a very worthy divine, and vicar of that town, who offered them those spiritual helps, usual on those occasions, which some of them embraced, and others not; their principles being different from the church of England. The gaoler speaking to colonel Holmes to knock off his irons, he said, Great men of state wear chains, and it is accounted for their honour, but though there is a vast difference betwixt those golden ones and mine, yet I take mine to be more honourable, as that good apostle said, he accounted it an honour to suffer shame for his master's name; the sledge being in readiness they prepared to enter it; but alas! who should draw such men to execution? Though men were so bloody, the very beasts refused to draw them; and instead of going forward, they went backwards, and could by no means be made to do it, which so enraged some persons, that they took the coach-horses out of the coach, and placed them to the sledge; but presently the sledge broke in pieces; then spoke this worthy good man: Pray, gentlemen, you see all your strivings will not do to draw us to execution, I verily believe there is more in it than you are aware of; pray read about the prophet, that went out of God's way, his beast saw what he could not, and turned aside. Give us leave and we will walk to the place.

Being there come, the colonel prepared first to mount that tragical stage, the heads of his speech you have before; embracing his fellow-sufferers, and kissing them, and giving them some spiritual comforts; he desired help of the sheriff to go up the ladder, having but one arm, and the gallows higher than ordinary, which was granted; and in a short time after the executioner performed his task.

The colonel in his prayer not mentioning the king, he was charged as before; to which he replied, He prayed for him in general, praying for all mankind. Thus fell the valiant and good Christian, colonel Holmes; his dying words were afterwards found to come to pass; he was much lamented by all that saw him, except by some, who, it was feared, were delivered up to a seared conscience.

*The MARTYRDOM of Messrs. SAMPSON LARKE, CHRISTOPHER BATTISCOMB, Dr. TEMPLE, Captains MATTHEWS, MADDERS, and KIDD, Mr. JOSEPH TYLER, &c. &c.*

MR. Sampson Larke, who was a very eminent, pious man, and had lived in that town, but a little before, many years; he was there well acquainted, and all people that knew him had a value for him, behaving himself with that humility and circumspection, as nobody could have any occasion but to value him: he designed to have spoken somewhat on a portion of scripture, and was beginning, having mentioned the place he intended to speak upon, but was interrupted, and told, the work of the day being great, they should want time. So then he stopped, and replied, He could make application where he should not meet with interruption: and so applied himself to prayer, which he performed with great devotion and zeal for a quarter of an hour, to the great satisfaction of the auditors; and so taking leave of his suffering brethren, he mounted the stage, which was to be the last act he made in this world: being on the ladder, he saw some of his friends and neighbours weeping and mourning for him, to whom he spoke, Pray weep not for me, I am going to a place of bliss and happiness, wherefore pray repair to your houses, and ere you get thither, I doubt not but I shall be happy with my God and Saviour, where all tears shall be wiped away, and nothing shall remain but hallelujahs to all eternity.

There was also Mr. William Hewling, of London, a young gentleman under twenty, who came over with the duke of Monmouth; he seemed to be in a calm and composed frame of spirit, and with a great deal of courage and seriousness he behaved himself. There is already something said of his conversation and discourse; therefore we shall say nothing more of him, but that in all manner of appearance he died a good Christian, a true Protestant, and doubtless now enjoys the benefit of it. There were several worthy gentlemen more there executed, viz. Mr. Christopher Battiscomb, Dr. Temple, captain Madders, captain Matthews, captain Kidd, &c. in all, twelve, who all of them died with that courage and resolution as became Christians.

We proceed now to other parts of the country, where with the like butchery were only five executed, amongst whom was one Mr. Tyler, of Bristol, who had had a command in the duke's army, where he behaved himself very stoutly to the last; after the army was dispersed, he among others was taken, received sentence of death at Dorchester, and here brought for the completion of the same, and from thence we hope was translated to heaven. He spent his time between the sentence and execution very devoutly, in confirming and strengthening those that were to be his fellow-sufferers; and made it his business to bring them to a willingness to submit to, and a preparedness for death: the day being come, and he brought to the place of execution, he thus spoke, My friends, you see I am now on the brink of eternity, and in a few minutes shall be but clay; you expect I should say something, as is usual in such cases; as to the matter of fact I die for, it doth not much trouble me, knowing to myself the ends for which I engaged with the duke of Monmouth were both good and honourable. Here being stopped, and not suffered to proceed further, he then comforted his fellow-sufferers, desiring them to join with him in singing an hymn, which he himself composed for the occasion.

When the hymn was finished, he prayed devoutly for half an hour; after prayer he gave great satisfaction to all present of his assurance of heaven, had many weeping eyes for him, and was much lamented in the town, though a stranger to the place; so unbuttoning himself, said to the executioner, I fear not what man can do unto me; I pray thee do thy work in mercy, for I forgive thee with all my heart, and I also pray to God to forgive thee; do not mangle my body too much; and so lifting up his hands to heaven, the executioner did his office. There was also one William Cox that died with him, who also died very courageously, despising the shame, in hopes and expectation of a future better estate.



He and his two sons were some of the first that came to the duke of Monmouth, and all taken, and all condemned together: the father only suffered, the sons by providence were preserved. When he was going to execution he desired to see his sons, then in another prison in the town, to whom he gave his blessing; and though he was going to be executed, yet had that satisfaction to hope that Almighty God would preserve them, which really happened.

*Account of Messrs. GLISSON, JOHN SAVAGE, RICHARD HALL, JOHN SPRAGUE, and WILLIAM CLEGG, who were executed at Sherborne.*

**T**HERE were twelve executed at Sherborne, in the same county, who all died courageously, especially one Mr. Glisson, of Yeovil, in the county of Somerset; his extraordinary deportment and carriage at the place of execution, was so very considerable, as gave great satisfaction to his friends, and amazement to his enemies. He declared to the world that he was a true Protestant, and had not engaged with the duke of Monmouth, but judged it high time to stand up for the same, though God Almighty had thought fit to frustrate his designs, and to bring him to that place to seal the same with his blood.

Likewise, John Savage and Richard Hall, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, suffered at the same time and place; in their particular conversation they valued those most that they saw most of piety in, and pitied others that they saw not so well prepared; saying, that the remembrance of our vanity may cause compassion towards such as were in such a condition; exhorting all to be serious, and to consider their latter end, which deserved the greatest attention of mind; the way to die comfortably, being to prepare for it seriously; and if God should miraculously preserve us from this death now before our eyes, it should be the duty of us all to spend the remaining part of our time in such a manner as now, when we see death just at the door. At the hour of execution their cheerfulness and comfort was much increased, saying, Now the will of God will be done, and he hath most certainly chosen that for us which is best; with many other such like Christian expressions, too tedious here to be inserted, because we design to keep to our first intentions, and not to swell the account too large. Upon the whole, after they had with much earnestness recommended their souls to the all-wise God by prayer, they all with much content and satisfaction submitted themselves to the executioner, not doubting of a happy translation, and accordingly were executed and quartered; the rest of the executions in this county, as at Weymouth, Pool, Shafton, Wimborne, &c. not being ascertained, we shall pass over, and only give you particular touches, which we saw to our perfect knowledge.

John Sprague and William Clegg, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, were condemned at Exon, and there brought to be executed. Before they were brought into the place, a messenger came from the prisoners with a request to the vicar of the parish, to desire his company and assistance in this their extremity, and to administer those spiritual helps that were suitable to men in their circumstances. Accordingly the said minister came very readily, and did demand of them, What they had to desire of him? The dying persons answered, They desired his prayers. Accordingly he prayed with them a considerable space of time. And after that, he asked of them several questions, for to give him and the world satisfaction of the prepared condition they were in, in order to their launching into eternity, especially about the doctrine of non-resistance. John Sprague very soberly and moderately replied, but whether satisfactory or not, we leave to the reader; He believed that no Christian ought to resist a lawful power; but the case being between Popery and Protestantism, altered the matter; and the latter being in danger, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God in his providence had thought fit to bring

him to this place of execution. After reading a chapter out of the Corinthians, and singing a psalm suitable to the occasion, he very vehemently and fervently recommended his soul to the all-wise God by prayer for near half an hour, to the great satisfaction of all that heard him; then his wife and children coming to him, weeping bitterly, he embraced them in his arms, saying, Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your sins, for that he had that quiet satisfaction, that he was only going to be translated into a state of bliss and happiness, where he should sin and sorrow no more, but that all tears should be wiped away, wishing them to be diligent in the service of God. Then recommending his wife and children to the protection of the Almighty God, who had promised to be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless, who was faithful and able to make up their loss in him, in that which should be better for them than he could be; desiring God to be a refuge for them to fly to for security and preservation from the troubles that seemed to threaten this poor nation: the which they did conscientiously perform, though death here made a separation, he doubted not of meeting them in heaven at last. And so the executioner performed his task.

In the interim his brother-sufferer, William Clegg, was all the time on his knees, praying to himself with a seeming zeal; suddenly after which, his time being come to follow his brother, he only told the people, That his fellow-sufferer had spoken what he thought was necessary, and they were also his sentiments; and so submitted to execution.

*An Account of Mr. ROSE, Mr. EVANS, &c. who were executed at Axminster and Honiton.*

**T**HERE was one executed at Axminster, whose name was Mr. Rose; he was a gunner that landed with the duke of Monmouth, he had great resolution, and not at all startled with the fear of death. He said, That he defied death, and all them that were the occasion of it. He was very courageous, and died so. He spent some time in private prayer, and was not allowed time, because there was to be an execution at Honiton; so that his execution being over, we passed on to Honiton, where four were executed, one of which was a surgeon, his name, as is supposed, was Mr. Port, who behaved himself with that extraordinary Christian courage, that all the spectators were almost astonished, he being but young, about twenty, his prayers being fervent, his expressions so pithy, and so becoming a Christian of greater age, that drew pity and compassion from all present; a rude fellow, just before he was to be executed, called for a bottle of wine, and so began drinking the king's health to one of the guard, which he perceiving, Poor soul, said he, your cup seemeth to be sweet to you, and you think mine is bitter; which indeed is so to flesh and blood; but yet I have that assurance of the fruition of a future state, that I doubt not but this bitter potion will be sweetened with the loving-kindness of my dearest Saviour, that I shall be translated into such a state, where is fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore.

Likewise Mr. Evans, a minister, ought not to be omitted, who did all along, in the time of his confinement in prison, behave himself with that devotion and strictness, that became a Christian of great eminency, as indeed he was; he spent much of his time in preaching and praying to his fellow-prisoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; he at last by appointment, being condemned, was executed by himself; at which time and place he behaved himself with great courage and devotion, and with a great willingness and cheerfulness he submitted to execution. There might have been much more said of this worthy man, but because we will keep to our design, shall be omitted. Many others, who were also very eminent, suffered in this county, for asserting and endeavouring to secure the Protestant religion.



*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. SIMON HAMLING  
and Mr. CATCHETT, at Taunton.*

IT is now necessary to add, the unfortunate case of Mr. Simon Hamling, at Taunton, in order to shew that sometimes innocency will not protect. Mr. Hamling was formerly an inhabitant of the place, but of late years had lived two or three miles from thence; he was a very honest, worthy, good Christian; but was a dissenter, and indeed in the judgment of some fiery men, that might be crime enough, as did too sadly appear in divers cases. But to our purpose: Mr. Hamling living in the country, hearing of the duke of Monmouth's being in town, he there came to speak with his son, who lived in that place; where being come, he gave him advice, which was, that as he expected his blessing and countenance, he should not at all concern himself in the matter, but submit to the will of God in all things. And having thus advised his son, he returns home; and two days after came again to town on a market-day with his wife, to buy provisions for his family, and returned to his house again. And this was all the times he was in town while the duke was there. But after the business was over, he was brought in on suspicion, being a dissenter, that was crime enough, except money appeared to a justice of that town, who usually did commit or dismiss as that appeared. This man was arraigned at Taunton, pleaded not guilty. The matter above is the truth of this case; the evidences were two profligate rascals, that had encouragement from the justice, they usually doing what he put them on. The prisoner had many to prove this fact, and his honesty; but this did not avail, the jury found him guilty, with two more, who were presently sentenced, and next morning executed, to be examples to others. It is said, the justice made application to our famous Protestant judge, and hinted some mistake concerning him. To which, as I have been informed, he should reply, you have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you. Which was a very fine reply from a merciful judge, but nothing else could be expected, as the whole treatise evinceth: the tender mercies of the wicked being cruel. This man behaved himself very worthily at the place of execution, and did at the last declare his crime to be the same as is above mentioned, and not otherwise. Thus fell this pious Christian, a man by all sober people that knew him beloved, and disrespected by none but loose villains, who took away his life at last.

There was one Mr. Catchett executed with him, his crime, being a constable of the hundred, he was surprised by a party of the duke's, and shewed a warrant to bring in provisions and other necessaries for the use of the army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatened to have his house burnt, &c. so that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preservation; but this was not sufficient, for being found guilty, he was also executed at the same time and place.

*The Embarrassments and Escape of Mr. THOMAS  
LAWRENCE, &c. &c.*

MR. THOMAS LAWRENCE, at Dorchester, was also dealt very hardly with. He had the managing of an estate belonging to a person of quality, who had a barn in the parish of Lyme, where the duke landed. The day after his landing a party came and took away three horses from off this estate, which he having the trust and care of, makes application to the duke for them, adding, that he ought not to suffer any of his master's goods to be wanting, but must endeavour to recover them again. Thus he entreated the duke for the horses, but all would not prevail; but at last had one, and was forced to leave two. This was looked on as an abetting, judged to be by consent. After the defeat was given, he was had before a justice of the peace, who bound him over to the assizes, where appearing, he was committed; pleaded not guilty on his trial, which he pleaded to very honestly, yet was found guilty,

and sentenced to die. My lord was excellent at improvement, it was thought he would, if possible, have brought in the gentleman that owned the estate, who was very rich. This honest Mr. Lawrence was to be sacrificed, and his execution ordered to be at Warham; but my lord's favourite got a reprieve for him by the help of four hundred pounds, two hundred pounds being actually paid, the other secured by bond.

I promised, before I conclude, to give some account of the barbarous and cruel whippings, which were executed on many good, honest, and sufficient persons, both men and women, in the counties of Dorset, Devon, and Somerset, by the severe and cruel sentence of the lord chief justice; some for such small crimes, as an impartial man may judge they deserved none at all; more especially one Mr. Stayle, of Thorncomb, in Devonshire, his sufferings were so hard, that it caused many to pity him; he was a good liver, well beloved among his neighbours, and a true Protestant.

One Mrs. Brown, of Lyme, suffered very dear in that nature; she only jokingly said unto the officer of the excise, I will pay my excise to king Monmouth; which being sworn before this severe judge, she was found guilty of a misdemeanor, was sentenced to be whipped in several market-towns, which accordingly was done. But this cruelty was not only extended to those of riper years, and able better to endure those painful sufferings, but even to children.

A poor boy of Weymouth, in the county of Dorset, having got some pamphlet relating somewhat to satisfy the people that the duke of Monmouth came to secure the Protestant religion, had the hard fortune to take his trial before this harsh judge; he was said to be about ten or twelve years of age; he had the flesh of his back so cut with whipping, that some say he died with the same; but whether he died or not, never was such cruelty in all this world.

*A full Account of the MARTYRDOM of CAPTAIN  
MADDERS, in the County of Somerset.*

THIS Captain Madders, at the time of the duke's landing, was a constable at Crewkern, in the county of Somerset, and so diligent and active for the king in his office, that when two gentlemen of Lyme came there, and brought the news of the duke's landing, and desired horses to ride post to acquaint his majesty therewith, he immediately secured horses for them, the town being generally otherways bent, and assisted them so far as any called loyal, in those times, could do; which was represented to the lord chief justice, in expectation thereby to save his life. But an inquiry being made about his religion, and returned by a very worthy gentleman of those parts, That he was a good Protestant, an honest man, had a very good character amongst his neighbours: O then, says he, I will hold a wager with you he is a Presbyterian, I can smell them forty miles. Though moderately I now say, they could smell him two hundred miles west; then surely he must die, because he was, and had the character of an honest man, a good Christian, and a brave tradesman. But to be short, I could say a great deal more of him, being immediately acquainted with him, and was with him to the very last. Being brought to the place of execution, he was the last man except one executed, and he behaved himself, whilst the rest were executing, with great zeal; and lifting up his hands and eyes, would often say, Lord, make me so willing and ready to the last. And God did hear his prayers; for though he seemed to the spectators to be somewhat unwilling to die, yet at the last he died with as much assurance and Christian resolution as any; for after his public prayer he came once down the ladder, and prayed again privately, then mounted the ladder again; the sheriff saying, Mr. Madders, if you please you may have more liberty; he answered, No, I thank you, Mr. Sheriff, now I am ready, I am willing, and desire to be dissolved, and to be



be with Christ. Oh! you cannot imagine what comfort and refreshment I have received in a few minutes; my comforts are so great that I cannot contain myself. So blessing and praising of God, he was translated, as I hope (we have no grounds to imagine the contrary) from earth to heaven, repeating Rev. xx. 6. "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power."

*A full Account of the MARTYRDOM of CAPTAIN KIDD, at the same Time.*

**C**APTAIN KIDD was the last executed at that time, as we have observed before; as soon as captain Madders was turned off; he began to prepare to follow, and called to the guards and them present, Do you see this? (pointing up to eleven that were dead before him) Do you think this is not dreadful to me, that eleven of twelve of us, that but a few hours hence came down together, are dead and in eternity? And I am just going to follow them, and shall immediately be in the same condition. Says one to him, It must be dreadful to flesh and blood. Says he, Well, gentlemen, I will assure you, I am so far concerned, that methinks I begrudge their happiness, that they should be so long before me in bliss and happiness: but I will make haste to follow; I am satisfied this is the best day that ever I saw: the day of a man's death is said to be better than the day of his birth: and truly so I find it as to my flesh, for I shall be presently free from sin and sorrow; I am satisfied God hath done his best for me: I might have lived and have forgotten God, but now I am going where I shall sin no more: it is a blessed thing to be free from sin, and to be with Christ: O how great were the sufferings of Christ for us, beyond all that I can undergo! How great is that glory to which I am going! Then taking his leave of the people then present, he prayed some small time very devoutly, and with seeming great joy and comfort; and the executioner did his office.

*A full Account of the MARTYRDOM of Dr. TEMPLE, SAMUEL ROBINS, CHARLES SPEAK, and Mr. PARROT, at Taunton.*

**D**OCTOR TEMPLE was one of them that landed with the duke, and was his chief physician and chirurgeon; he lived in Nottingham, but minding to see other parts of the world (as I have heard) goes for Holland, where he came acquainted with the duke of Monmouth; concerning which he thus spoke, just as he was going off the ladder.

*"Christian Friends, and Dear Countrymen,*

**I** Have somewhat to say, and not very much, before I depart from you, and shall be seen no more, And,

"First, As to my engagement with the duke of Monmouth.

"Secondly, How far I was concerned: and,

"Thirdly, I shall leave all of you to be judges in matter of fact.

"First, As a dying man I now declare, that when I entered myself with the duke of Monmouth, to be his chirurgeon, it was on no other account but to serve him in the West-Indies; where I knew no other design whatsoever, but to possess himself of some of those islands, until I had been at sea two days, wherein one privately told me, we were absolutely bound for England, and I should take it from him it was true: it much surpris'd me, but knowing no way to avoid it, or to get on shore, though it was at that time contrary to my inclinations, if I could have avoided it, I would not let others see that I had that dissatisfaction within me. After our landing at Lyme, I knew it was never the nearer to attempt my escape, the country being so beset; on the other hand, if the duke of Monmouth did win the day, I might have rais'd my fortunes as high as I could expect: these were the arguments that flesh and blood did create in my breast for self-preservation.

While I was with the said duke, I did him as much service as I could, and faithfully: after it pleas'd God to disperse the army under his command, I endeavour'd to secure myself, but by Providence was taken at Hinton, from thence committed to Exon, and after removed to Dorchester, where I received my sentence, and am now, as you see, just going to execution: the Lord prevent all of you from such ignominious deaths; and I advise you all, that you never take any great thing in hand, but what you have a warrant for from the Lord: I assure you I had no satisfaction in this; but this I am sure, that if I have done any thing amiss in it, it is pardoned; I bless God I have that satisfaction, I die a professor of the church of England; I desire pardon of all those I have any ways wronged or abused, as I freely forgive all those that have wronged or abused me; I am in charity with all men. Lord have mercy upon me, give me strength to go through these pains, and give me full assurance now at these my last moments: come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

There was also one Samuel Robbins, of Charmouth, in the county of Dorset, executed or rather murdered, at Warham, in the said county: we cannot pass him by in silence, his case being so extraordinary hard, that to speak moderately between the king and his case, we verily believe never man suffered innocenter; and this our readers will be satisfied in, after they have heard his crime, and on what small grounds he was found guilty, or so supposed, by my lord chief justice.

Mr. Robbins used generally in summer to use the craft of fishing, to get a competent maintenance for his family, and happened to be out at sea a fishing before Lyme that day the duke came into land; and was commanded on board one of the duke's ships, he not knowing who they were, and they bought his fish of him; after which they told him that was the duke of Monmouth, pointing at him, and that he was just going to land: he desired to go on shore, which was refused, and was told, that as soon as the duke was landed he should have his liberty; so accordingly he came on shore, and was never after with him, or ever took up arms under him: I leave the reader to judge whether this was high treason or no. This was all he was guilty of, except that he was a good honest man, a zealous Christian, a man of very good life and conversation, as I think his neighbours will attest it, in most towns and parishes where he lived: but alas! he had a good book in his house when taken, called, The Solemn League and Covenant; this was the high treason he must be guilty of, which was aggravated to the lord chief justice, by one or two hot spirits his neighbours. But to be short, he received sentence of death with great courage, and not at all dismayed, saying very often in prison before, if it pleas'd God to call him now (to glorify his name by this Providence of his) to death, he should be ready; but, said he, I am as innocent of any thing I have done against any man that may deserve this punishment, as the child now unborn. When he came to the place of execution, he very cheerfully declared his innocency to the spectators, as before, and so praying very devoutly for some time, he was executed: his prayer we have no exact copy of.

There was also one Mr. Charles Speak, of London, a gentleman of good extraction, being son to the worshipful George Speak, Esq. near Ilminster, in the county of Somerset, where he was executed: his case also was extraordinary hard; but there may be two great reasons given why he was executed; the first was, because he came from that good pious family, which always have been opposers to Popery, and suffered deeply for their courage that way. Secondly, the said Mr. Charles Speak had purchased some great place in the King's-Bench, or Common-Pleas, which was very profitable to him; so that by his fall, there being a forfeiture, much money might be made of it; all intercession could not avail with the lord chief justice, for his life. He happened to be at Ilminster at the time of the duke's being there, which was the greatest crime he was guilty of; the validity of his evidence I leave to those in the West, who know how far it was carried that way. He was a fine courteous loving gentleman.



leman; and notwithstanding his youth, he acted the part of an old christian soldier at his death, preparing himself to undergo those pains, saying very often, they were nothing to his deserts from God Almighty; but as for what I am accused of, and sentenced for, I hope you will believe I am not so guilty as my judge and accusers have endeavoured to make me; if it had pleased God, I should have been willing to have lived some time longer, but God's time being come, I am willing, I will be contented to drink this bitter cup off. Being at the place of execution, the crowd was so great, that I suppose he was shorter than otherwise he would have been; but alas, how could it be? For on every side of him, as well as up and down the town, the inhabitants were weeping and bewailing. Oh it is the worst day that ever we saw in this town! Must this good gentleman die here? Oh yet save his life, I am ready to die for him! And the like. He prayed very heartily for near an hour, and sung a psalm, and so we hope was translated to heaven, there to sing everlasting praises and hallelujahs. His father and mother, as may be easily judged, were not a little concerned about him; but their adversaries malice ended not here, but father and mother must be brought in, and how many thousands of pounds it cost them, is too well known in London to be here recorded; and most parts of the kingdom have heard in the public letters their names mentioned. Some may think they were concerned with the duke, but we never heard there was so much made appear against them, as could have made them to have been brought in guilty of high misdemeanors, had not the good gentleman and his lady been virtuous people, abhorring the debaucheries of the times, and of such a competent estate, able to spare ten or twelve thousand pounds; the hard usage this honest brave gentleman and his virtuous lady had, and their sufferings, to relate them, would be too numerous; and besides, it is so well known in most places in the West, that we shall, without saying any more, proceed with our further information.

Mr. Parrat, who was executed at Taunton: said (as it is supposed) he was a Londoner, and a brewer. When he came to the place of execution, he seemed a man almost unconcerned at death. After some time he began to deliver himself somewhat low in voice to the people, and after rising by degrees, he seemed more like a minister in the pulpit preaching devoutly, than a prisoner just going to execution; beholding the surrounding people in tears he desired all not to be faint-hearted because of their fall, and to think that there were no hopes remaining. He said, he verily believed God would yet work out deliverance for them, and the time they were in the greatest extremity, that would be God's opportunity. Put your whole trust, confidence, and dependence on the Lord, and he will never leave you, nor forsake you.

*The MARTYRDOM of HENRY BODDY, who was executed at Bath.*

WHILE Mr. Boddy was in prison, especially after sentence, he behaved himself mighty humble, meek, and was much in meditation, which was observed by several divines, especially one who attended him to the last, whose name was Mr. Simpson. His poor wife coming to see him at Wells, and to make her interest with some friends, if possible to save his life; but finding it lost labour, and that she could by no means prevail, she died there for grief before her husband was executed, to his great grief. When he came to the place of execution, he delivered himself to the people as follows:

"Good people, I am come here to pay a debt due to nature, which every one, one time or another, must pay, though not in this manner or nature. I am condemned as a traitor and rebel against my king, which were things I always hated and abhorred; and therefore give me so much time as to deliver myself to you: and what I say I hope you will believe at this time, being just going to give an account, not only for every idle word, but for all things I have done since I have had a being.

"I was born in Lyme-Regis, in the county of Dorset, and bred up a seaman from my infancy; I have had the honour to serve his majesty king Charles the Second, in his wars with the Dutch and French, divers times. I always thought it to be the duty of every true Englishman to stand up in his country's quarrel with foreigners, to maintain our ancient privileges and honour of our nation. I served him faithfully: and as for any undertaking now with the late duke of Monmouth, for which I am now come to suffer death; as for my designs, I am sure they were good, for I did believe him to be my sovereign's son and heir; but if otherwise, I have done amiss and am sorry, and hope the Lord hath pardoned it. While I was in arms, I am sure there is none can say I have personally wronged them. I desire all your prayers for me to the last. I am no orator, therefore if you please (speaking to the minister) do these last spiritual services for me, as for to pray with me, and for me."

The minister being much taken with him, desired leave of the sheriff to ask him some questions; which being granted, the minister said unto him, I must make bold with you, but not to hold you too long before I pray, but to satisfy myself and the people on what ground you stand; I mean as concerning your everlasting state. Now pray resolve me a few things: First, Whether you do own that doctrine of non-resistance, owned by the church, That it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king? O sir, as to that I answer, Could I have been satisfied he had been my lawful prince, I should not have done it. But, said the minister, he is, and you are not to be judge; except you own those things, some people will hardly have charity for you after you are dead. What matters that? said he, Would you have me, now you put me so close to it, to lie? No, I will not. I say, if he was my lawful king, I was misled in my judgment, and have committed a great error; but, Lord, I hope thou hast washed away all my sins, in and through the blood of my dear Redeemer, in whose merits alone I hope for mercy. I desire to be asked no more questions. Then the minister prayed very devoutly near half an hour; after which, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he quietly submitted to his execution.

*A correct Copy of the last Speech of Mr. JOHN HICKS.*

"I Suppose the spectators here present may expect that I should say something before I leave this sanguinary stage and passage through my bloody sufferings, by which my immortal spirit will be speedily transported into an invisible and eternal world: and I conclude they have different resentments hereof. Some resent them with much joy, high exultation, and triumph; others with equal grief and sorrow; that to the one I am a most pleasant spectacle, that they behold me with high complacency and delight; but to the other I am a mournful and unpleasant one, and they behold me with no less pity and compassion. Concerning the first, I can say, I freely forgive them, and heartily pray that God would most mercifully and graciously prevent their mourning through misery, not only here, but eternally hereafter. Concerning the other, I will say, Weep for your own sins, and for the sins of the nation, for the highest rebellions that ever were committed against the great and eternal God; lament bitterly for those sins that have been the meritorious cause of the late terrible judgment, that which I fear will cause God to break in upon this nation with an overflowing deluge of judgments, which are far more tremendous and dreadful. As for sympathizing with me, in drinking this bitter cup appointed for me, I return you most humble and hearty thanks, earnestly desiring God to come unto you, and fill your souls with all celestial comforts and spiritual consolations. Something I must say to purge and clear myself from a false accusation laid to my charge; as that I was engaged with colonel Blood, in rescuing colonel Mason, near Boston, when he was sent down with a guard from London to York, to be tried for high-treason; and that I was the man that



killed the barber of that city; and that I also was with him when he stole the crown. Now as I am a dying man, and upon the very brink of a stupendous eternity (the truth and reality whereof I firmly believe) without any reservation, or the least equivocation, I do declare in the presence of the all-seeing God, that impartial Judge, before whom in a very little time I must appear, I never saw nor conversed with Mr. Thomas Blood, from 1656, till after he stole the crown, which was in 1671, or 1672, nor was ever engaged with him in any of his treasonable plots or practices. It is true, I being involved in great trouble of another nature (of which I have given to the world a narrative, and which is notoriously known in the country where I then lived, by some that were enemies to me for my preaching) I was persuaded to apply myself to Mr. Blood, to procure by his intercession his late majesty's gracious favour: accordingly he brought me into his royal presence; while I was there, his majesty carried it with great clemency, without expressing one word of that which I am now charged with. Mr. Blood continued with his majesty a little longer than I did; then he told me that he had granted me a pardon, which I did thankfully accept of, knowing it would free me from all penalties and troubles that I was liable to, and were occasioned by my non-conformity. Then engaging him to take out my pardon; he told me, That he got it out with several others that had been engaged with him in several treasonable designs and actions; at which I was troubled, supposing it might be imputed to me thereby; yet, God knows, I have often since reflected upon it with great regret and dissatisfaction. If Mr. Blood did inform the late king to make himself the more considerable, and to bring as many of his party as he could to accept of their pardons, that he might be rendered utterly incapable of plotting any further mischief against his government, or any otherwise that I was engaged with him in any of his treasonable attempts; I now appeal to God, as a dying man, concerning it, that he hath done me an irreparable wrong. I also in the same manner do declare, that I was never engaged with any party in plotting or designing, or contriving any rebellion against the late king, and particularly, that I was altogether unconcerned in and unacquainted with that for which my lord Russell and others suffered, and as much a stranger to any against the present king. And whereas it is reported of me, that at Taunton I persuaded the late duke of Monmouth to assume the title of king; I do once more solemnly declare, That I saw not the said duke, nor had any conversation with him until he came to Shipton-Mallet, which was thirteen days after he landed, and several days after he had been at Taunton. And it is as false that I rid to and fro in the West to stir up and persuade men to go into his army, and rebel against his present majesty; for I was in the east country when the duke landed, and from thence I went directly to him, when he was at Shipton-Mallet, not one man accompanying me from thence. But hitherto as I lived, so now I die, owning and professing the true reformed Christian (commonly called the Protestant) religion, which is founded on the pure written word of God only, and which I acknowledge likewise to be comprehended in the articles of the doctrine of the church. This religion I have made a reasonable and free choice of, and have heartily embraced, not only as it protests against all Pagan and Mahometan religion, but against the corruption of the Christian; and I humbly and earnestly pray to God that by his infinite wisdom and Almighty power, he will prevent not only the utter extirpation and diminution thereof, by the height and influence of what is contrary thereto; and for that end the Lord make the professors of it to live up more to it's principles and rules, and bring their hearts and conversations more under the government and power of the same. I die also owning my ministry, non-conformity, for which I have suffered so much, and which doth now obstruct the king's grace and mercy to be manifested and extended to me; for as I chose it not constrainedly, so I appeal to God as a dying man, not moved from fullness or humour, or factious temper, or erroneous principles of

education, or from secular interests, or worldly advantages, but clearly from the dictates of my own conscience, and as I judged it to be the cause of God, and to have more of divine truth in it than that which is contrary thereto; so now I see no cause to repent of it, nor to recede from it; not questioning but God will own it at the last judgment day. If no more had been required after the late king's restoration to qualify ministers for public preaching, than was after the first restoration from the time of Charles the First, probably I might have satisfied myself therewith, and not scrupled conformity thereto; but the terms and conditions thereof, by a particular law made in 1662, being not only new, but so strict and severe, that I could never have satisfaction in my own conscience, after all my endeavours used for a compliance therewith, and a conformity thereto: to say nothing of the covenant, which I never took, but the giving my assent and consent, have been too difficult and hard for me to comply with. And I very well remember, that about fourteen years ago, entering into discourse with Mr. Patrick Heldore, an Irishman, who was contemporary with me in Dublin, concerning conformity, which he much endeavoured to persuade me to; I urged the severity of the fore-mentioned conditions against it, and after some debates and reasons with him, I told him I did believe they were contrived and designed on purpose to prevent our public preaching, and to keep us out of the church: to which he ingeniously replied, He judged it was so: for, said he, a bishop in Ireland (whose name I have forgot) told me the very same.

"But though I could not wade through, and conquer this difficulty, yet I censure not those that did it; and I believe after all the hottest disputes, and most violent contests between conformists and non-conformists, there are of both parties that will be glorified in heaven hereafter. According to the 29th art. of the church of England, a visible church is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, the sacraments of the Lord duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, and all those things that of necessity are requisite and necessary to salvation; so with such a church have I held the most intimate communion, and with such could hold it: I would not therefore be so incorporated with any church, as to exclude me from, and render me incapable of holding communion with other churches; I was never strongly bound up to any form of ecclesiastical government, but that under which a pure and undefiled religion doth flourish, and that which contains and really practises holiness, and advances the kingdom of God in the world, that can I approve of, and willingly live under, were I to live.

"I did approve of the ancient and present form of civil government; English monarchy I am fully satisfied with, and do also declare, that it is not warrantable for any subject to take up arms against, and resist their lawful sovereigns and rightful princes; and therefore had I not been convinced by several things that I have read and heard, to believe that the late duke of Monmouth was the legitimate son of his father Charles the Second, I had never gone into his army, judging that without this I could not be freed from the guilt of rebellion, which I always resolved to keep myself clear from: and though his father denied he was married to his mother, I thought it might be answered with this; that kings and princes, for state reasons, often cannot be fathomed by their subjects, affirming and denying things which otherwise they would not do, and make even their natural affections to truckle and stoop thereto. I exhort all to abhor all treasonable plots, and pretences of all rebellion, with the highest detestation, and to take the plain text of sacred scripture to walk by, in honouring and obeying, and living in subjection to rightful kings, and not readily to receive, or suddenly to be impressed with evil reports and defamation of them, also not rashly to be propagators of the same.

"I desire God to forgive all mine enemies, and to give me an heart to forgive them, which are many, some mighty, and all most malicious: particularly Barter, of Lifnel, who betrayed me, and proved such a traitor to

James,



James, duke of Monmouth, his old and intimate friend. I am grievously afflicted that I should prove the occasion of the great sufferings of so many persons and families: but this hath fallen under the just and wise ordering of Divine Providence, as David's going to Abimelech, when he proved the occasion of the death of all the persons, men, women, and children in the city: but who shall say unto God, What doest thou? The care of my most dear wife and a great many children, I cast upon God, who I hope will be better than the best of husbands unto her, and the best of fathers unto them: God knows how just and legal right my wife hath unto her estate; to him therefore I commit her, to defend her from the violence and oppression of men, particularly from a most inhuman and unnatural brother: but no wonder if he will lay violent hands upon his sister's estate, that hath so often laid them on his own father. I die a deeply humbled, self-judging, and self-condemning sinner, loathing and abhorring my many and great iniquities, and myself for them, earnestly desiring full redemption from the bonds of corruption, under which I have groaned so many years, longing for a most perfect conformity to the most holy and glorious God, the only infinite pure Being; thirsting for a perfect diffusion of his grace through all the powers and faculties of my soul, panting after perfect spiritual life and liberty, and a consummate love to my dearest Jesus, who is an all-comprehensive good, and to be satisfied with his love for ever: a vigorous and vehement zeal for the Protestant religion, with a belief I had of the duke's legitimacy, hath involved me in this ignominious death; yet blessed be God, that by sincere repentance and true faith in the blood of Jesus, there is passage from it to a glorious eternal life, and from these bitter sorrows to the fulness of sweetest joys that are in his presence, and from these sharp bodily pains to those most pure pleasures, that are at his right hand for evermore: and blessed be God, that such a death as this cannot prevent and hinder Christ's changing of my vile body, and fashioning it like his glorious body, in the general resurrection-day.

"I am now going into that world, where many dark things shall be made perfectly manifest and clear, and many doubtful things fully resolved, and a plenary satisfaction given concerning them; all disputes and mistakes concerning treason, rebellion, and schism, shall be at an end, and cease for ever: many things that are innocent, lawful, and laudable, which have foul marks and black characters stamped and fixed upon them here, they shall be perfectly purified and fully cleansed from there; where at one view more shall be known of them, than by all wrangling debates and eager disputes, or by reading all polemical books concerning them here. I greatly deplore and bewail the greedy appetite and insatiable thirst, that professing Protestants have after the blood of their brethren, and the high pleasure they take in the effusion thereof. But what will not men do, when they are either judicially blinded, or their secular worldly interest insensibly insinuates and winds itself into their religion, is so twisted and incorporated with it, that it animates and acts it, is the life and soul, the vital form and power, and made wholly subservient thereunto?

"I bless God for all my sufferings, and particularly for this last; for the benefit and fruit of it, by God's sanctifying of them to me, have been great; hereby I have been effectually convinced of the vanity of the world, and my own sinfulness by nature and practice, and to see that to be sin which I never saw before; and to be more thoroughly humbled for what I know to be sin, not only of commission, but of omission also; hereby I have been brought to a more thorough, deep, inward sense and feeling of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of Christ to justify me, and he hath been made much more dear and precious to my soul, than ever he was before. Hereby my soul hath been more refined from the dross of sensuality, wrought into a more heavenly frame, raised up to a higher pitch of spirituality; hereby I am made more meek and humble, and so judge more charitably of others that differ from me in opinion and judgment: so though by God's most righteous judgment I have been apprehended, and most justly and deservedly

undergo this suffering for my sins, yet I hope they have wrought for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, fitting and preparing me, making me a better qualified subject for, and far more meet to be a partaker of the same. By the grace and strength of God, I will not purchase my life by the death and blood of my Protestant brethren, but chuse to die rather than be a betrayer of them; the impetuous and violent assault of this I dreaded more than death itself. Blessed be God I was not exposed unto it, and conquered by it, as some have been; having such full bodily vigour and strength, being in such perfect health, notwithstanding my age, predominating in me, it hath made it more difficult to die, than if I had been clogged and incumbered with infirmities, made to bow and stoop under them by prevailing diseases and distempers, gradually worn out therewith, which many times makes men weary of life, and to desire to die; and this in conjunction with many things (which I forbear to mention) highly gratifying and pleasing to sense, which I must leave for ever, strengthens and heightens the difficulty, and begets a greater regret and reluctance in my will, to have the earthly tabernacle of my body dissolved, and my soul to dislodge and quit the same. But now when the black and gloomy shades of death do overspread me, I can say, to the glory of God's most free and powerful grace, true faith in some measure hath changed the difficulty into a facility and easiness of dying: it hath very much subdued the reluctance of my will against it; for it makes future things present, and invisible things visible, and doth realize and substantiate the same to me; and as by it I penetrate and pierce into eternity, and behold invisible and immortal things, so hereby, blessed be God, I have obtained a greater victory over sense: the world is crucified to me, and I to the world, and all the most pleasant and delightful objects therein; all finite, fading creatures, comforts and enjoyments, are become minute and small, despicable and contemptible to me, in comparison thereof, being infinitely contained and comprehended therein. Shall my soul clasp and cling about these mortal and perishing things? Shall it cleave and be glued to them? Shall it be confined and captivated into what is kept in the narrow bounds of time, and in this lower world? Shall it earnestly desire and thirst for muddy streams, yea, rivers of flesh-pleasing good; when by an eye of faith I can look into the indeficient, inexhaustible, purest fountain; the immense, immensurate ocean of divine good; hoping to drink thereof, to swim and bathe my soul therein for ever and ever? And when I consider how long my ears have been bound up, and tied to their innumerable and horrid oaths, and cursed blasphemies, and mine eyes to see the prophanation of the day of God; and when I beheld such an overflowing flood of most prodigious impiety, such an inundation of most monstrous iniquity, and so much hell upon earth, and that there is so much decay of holy zeal, and true piety, and christian religion, amongst the professors of it, such seeming incurable breaches and divisions, such expiring love, and charity, and partings among them; it hath powerful influence on my soul to reconcile it more to death, and makes it electively, and from choice, to leave this present world, and to take up my abode in that which is unseen and future, where there shall be nothing but perfect love and holiness; a sinless state, and serving God with all unweariedness and perfection, with the highest complacency and delight that immortal souls can be capable of: there is perfect peace and concord, the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, all fastened together with indissoluble and uninterrupted chains of most pure love, and all continually wrapt up in, and transported with the highest admiration of God's love, his infinite and incomprehensible excellencies and perfections, singing hallelujahs to him without ceasing, and triumphing in his praise for ever and ever. The consideration also, that I know so little of these sublime, profound, and divine mysteries; of the most glorious mystery of salvation by Jesus Christ; that I am so incapable to fathom the depth of the providences of God, whose ways are in the sea, and whose paths are in the deep



deep waters, and whose footsteps are not known, and particularly in the late stupendous and amazing one; and that I am so ignorant of the nature of angels and spirits, with their offices and operations, and of their high and glorious excellencies; and that I am so little acquainted with the nature of my own soul, as at present dwelling in, and united to my body, and as disunited and separated from it; how without corporeal organs it shall most vivaciously and vigorously perform all its proper functions and offices, and more than ever strongly and indefatigably serve the Lord Jesus, most fervently and abundantly love him, and delight in him every way, much more obtain the supreme and highest end of its creation and being; and this makes me much more willing to die, that I may have the knowledge thereof, with innumerable other things, that I am now either ignorant of, or do but imperfectly know; and so be made happy by a plenitude of fulness of enjoying intellectual pleasures, which are of all other most suitable, sweet, and satisfactory to immortal souls. And also I see that he that departs from iniquity makes himself a prey; and so many plunging themselves into the ways of iniquity, lest they should be accounted odious and vile, which makes them so much degenerate, not only from Christianity, but from humanity itself, as if they were scarce the excrement of either; contemning even that most noble, generous, heroic spirit that dwelt in many heathens, who accounted it most honourable and glorious to contend for their rights and liberties, yea, to suffer death, and the worst of deaths, in defence of the same; and judge them accursed and most execrably in the world that do so; and not only so, but for their own profit and advantage, have many of them enslaved their posterity by it, and are most industrious and laborious, most fierce and furious to destroy them, whereby they are become as unnatural as children that seek the ruin of their parents that begot them, and brought them forth; or them that lay violent hands upon themselves, dashing out their own brains, cutting their own throats, hanging and drawing themselves, ripping up their own bellies, tearing out their own bowels, they being in different senses children and members of that body politic they design and attempt the destruction of; and when I know not how long the duration and continuance of these things shall be, or a conclusion or end by God shall be put thereto, who by divine and unerring wisdom governs the world; why shall my soul be unwilling to take its flight into the unseen and eternal world, where no sullied, sordid, or impious thing, most incongruous and unbecoming nature, shall be seen or found, and where I shall behold no narrow, conclusive, contracted soul there, habitually preferring their private before a public good, but all most unanimously and equally centre in one common, universal good, and where the sighs, groans, and cries of the afflicted and persecuted shall be heard no more for ever?

"I earnestly exhort all most highly to prize and value time, and diligently improve it for eternity; to be wise, seriously and seasonably to consider of their latter end: for by the irrepeatable and irreversible law of heaven we must all die, yet we know not how, where, or when. Live with your souls full of solicitude and care, with a most deep concernedness and most diligent industriousness, whilst you have time and opportunity, and the means of grace, health, and strength, make sure of these two great things, viz.

"1. What merits for you a right and title to eternal life and glory, and the future unchangeable blessedness, as the Redeemer's most precious blood and righteousness; that thereby a real application and imputation may be unto you by sincere believing.

"2. That that which makes you qualified subjects for it, is the great work of regeneration, wrought in your souls, being renewed in the spirit of your minds, the Divine Nature being impressed upon them, repairing of the depraved image of God in you; that being transformed into his own likeness, thereby in the world you may mind and favour more the things of the spirit than the things of the flesh, celestial and heavenly more than terrestrial and earthly, superior more than inferior things;

and therewith have a holy life and conversation conjoined, that results and springs from the same, as fruit from the root, and acts from the habits. Let all, in order thereto, seriously consider these few texts of sacred scripture, let them predominantly possess you; let them be deeply and indelibly transcribed upon your souls; let them be assimilated thereunto, and made the written epistles, the lively pictures thereof, Matt. v. 8, 20. 'Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God. For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. John iii. 3. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God, &c. Gal. v. 19, 20, to 23. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, &c. James i. 18. Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures. 1 Pet. i. 3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again to a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Verse 13. Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, &c. Coloss. iii. 1, 2. If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above: set your affections on things above, not, &c. Gal. v. 24. And they that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts, &c. Eph. ii. 1. And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins. Rev. xx. 6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power. Rom. viii. 1. There is therefore now no condemnation, &c. 1 Pet. i. 15. But as he that hath called you is holy, so be ye, &c. Verse 23. Being born again, not of corruptible seed, &c. Psal. iv. 3. But know that the Lord hath set apart him that is godly for himself, &c.' I shall mention now no more, the whole Bible abounds with these texts, with what a renovation and change of our carnal and corrupt hearts and natures, there must be, with holiness of life and conversation, before we can be capable of a future and blessed immortality, and of inheriting the kingdom of God for ever and ever. Amen."

*The last Speech of Captain ABRAHAM ANSLEY.*

"I AM come to pay a debt to nature; it is a debt that all must pay, though some after one manner, and some after another: the way that I pay it may be thought by some few ignominious, but not so by me; having long since, as a true Englishman, thought it my duty to venture my life in defence of the Protestant religion against Popery and arbitrary power: for this same purpose I came from my house to the duke of Monmouth's army: at first I was a lieutenant, and then a captain, and I was in all the actions the foot were engaged in, which I do not repent: for had I a thousand lives, they should all have been engaged in the same cause, although it hath pleased the wise God (for reasons best known to himself) to blast our designs; but he will deliver his people by ways we know nor think not of: I might have saved my life, if I would have done as some narrow-souled persons have done, by impeaching others; but I abhor such ways of deliverance, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy life with sin. As to my religion, I own the way and practice of the independent churches, and in that faith I die, depending on the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ for my eternal salvation: his blessing be with you all. Farewell to thee, poor England, farewell.

"ABRAHAM ANSLEY."

*A correct Copy of Mr. JOSIAS ASKEW's Letter to his Father, written a short Time before his Execution.*

"HONOURED FATHER,

"I Not having an opportunity to make my gratitude known to you for all your endeavours, for the saving  
a poor



a poor, vain, perishing, and troublesome life; and seeing it is all in vain, I would desire you both to acquiesce in the will of God, and rejoice with me for this happy day of my departure from this state of pilgrimage, home to the possession of those heavenly mansions, which my God and Father hath provided for me, in and through my Lord Jesus Christ: it is in him alone I put my trust and confidence, and therefore can boldly say, Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather, that is risen again, and is set down at the right hand of God, making intercession for all those that have a well-grounded confidence in him. My time is but short, and by reason of company I am disturbed; therefore I conclude with my last breath, begging of God, that he would keep you constant in his fear, in this day of great temptation, and at last receive you to his glory, where we shall once more unite in praising without interruption or distraction, world without end, Amen: until which time, the grace of God the Father, the love of God the Son, the comfortable refreshings of God the Holy Ghost, be with you, all your's, and the whole Israel of God, both now and for ever: which is the hearty prayer of your son,

" JOSIAS ASKEW."

*A further Account of Mr. JOSIAS ASKEW by a Friend.*

"**T**O prevent your further trouble in suing for a pardon, I think it convenient to let you know, I do not question but my dear cousin hath had his pardon sealed by the King of kings, and is in everlasting blessedness, singing hallelujahs, salvation, glory and honour to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever: for God did so carry him through to drink that bitter cup with so much courage and cheerfulness to the last, as was to the admiration of all spectators, notwithstanding the terrible sight he saw at the place of suffering, and so vehemently as he was tried by the adversary, yet it did not in the least discompose him, or alter his countenance; for he continued with a smiling countenance to the last, and was transported above measure. I want words to express it, he was like one wrapped up in heaven, with his heart there, and his eyes fixed thereon. I could wish you had been there, it would have driven away all cause of sorrow from your heart, to see his deportment, and hear the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth: he remembered his duty to you both, and left Paul's blessing with you, grace, mercy, and peace; his love to his dear sister; he desires her not to be troubled for him, for he hath made his peace with God, and was assured he should go to eternal happiness; he would have written more to you and to his sister, but that he had so short a time after sentence, that he wanted opportunity; when he went out of prison, he said, Gentlemen, now I am going, and it is the time I much longed for; I would not change with him that passeth sentence upon me, for a world. I was with him to the last, and seeing his courage, did very much encourage me, though I never saw such a sight with my eyes."

*The MARTYRDOM of JOHN HOLWAY, at Warham, in the County of Dorset.*

**J**OHAN HOLWAY lived in Lyme, where the duke landed, and appeared in arms at that time, until his captain left him; then took up arms under the duke of Monmouth, and went with him, until the king's proclamation came forth, That all that would lay down their arms before some justice of the peace, in four days after, and take a certificate for their so doing, they should be acquitted, and have his majesty's pardon, which this person did, though one day too late; which blot my lord chief justice hit, being very good at it, and passed the sentence of death on him. Before his trial he was not much concerned at his case, and thought himself almost out of danger: but to be short, he received his sentence with much courage and resolution, and by the means of one Mr. Tiller, who was to suffer with him, was brought

to that settled frame of spirit, as is fit for one in that condition: as he was riding in the cart, toward the place of execution, the troopers being just behind the cart, he told them they looked like brave fellows, but (said he) if I were to have my life for fighting the best five of you, I would not question it. At the place of execution he said not much, but that he thought his and other men's blood would be revenged one time or another, and said, Forgive me, have mercy on my poor soul, pardon all my sins, and the like, and so the executioner performed his task.

*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. MATTHEWS, and his Separation from his Wife, &c.*

**M**R. Matthews was much concerned the morning before he died, to see his wife weep, and to be in such grief for him, which drew tears from his eyes; and taking her in his arms, he said, My dear, prithee do not disturb me at this time, but endeavour to submit to the will of God; and although thy husband is going from thee, yet I trust God will be all in all unto thee; sure, my dear, you will make my passage into eternity more troublesome than otherwise, if you thus lament and take on for me; I am very sensible of thy tender love towards me, but would have you consider, that this separation will be so much for my advantage, as your loss cannot parallel. I thank God I am willing to die, and to be with my Jesus: be satisfied, the will of God must be done: thy will be done, O God, in earth as it is in heaven: so embracing her, took his last farewell of her, and prepared to go to the place of execution, which having reached, he with a very modest, sober, and composed frame of spirit stood while he saw several executed before him; his turn being then come, he spoke as follows:

" DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

"I suppose we are all of one kingdom and nation, and I hope Protestants; O, I wonder we should be so cruel and blood-thirsty one towards another; I have heard it said heretofore, that England could never be ruined but by herself, which now I fear is doing. Lord have mercy on poor England, turn the hearts of the inhabitants thereof, cause them to love one another, and to forget one another's infirmities. Have mercy, O Lord, on me; give me strength and patience to fulfil thy will, comfort my dear and sorrowful wife, be a husband unto her, stand by her in the greatest trouble and affliction, let her depend upon thy Providence; be merciful to all men, preserve this nation from Popery, find out yet a way for it's deliverance, if it be thy good will, and give all men hearts to be truly thankful; comfort my fellow-sufferers that are immediately to follow, give them strength and comfort unto the end: I forgive all the world, even those that have been the immediate hasteners of my death: I am in charity with all men. And now, blessed Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

Having thus said, he ascended the ladder, and desired the executioner not to be hard to him, who answered, No; and said, I pray, master, forgive me: to which he said, I do with my whole heart, and I pray God forgive thee; but I advise thee to leave off this bloody trade. The executioner said, I am forced to do what I do, it is against my mind. So lifting up his hands to heaven, the executioner performed the dreadful task.

*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. ROGER SATCHEL, and Mr. LANCASTER, at Weymouth, in the County of Dorset.*

**A**T the time of the duke's landing at Lyme, this gentleman lived at Culliton, about five miles west



of that town, and was supposed to be concerned in the design with the duke. He always was a great admirer of him, which got him many enemies among the gentry of that county: he always hated the name of a Papist; and as it fell out, he did foresee Popery advancing, as his words to divers of his neighbours can testify. As for his disposition, he was of a very generous and heroic spirit. But to proceed, no sooner had he the news of the duke's being landed, but he sets himself to work to serve him, desiring all he knew to join with him, and was one of the first that went to him to Lyme, and was with him to the end: but after the rout, travelling to and fro to secure himself, was at last taken at Chard by three Mofs-troopers, under no discipline, who made it their business to ruin their neighbours in those parts; they are so well known, I need not say any more. He was from thence carried to Ilchester, and so secured in Ilchester gaol; and at the bloody assizes at Dorchester took his trial, and received his sentence with the rest. Great application was made for him, but my lord chief justice Jeffreys's ears were deaf, and so he was ordered to be executed at Weymouth. After sentence, two of his friends came to him, and told him, There was no hope. He answered, My hope is in the Lord. After which he spent most of his time before execution in prayer and meditation, and conferring with many good persons. The morning being come, he prepared himself, and all the way drawing to execution was very devout. Being come to the place, there was a minister, I think, of that place, who sung a psalm, and prayed with them, and would have some discourse with this person, which he avoided as much as possible; but he asked him, What were his grounds for joining in that rebellion? Who answered, Had you, sir, been there, and a Protestant, I believe you would have joined too; but do not speak to me about that, I am come to die for my sins, not for my treason against the king, as you call it. So pointing to the wood that was to burn his bowels, he said, I do not care for that; what matters it what becomes of my body, so my soul be at rest? So praying to himself near half an hour, and advising some he knew, never to yield to Popery, he was turned off the ladder. He was a courageous, bold-spirited man, one of great reason, just and punctual in all his business, and much beloved by his neighbours.

One Mr. Lancaster was executed at the same time and place, whose courage and deportment was such, that he out-braved death, and in a manner challenged it to hurt him, saying, I die for a good cause, and am going to a gracious God. I desire all your Christian prayers; it is good to go to heaven with company. And much more he spoke concerning the duke of Monmouth, whom he supposed at that time to be living; and so praying privately for some small time, he was turned, or rather leaped over the ladder.

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*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. BENJAMIN SANDFORD and JOHN BENNET, at Bridport.*

**M**R. Sandford with nine others were brought from Dorchester to Bridport, to be executed. Coming to the place of execution, he held up his hands to heaven, and turning himself to the people, said, I am an old man you see, and I little thought to have ended my days at such a shameful place, and by such an ignominious death; and indeed it is dreadful to flesh and blood, as well as a reproach to relations, but it would have been a great deal more if I had suffered for some felonious account. Says one to him, Is not this worse, do you think, than felony? He answered, I know not any thing I have done so bad as felony, that this heavy judgment should fall upon me, except it be for my sins against my God, whom I have highly provoked, and must acknowledge have deserved ten thousand times more; Lord, I trust thou hast pardoned them; seal my pardon in the blood of my Saviour; Lord, look upon, and be with me to the last moment.

One John Bennet was also executed at the same time,

he was a poor man, but pious, and of good report with his neighbours in Lyme, where he lived. It is said that when he was on trial, a certain person informed his lordship, that the prisoner then at the bar, had aims of the parish; and that his lordship should reply, Do not trouble yourselves, I will ease the parish of that trouble.

In prison, and at the place of execution, he behaved himself so well to all, that many of his enemies pitied him, and would, if it had lain in their power (as they said) have saved him. His son being then present, offered to have died for him, and was going up the ladder, if it might have been suffered. He prayed some short time, and so was translated, as we have hopes to think, from this troublesome world into celestial joy and happiness eternal!

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*The MARTYRDOM of Mr. GATCHILL, Mr. SIMON HAMBLING, and Mr. JOHN HUCKER, at Taunton.*

**M**R. Gatchill was a constable of the hundred; he was surprised by a party of the duke's, and shewed a warrant to bring in provisions and other necessaries for the use of the army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatened to have his house burnt; so that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preservation. But this was not sufficient, for being found guilty he was ordered to be executed.

As he was drawn to execution, he looked on the people, and said, A populous town, God bless it. Just before he was executed, he spoke, That the crime he was accused of, and condemned for, was high-treason, but he did not know himself to be guilty of it; and that what he did he was forced to do. And further said, I am so well known to you, that I do verily believe you have charity to think that what I speak is true. As for the niceties of the law, I do not well understand them; and much more to the same effect he spoke. And so after prayer, he was executed with his suffering brother, Mr. Simon Hambling.

Mr. John Hucker, was also executed at Taunton, who died with equal fortitude and resignation, he was a very worthy gentleman of that town. He had some ill friends in the duke's army, that cast aspersions on him, as though he was the person that was a traitor to the duke, by firing a pistol in Sedgmoor; but I have strictly examined many on that point, and can find it to be nothing but the worst of an enemy's malice, to wound him after his death in his reputation, which he always valued highly when living. To be short, he has left the character, amongst his neighbours, of an honest man, a good Christian, and one that was true to the interest of the duke, and sealed it with his blood.

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*A full and impartial Account of KIRK's CRUELITIES, and the several BARBARITIES committed in the West.*

**O**N Kirk's first arrival at Taunton, he came with two cart-loads of men bloody, and their wounds not dressed, just as they were hauled into Bridgewater prison; they were guarded by grenadiers with bayonets. He also brought with him into Taunton a great drove of foot, chained two and two together. He hanged nineteen on the Corn-hill immediately, not suffering either their wives or children to speak to them, or to take their leave of them.

During the execution, Kirk caused the pipes to play, drums and trumpets to sound, that the spectators might not hear the cries and groans of dying men, nor the cries of their friends. He caused their bowels to be burned, and their quarters to be boiled in pitch, and hanged all about the town.

He hanged one on the White-Hart sign-post three times, to try if he would own he had done amiss; but he affirmed to this effect, That if it was to do again, he would engage in the same cause; so Kirk would have him hanged in chains; and so he was, till king William came to the deliverance of this nation from Popery and slavery.

When



When Jenkins, the Hewlings, &c. were to die, before they came out of the B———, there was a great fire made on the Corn-hill, in order that they might see the fire that was to burn their bowels.

Of several that were hanged, he caused also their bodies to be stripped, and their breasts to be cleaved asunder; in the place where he caused the executions to be done, you might have gone up to the ankles in blood; he also caused the hearts of the poor executed men to be thrown into the fire with a great shout, saying, "Here is the heart of a traitor."

A captain of W——— was hanged, and the rope broke, whereby he hoped to have saved his life; but they took from a market-horse a ring-rope, and hanged him again.

When the prisoners were brought to the bar at the assizes, Jeffreys said, if any man pleaded not guilty, he should die. Notwithstanding there was one who not being concerned in Monmouth's business, when asked, said, Not guilty, my lord: Jeffreys said, Take him, gaoler, and let him be executed another time.

There was an honest man hanged for sparing threepennyworth of hay for Monmouth's horse.

There was also a constable hanged for executing of Monmouth's warrant.

Besides these, many hundreds were put in the castle-hall, by which it was feared they would infect the town. Francis Burges was taken upon Maidendown, by the persuasion of sir ———; he was hanged by fastening a rope to a chamber window, and set upon a hoget.

By good report, there were several scores died in Ilchester by infectious diseases, and in their irons, and handbolts; for if they were not hard-hearted, and used the extremest rigour imaginable, the keepers were not counted good subjects. One of Welinton that was to be hanged then, was saved, supposed by order of sir ———, and one of Crookern hanged in his stead; this is true, and so it was at other places; but it were endless to record all the cruelties exercised by Kirk and Jeffreys, after Monmouth's defeat.

What remains now, is to give an account of hundreds that had fled and hid themselves up and down in holes and rocks, whose friends made all application to some great person or other to procure their pardons; some to this, some to others, that they thought favourites with the king; but the rewards must be ascertained before any application could be made (for pardons were just as they were in Rome) according to the ability of the person, from half a crown to sixteen thousand guineas; any tooth, good barber. Divers lists being sent up, and the rewards ascertained, which amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable sums. So that it was now, who could find a friend to relieve his distressed relations, which were forced to wander up and down in caves and deserts, for fear of being taken. But this misfortune attended the agents, that unless my lord chancellor were used, by his creatures that were allowed by him so to do, other applications commonly met with disappointments.

*Several interesting Anecdotes by Mr. BURD, and other West-Country Gentlemen, relative to the Barbarities of these Times.*

MR. Burd lived near Frome, and gave (in a letter hereafter inserted) a remarkable account of several passages; for he proclaimed the duke of Monmouth at the head of the army, which was unwillingly done by the duke then: he also saw the maids of honour present their flags, and several come to kiss the duke's hand, as king after proclamation, and presented a purse of guineas on their knees. At this time one widow made a pathetic speech to him, and delivered her mite.

When the army went through Pensford, a parson came out of an alehouse, and asked them, Gentlemen, how doth the king do? If he comes this way to day, I will kiss his hand, meaning the duke of Monmouth.

The first indicted was the parson on a single indict-

ment; after Jeffreys had drank a bottle of claret (as was his custom) he repairs to the bench, where being seated, the parson was brought before him.

At first Jeffreys reprimanded the parson so severely that he was ready to sink for fear; but recovering himself, said, Not guilty; alleging he never wore a weapon, nor was in the army, only stood by on horseback, and viewed the army.

Upon this Jeffreys replied, There is a worse weapon than a sword, that is a parson's tongue, and declared to the parson, that whoever stood by the army, or gave a smile on it, was guilty of rebellion (though a smile might be in derision).

Now the parson pleaded, that it was not known that the duke should have come to Kinson half a quarter of an hour before he came, and that he had business that way, which stopped him, and that he was forced to stay and see the encampment, but exchanged not one word with any belonging to the army.

Likewise the parson urged, that both the witnesses against him swore in malice, because he had put one of them into the spiritual court for tythes, and the other witness he had arrested.

Jeffreys at last demanded if any neighbouring gentleman could give a character of the parson (though he looked upon all the gentry thereabouts rebels).

The parson alleged, captain Cox, the foreman of the grand inquest, knew him; he was sent for accordingly.

As soon as captain Cox appeared, Jeffreys asked him, If the parson had observed all the ceremonies, and behaved himself loyally?

In answer, captain Cox declared, He knew no ill character of him, &c.

Jeffreys, after this, summed up the evidence against the parson, but wheeled at last into this, I fear the sin of rebellion lurks under that canonical coat, I would have him hanged to be an example to others.

If Burd had said he heard the parson say he would kiss the king's hand, if he came by that way, the parson had certainly been trussed up.

However, the parson's jury brought him in Not guilty; upon which Jeffrey's made him down on his knees, and bid him go, and preach for his sake upon that text, Fear God, and honour the king, &c.

During the parson's trial the court was interrupted with the maids of honour, who came hoping for pardon; and often the court was interrupted with petitions, and certificates under the justices hands, to certify that the bearers did, according to the king's proclamation, come in within five days, and therefore expected their pardon.

Now it came to pass that one alderman Holliday's son was one that came in within the five days, and his father offered to vindicate his son, and to be bail for him; (for all that came in within the time, he made them give special bail) Jeffreys said, He knew many aldermen were villains, and he hoped to beat some fur out of their gowns.

He then began to try the two hundred odd men: Burd was in the front, as their names were called; he made every man shew his face; for if they were in years, they had been rebels ever since Oliver's time, their age tried them. But for further confirmation of some of these particulars, we refer you to Mr. Burd's letter, directed to Mr. John Dunton, in these words.

A L E T T E R,

"To Mr. JOHN DUNTON.

"SIR,

"LOOKING over a book lately, entitled, A panegyric on the lord Jeffreys, I find a great deal therein contained true to my own knowledge, and therefore doubt not of all the rest, for I was one myself condemned by him at Wells assizes, and my getting off next to a wonder to all that heard thereof; the particulars whereof, and the manner how, being too long and tedious, I shall not trouble you therewith; only being informed you intend to reprint your bloody assizes, I thought it not amiss to acquaint you with two or three of the most material



terial passages that happened within the compass of my own knowledge and view. When I was committed a prisoner to Bath, where I lay fourteen weeks, I found there seven and twenty more confined in a little room, some lying on boards, others through much difficulty had obtained the favour of straw to lie on. Among those afore-mentioned there were two poor men, who lived in and about Taunton and Ilminster, whose names were William Hufsey, a worsted-comber, I judge about seventy years of age; he alleged, that he went into the army to fetch home his son, being himself past engaging in the war; Thomas Paul, I think of the same occupation, and upwards of sixty years old, but a Quaker. This said Hufsey and Paul were never under the least apprehension of suffering during their fourteen weeks imprisonment, till the very day they were condemned, and the said Hufsey oftentimes affirmed, he was never out with the duke's army; and the said Paul being uncle to a very great man's chaplain at court, the said chaplain was his chief dependance, and promised him a pardon by his interest. Now it so happened, that the prisoners commonly about once a week had liberty from their keeper to go out of the said prison, hand-bolted two and two, to the said keeper's house, for an hour or two, to divert and recreate themselves; and commonly these two ancient men, Hufsey and Paul, were linked together, and they would both of them generally take the liberty to drink till they were a little merry and brisk; and when they returned in that situation to the said prison, it would be most times the usual custom of William Hufsey (as soon as ever the keeper had took off their hand-bolts) to strike the said Thomas Paul on the shoulder, jocosely saying, Never fear, Tom Paul, if thou and I be hanged, we will hang cheek by jole; which expression I oftentimes heard, though I did little think at that time either of them would suffer; but it so happened, that contrary to both their imaginations they were hanged side by side.

The day after they were condemned, I accidentally met with the said William Hufsey, walking out in the middle of the cloisters at Wells by himself, with his hat over his eyes, very melancholy, weeping, at which I was a little surpris'd, and asked what was the matter? he replied, with tears in his eyes, Ha! Mr. Burd, I look upon myself now, and never till now, a dead man; you are a young man, and if you can get off this business, you may live to see many years; and remember that I told thee so, before the year 1688 be over, you will see all things turned upside down, and king James, for what he had done, would be turned out, and another would come in, and effect what was then begun; and with a great deal of earnestness and zeal repeated his words over again; but at that time thinking what he so earnestly affirmed, was the effect of his concern for his own death, I did scarce ever recollect what he then affirmed, till 1688 was over, when I saw all things exactly happened as he before had told me. Another passage I took notice of among others, was, when I was at the bar to receive my doom, one of judge Jeffreys's officers told the judge there was one of the maids of honour (so called, because twenty or thirty of that sex presented flags to the duke, at Taunton, after he was proclaimed king) come to surrender herself, begging mercy at his hands; whom when he saw, he looked on her with a very fierce countenance, raving at her, &c. bid the gaoler take her, which struck such a fear into the poor girl, that she pulled her hood over her face, and fell a weeping; and the gaoler, according to the command of the fierce judge, took her away immediately out of court; and, as I was afterwards informed, she died in his custody not many hours after for fear, as our lord-mayor died for fear of Jeffreys, when brought before him. When I myself received my sentence, there was another young man hand-bolted to me, whose name was Jacob Tripp, about twenty-one years of age, and so stout and brisk, that he would almost attempt to fight a lion: I could tell you all his case and circumstances as well as my own, but it will be too large to insert here; only thus much I will insert here about him. He was always of the tory party, but he fell in with Monmouth's

men; it so happened, that after sentence passed on both of us, we were at the same time both taken very dangerously ill, of a very malignant, infectious fever, during which illness a reprieve came for both of us for so many days, which days being expired, Tripp's enemies, his brother tories (which before were his chief confederates and acquaintance) said he deserved worse usage than those who always had been such, by their unwearied diligence had obtained an order for his execution, he being at that time so ill, that he had not been sensible for near a week before, and his physicians gave him over for dead, and did affirm it impossible for him to live twenty-four hours; yet to shew their unbounded rage, they immediately got him lifted out of his bed, where he lay senseless and a dying, wrapt up in his sheets, and laid him in a chair, when two men carried him to the market-place in Wells, the place of execution, where they hung him up, and quartered him (when he was as senseless as a stock or stone) before a great many spectators, many of which took the infection of his distemper, together with abundance of the soldiers, which caused them to die like rotten sheep; and this infection spread afterward far and near round the country, to the loss of a great many people's lives. I could tell you more remarkable passages, but doubting I am too long in these already mentioned, let this suffice, from

"Your humble servant unknown,

Beckington, June 24, 1702.

"JOHN BURD.

"Postscript. Mr. Dunton, you may, if you please, correct this, and put it into some better style if you think fit; but the matter of fact is all true to my knowledge, as I have truly and impartially related the same; for I had the honour to be known to the duke of Monmouth before he came into England on that unhappy expedition, which made my getting a pardon so difficult, that had there not been some disgust happened between some great men concerning me, scarce any money would have purchased it; for thus it was, that very night the rout was, being on a Sunday about eight o'clock, there came a foot messenger to the duke, into the field near Bridgewater, and gave him an account what posture the king's forces (then at Weston, on the edge of Sedgmoor) lay in; the duke gave him a gratuity, and sent him back again to make a further discovery, and bring a further account thereof, but he was unfortunately taken, and returned no more; upon which the duke riding into the town, his horse in a very strange and unusual manner threw him, which I oftentimes since thought was ominous: about eleven o'clock at night the army marched out of Bridgewater, toward Weston, which proved a fatal night. The night after, being Monday night, I was taken about twenty miles distant, at an alehouse, with two young men (one a Londoner) our horses being carried to Bath, and we to be sent after with a guard; but I, having an opportunity, got off, and left my comrades behind, who I understood did also follow my example; but being taken again the same day, and delivered into the hands of a Roman-Catholic, he took care, and conveyed me to Wells, before the lord F——, who with the king's army was arrived there from Sedgmoor; his lordship being prepossessed against me, would hear nothing at all; I offered to speak, but he told me, I should be hanged, &c. and immediately sent me a prisoner to the lower church in Wells, which was then full of the same sparks; and under a multitude of passages that happened, too tedious to relate, I had not been there above two days and two nights, but I was unexpectedly released, by means of the bishop of W——, who had obtained my lord F——'s consent; so then I had a pass given me, under the hand and seal of the lord bishop, by order and consent of the said lord F——, to require all officers, civil and military, to suffer me to pass to my place of abode; notwithstanding which (as I was on my journey) I was again seized, and hurried away to Bath, and there had before another great man, who was exasperated against me also by the information of some enemies, that had told him how great a rebel I had been, and that I had proclaimed the duke king, in the presence of four thousand men, &c. which appearing so very visible by their offering to swear it, the said great man



man in a fury told me, he would take care I should be hanged, notwithstanding my pafs; and so sent me to the common gaol in Bath, where I remained about fourteen weeks, and then was had to Wells, and there condemned. But I had forgot to mention, that as soon as I was committed to Bath prison, I sent a messenger to acquaint the bishop of W——r, that notwithstanding his and my lord F——'s pafs, I was again committed to Bath prison; which he seemed to be much concerned at; but in the end I was given to a pardon-monger, and he made his market upon me, though afterwards I was told (when too late) that the judge had instructions from above, that I should not suffer. When I was at the bar, it was in the front of above two hundred more, that all received sentence together; unto whom the judge made a speech of an hour long, to wheedle them all into a confession, by quoting places of scripture, to set forth the heinousness of their crime of rebellion; and then comes with a long harangue, telling us, how merciful the king was, and how ready he was to shew mercy to the worst of us; in which he had this lofty expression (which I remember I did not then believe), *Nay, says he, and thumps the cushion, I had almost said, the king is more ready to forgive, than you were to rebel.*"

*A full Account of the Trial, Sentence, and happy Deliverance of Mr. JOHN TUTCHIN, in Dorchester, in the County of Dorset. Also of WILLIAM WISEMAN, EDWARD JERVAISE, &c.*

MR. John Tutchin, a young gentleman of Hampshire, was among the several persons designed to be whipped, according to a sentence, which, perhaps, no history can parallel.

This young gentleman had the misfortune, with many others of his acquaintance, to be in the interest of the duke of Monmouth, but had a better fortune than many of them, by concealing his name: for when he was taken a prisoner by the country guard, he was committed to prison under the borrowed name of Thomas Pitts, and his real name was not discovered till after he was acquitted of the rebellion, no person appearing against him as evidence.

However, Jeffreys having discovered his true name before Mr. Tutchin was gone from the prison, was resolved upon revenge, and said, he was never so far outwitted, by an old or young rogue in his life; and after he had examined Mr. Tutchin to many particulars, by which Mr. Tutchin knew that Jeffreys had a true account of him; for he told him the time when he was in Holland, the very place where he lodged there, the manner of his coming over, and the name he went by at that time; and finding Mr. Tutchin would not answer to some questions he asked him, concerning some gentlemen in Hampshire, who were concerned with Mr. Tutchin in raising some men at Lymington, for the service of the duke of Monmouth, I say, after this, he was resolved to try Mr. Tutchin again.

Mr. Tutchin still pretended ignorance in these matters to his prison-keeper, who was set upon Mr. Tutchin by Jeffreys, to bring him to a confession: but the gaol-keeper, whose name was Knapton, though he seemed an enemy to the duke's men, coloured many things that might have taken away the lives of several, and did what he could to allay the heat of the implacable judge.

As we have given no ill character of this gaoler, Mr. Knapton, it may be a pardonable digression, to tell the reader something of another, which I had from the mouth of Mr. Tutchin: when Richardson, the keeper of Newgate, brought down the Hewlings, and some other gentlemen, to Dorchester against the assizes, the said Richardson drinking with another gaoler, said, "Come, brother, here's to our good health; this is our time to make our fortunes, and now we must lay aside all humanity, for no compassion is to be shewn to these dogs."

To return, however, to Mr. Tutchin, he was brought up again to the hall; but Jeffreys not caring to indict him

for rebellion, pretended that the crime of changing his name deserved a severe sentence; and thereupon passed sentence as follows: That he should remain in prison during the space of seven years; that once every year he should be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire; that he should pay a fine of one hundred marks to the king, and find security for his good behaviour during life.

We should observe, that when this sentence was past upon Mr. Tutchin, the ladies in the court, of which there were a great many; all burst out a crying; but Jeffreys turning towards them, said, Ladies, if you did but know what a villain this is, as well as I do, you would say, this sentence is not half bad enough for the wretch.

Having passed the sentence, the clerk of the arraigns stood up, and said, My lord, there are a great many market-towns in this county, the sentence reaches to a whipping about once a fortnight, and he is a very young man. Aye, says Jeffreys, he is a young man, but he is an old rogue; and all the interest in England shall not reverse the sentence I have passed upon him.

True it is, no devil incarnate could rage, nor no Billingsgate woman could scold worse than this judge did at this young gentleman whilst he was at the bar; he called him a thousand rogues and villains, told him that he was a rebel from Adam, that never any of his family had the least loyalty; and, said he, I understand you are a wit and a poet, pray, sir, let you and I cap verses. Mr. Tutchin smiled in his face, and told him, He knew upon what ground he stood, and when he was overmatched.

While under this barbarous sentence, Mr. Tutchin's friends endeavoured to persuade him to sue for a pardon; but he utterly refused it, and drew up a petition with his own hand (of which the following is an exact copy) which was presented to the king at Winchester.

*The PETITION of JOHN TUTCHIN to the KING.*

*"To the King's Majesty: the humble Petition of JOHN TUTCHIN, of Lymington, in the County of Southampton, Gent. now a Prisoner in the County Gaol of Dorset,*

*"SHEWETH,*

*"THAT your petitioner now lies in this prison under sentence of the lord chief justice Jeffreys, to remain in the said prison during the space of seven years, that once every year he shall be whipped through all the market towns in Dorsetshire, that he shall pay a fine of one hundred marks to the king, and find security for his good behaviour during life.*

*"That this sentence was past upon your petitioner, under pretence of his having changed his name, and no matter of treason or rebellion being proved upon him.*

*"That your petitioner has always demeaned himself according to his duty required by law, and that he is ready to venture his life in defence of a lawful king, that shall govern according to law, in preservation of the liberties of Englishmen.*

*"That he humbly conceives, the sentence passed upon him by the said Jeffreys is worse than death; and therefore,*

*"Humbly prays your majesty will be mercifully pleased to grant him the favour of being hanged with those of his fellow-prisoners, that are condemned to die; and till then*

*"Your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.*

*"JOHN TUTCHIN."*

*And underneath his name } "Malim mori quam vapulari."  
were written these words: }*

*That is, "I prefer death to an ignominious whipping."*

By this petition it may be seen, that Mr. Tutchin was a young man when he wrote it; for many exceptions were made against it: to the king's majesty, instead of the king's most excellent majesty; and you may be sure, the



western hangman did not overlook his calling of him plain Jeffreys in the body of his petition.

However, the court esteemed it a barbarous sentence; and it is said, the king esteemed it no less. But all the answer that could be got, was from the lord Sunderland, That Mr. Tutchin must wait with patience.

Hereupon, Mr. Tutchin endeavoured to get a pardon from the people who had grants of lives, many of them 500, some 1000, more or less, according as they had interest with the king; but Jeffreys would not so much as hear his name mentioned, and the sentence was ordered to be executed.

About four or five days before the execution of the sentence, a brother-in-law of Mr. Tutchin's, a physician, persuaded him to take a dose of physic to make himself sick, by which means the execution might be put off, and perhaps in that time some means might be found for his enlargement: he took the dose, and in three or four days the small-pox came out very thick upon him, no man ever had them to a higher degree; and in that condition he lay by himself in prison, nobody to look after him but his fellow-prisoners, for there being a pestilential distemper in the prison, of which some scores died every week, any communication with the prisoners was prohibited by the magistrates of the town.

Mr. Tutchin lying in this miserable condition, and his life being despaired of, his friends worked the easier with Jeffreys to get the sentence reversed, which some people would have believed a sign of repentance in Jeffreys, had he not taken the money himself. After Mrs. Tutchin had done this last kind office for her son, she sickened of the small-pox, and died, his brother and two sisters fell sick of the same distemper; so that when Mr. Tutchin had friends allowed to come to him, like Job's comforters, they brought him the tidings that his mother was dead, and all the relations he had in the world were a dying, and that they had contracted for a pardon for more money than he was worth, for a life which he never valued. So he was popt into a pardon amongst others; for it was usual at that time for one courtier to get a pardon of the king for half a score, and then by the assistance of Jeffreys to augment the sum to fourscore or an hundred, and so this unfortunate gentleman fortunately got out of his broil.

Notwithstanding we must not leave Mr. Tutchin here, though what afterwards we shall say of him, does not relate to what was transacted in the West, yet it may not be amiss to shew how the providence of God does often change the face of things, and alter the circumstances and conditions of men, so that those who boast of their power, and exercise their authority with the greatest severity, many times become the scorn and contempt of those they have triumphed over: who could have thought, when Jeffreys past that sentence on Mr. Tutchin in the West, that ever Mr. Tutchin should see that wicked judge a prisoner, apprehended by the injured people, and committed by a tool of his own party? Yet so it come to pass.

Jeffreys having endeavoured to make his escape beyond sea in a sailor's habit, was discovered by one, to whom he had done some acts of injustice, and was taken in Anchor-and-Hope-Alley, in Wapping, and by the mob carried before the instrument of Popery, fir J—C—, then lord-mayor of the city of London, and by him committed to the Tower.

When Mr. Tutchin heard of this, he went to pay his lordship a visit; who did not know Mr. Tutchin at first, he being much altered with the small-pox; but Jeffreys understanding who he was, told him he was glad to see him; Mr. Tutchin answered, He was glad to see him in that place. Jeffreys returned, That time and place happened to all men, and that when a man was born, he knew not what death he should die, nor what his circumstances should be in this life, and abundance of such cant; but added, That he had served his master very faithfully, according to his conscience. Mr. Tutchin asked him, Where his conscience was when he past that sentence upon him in the West? Jeffreys said, You are a young man, and an enemy to the government,

and might live to do abundance of mischief; and it was part of my instructions, to spare no man of courage, parts, or estate; but withal added, that his instructions were much more severe than the execution of them, and that at his return he was snubbed at court for being too merciful. So after he had treated Mr. Tutchin with a glass of wine, Mr. Tutchin departed.

Some short time after this, Jeffreys had a barrel of oysters sent him to the Tower, which he caused to be opened, saying, He thanked God he had some friends left. But when the oysters were tumbled out on the table, a halter came out with them, which made him change his countenance, and so palled his stomach, that he could eat none of them. This was confidently reported to be done by Mr. Tutchin; but I having heard him protest that he was not in the least concerned therein, we must believe it to be done by another hand.

One William Wiseman was the second in the list of persons sentenced to be whipped; a boy of about 14 or 15 years of age, at that time an apprentice to a barber at Weymouth. It seems the duke of Monmouth's declaration was put up in that town in the night time, and some people who could not read, finding it in the morning, took it down, and this boy, being by, read it to them. This was his crime, for which Jeffreys sentenced him to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire.

The sentence was accordingly executed first at Dorchester, where in consideration of the boy's age he was whipped more gently than some people thought necessary.

Hereupon a clergyman of the church of England, named Blanchard, came to the gaoler, and reviled him, saying, He would do his business for him with the lord chief justice, for shamming his sentence, in not whipping the boy half enough. The gaoler breaking out in a passion, said, You talk of the cruelties of the Popish priests, but commend me to a church of England priest for cruelty: they are like the country justices, who will not believe a man is burnt in the hand, unless they can see a hole through it.

Now whether this parson made the complaint, or no, is uncertain; but sure it is, complaint was made, and the boy was ordered to be whipped again, the morrow following the day he was whipped before; which, to please this parson and Jeffreys, was done to that degree, that the boy fell into a fever, which was likely to have cost him his life. After Jeffreys had left the country, he was whipped through the town of Weymouth, and there the sentence terminated.

One Edward Jervaise was the third in this list, a hatter, of Milbourn-Port. This man, it seems, being in some company, happened to say, that he had a Monmouth in his heart. Upon which he was apprehended, and sent to Dorchester gaol. This man was a criminal in another respect, which was enough to hang any at that time of day; for he had three or four uncles, and other relations in the duke's army. I was told one of his uncles, being taken prisoner by Kirk, was immediately ordered to be hanged up, but being a brave stout man, some of Kirk's officers interceded for his life, which Kirk was willing to grant, provided he would acknowledge his rebellion; which he refused to do: at length they would release him if he would say, God bless king James, which he also refused; and so was hanged, and the last words he said were, God bless the duke of Monmouth.

Edward, his nephew, when he came into court, could not deny, that he had Monmouth in his heart, and thereupon was sentenced to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire, paying a fine to the king.

The sentence having been passed, he steps to Mr. Tutchin (then in court, and who received sentence before him) and said, Master, I understand the jig we are to dance well enough; but what must we pay this money for? Mr. Tutchin answered, you never knew people dance without music, and this money is ordered to pay the fiddlers. Nay then, says Jervaise, it is well enough; and went away with the least concern that could be. He was



was whipped through Dorchester and his own town, and no more.

A woman of Lyme was the next, who kept an ale-house, and brewed her own drink. Two or three days after the duke of Monmouth landed, the excise officers came to her house to collect the duties, but she refused it, and said, she would pay no more excise till the duke of Monmouth was king of England. For which crime she was sentenced to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorsetshire, and was whipped through Dorchester and Lyme, and no further. For when Jeffreys was gone out of the country, the justices were not so severe, and connived at the gaolers stopping part of the sentences.

Besides these there was another in Dorchester prison, that was alike sentenced to be whipped; he professed himself to be an astrologer and physician, but was very unluckily misled by the stars into the country at this time; for coming to a corporation town to vend his physic, and tell fortunes; the people not knowing but that he was a conjuror indeed, desired him to consult the stars about the fate of the duke of Monmouth then in arms; he erected his scheme, and found that king James would be ruined and undone, and that the duke of Monmouth would happen to be king in a short time, which coming to the magistrates ears, they committed him to prison, where he erected another scheme concerning his own fate, when he found by the stars that he would be whipped at the cart's arse for erecting his former scheme; which proving true, he could not say that the stars always deceived him.

The reader has now a short account of the whipping sentences in Dorchester, which sentences, together with some others executed before that time, were made one article against the late king James upon the revolution, and are included in the bill of rights; so that no king of England for the future can be guilty of such illegal barbarities without reflection on the fate of that unhappy monarch.

There were in this prison, at one time, in one room nineteen young gentlemen, and not one of them twenty-one years of age, and all of them were hanged, except Mr. Tutchin.

Major Holmes was in this prison, who had been a lieutenant-colonel in the duke of Monmouth's service; he was taken prisoner after the Philips-Norton fight, and though his arm was shot to pieces, so that it hung by a piece of flesh, the barbarous soldiers stript him stark naked and carried him before a justice of peace, who being at dinner, ordered him to be kept till he had dined. The servants got the colonel into the kitchen, and gave him some clothes to cover his nakedness, and some refreshment; in which time the colonel laying his shattered arm on the dresser, with the cook-maid's knife cut off his arm with his own hand.

It is proper to mention this gentleman, because perhaps there was never more indignity offered to grey hairs and real worth, than in the person of this colonel Holmes. One day he was sitting in a little garden in the prison with the Hewlings and about three more young gentlemen, when a certain lord, well known at that time, came and insulted him, and told him it was a shame to see an old man among a parcel of boys. Mr. Tutchin told his lordship, that the worst boy there durst fight him for his life; said the colonel, my lord, these are boys, but they are brave boys; and let me be well mounted at the head of these boys, we will fight your lordship for our lives at the head of the best troop of guards. The indignities offered by that lord were far beneath a gentleman, and suitable to the courage he shewed in the late king's service; but when he went from this company to the common side, he was there as much insulted by one Furrard, a highwayman, who called him a thousand rogues, cowards, and villains.

The usage of the prisoners was indeed barbarous enough, the gaolers were obliged to shew them to every little fellow in authority, so that they were daily insulted, and paid dear enough for every thing they had; but what was most barbarous, they would not allow their relations to come to them in the time of their sickness, so

that many died for want of help in a pestilential distemper, the like perhaps was never known. The small-pox at that time was the worst that was known, very few recovered of it. Mrs. Mary Blake, a young lady of Taunton, who was committed to this prison for making the colours presented to the duke of Monmouth, died of this distemper, to the great grief of her family; as did several others.

However, the greatest persecutors and insulters of these poor people were the country parsons: they did not preach to the spirits in prison, but they reviled them. One of them, when he heard some condemned persons in prayer just before their execution, said, These fellows will pray the devil out of hell; and the prison was seldom free of the black coats.

Thanks be to God, however, we now speak of these things only, and do not see them; and that those who are now living, though they have lost their estates, yet they see what they contended for, I mean their liberty and property established.

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#### *The Life and Death of GEORGE, LORD JEFFREYS.*

**L**ORD Jeffreys was born at Aston, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, in Wales, about the year 1648, his father's name was — Jeffreys; being reputed a gentleman in that country, though of no large fortune or estate; however he lived very comfortably on what he had, improving his yearly income by his industry; and gained by his plain and honest endeavours a good repute amongst the gentry of those parts; insomuch that it was not long before he, upon the recommendation of some person of interest and ability, married a wife of a good family, and they lived very comfortably together in their rural habitation, being far from ambition, or striving for court favour; but contented with what God had blessed them with, and the fruits of their own industry, they found a solid happiness in that contentment. Nor had they lived together any considerable time, but amongst other children, the fruits of lawful wedlock, God was pleased to bestow on them the person who is intended for the subject of this discourse, who was in due time baptized by the Christian name of George; whether he had god-fathers, &c. it does not occur; however, he, under the care and diligence of his industrious parents, grew up, and appeared to all that knew him, of a very prompt and ready wit, active, and striving for pre-eminence, even among the companions of his tender age, which lively demonstrated that an air of ambition was inherent to his person.

When he was capable to receive learning, he was put to a country-school, where he was furnished with such education as that afforded, which was not extraordinary; yet his natural parts set it off to the best advantage; and growing to years of somewhat a ripe understanding, and not very tractable, his father by the advice of some of his friends caused him to be brought to London, and finding him not inclinable to any trade, but rather addicted to study, he entered him, or by his procurement he was entered into the Free-School at Westminster, where he profited much, so that he was, by the care of the worthy master thereof, soon enabled to understand the languages, or at least as many of them as were necessary for the study of the law, which above other things he aimed at; though his father seemed not very agreeable to his desires; for perceiving in his soul a more than ordinary spark of ambition, fearing it might kindle into a flame, and prove one day his ruin, he laboured to hinder the ways he conceived most likely to bring it upon him; and is reported to say (when he found he could not dissuade him from his purpose, gently clapping him on the back) Ah, George, George, I fear thou wilt die with thy shoes and stockings on: what he meant by that expression, I determine not, but leave the reader to conjecture.

On the restoration of king Charles the Second, affairs in the kingdom wore a new face, the law revived again, and began to flourish; the practitioners lived



lived in much credit and reputation, and many of them purchased large estates, which served to wing the desire of this person with impatience; and some say he was the rather incited to it by a dream he had whilst a scholar at Westminster-School, viz. That he should be the chief scholar in that school, and afterward should enrich himself by study and industry, and that he should come to be the second man in the kingdom, but in conclusion should fall into great disgrace and misery. This was confidently reported; and some say himself told it to sundry persons since, when he found the second part of it was fulfilled, by acquiring the chancellorship, and standing high in the favour of his prince.

We find, however, the latter part did not deter him from his purpose, for having entered himself in the Inner Temple-House, one of the chief inns of court, after his performing such things as are conformable to the customs of the house, we find him called to the bar, by the interest he made with the benchers and heads of that learned society, earlier than had been usual, leaping over the heads of elder graduates.

This having happened about the twentieth year of the reign of king Charles II. and the city of London beginning to raise herself out of her ashes, more stately and magnificent than before she sunk in flames, a sacrifice to the revenge and malice of the Papists, as by the late inscription on the monument, and upon record it appears: this great city, I say, regaining her trade, her privileges and customs were kept up with great exactness, so that in the courts at Guildhall there was much business; which being considered by this person as more beneficial than that at Westminster, by reason of it's frequency, and being carried on briefer, and with less difficulty: which induced him to give his attendance also at Hicks's-Hall, and other inferior courts and places; insomuch that he being of a bold presence, and having naturally a fluent tongue, an audible voice, and good utterance, he had not pleaded often before he was very much taken notice of, and gained so much credit with the people, that they preferred him before any of the younger barristers; by which means he found his stars begin to smile upon him, so that he was in a manner courted to take fees, and had breviate thrust into his hand frequently in the middle of a cause by persons, when they perceived it went ill on their sides, and was like to go against them.

Elated thus with success, he now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an opportunity, for the next station we find him in, is that of common-serjeant to the great and honourable city of London; and so much fortune favoured him at this time, that alderman Jeffreys, the great smoker, having often observed his discourse and actions, took such a liking to him, that being of the same name, though not in the least any relation, he backed him with his purse and interest, which was not inconsiderable; and thereby not only enabled him to carry on his grandeur, but to purchase as he found a conveniency or advantage, in order to his keeping it up in the world.

Such, I say, being the degrees by which he was climbing the slippery stair of honour, to contract a firmer alliance, he addressed himself to a brisk young widow, daughter to sir Thomas Bludworth, then one of the aldermen of the city, and who in the time of the dreadful conflagration had the chair, as being then lord-mayor; and so far prevailed upon the lady and her father that he gained both their consents, and the contract was made, the nuptials solemnized, and soon after he had the pleasure to behold the fruits of her labour; sir John Howel, the recorder of London, giving place, the recordership became vacant, which made this person lay hold of that opportunity, to use his own and the interests of his friends, to acquire that place of trust and honour: nor did his measures fail him, for by the powerful influence he had by this time gained over sundry persons, who were best able to promote him to what he so earnestly laboured to arrive at, he was chosen and confirmed recorder of the honourable city; taking upon him the charge and care of the writings, papers, &c. that belong to so great a charge and trust, as that of a recorder of the city of London.

Now become by these means (as himself declared) the mouth of the city, and, as we may term him, capital judge in the Guildhall, in controversies at the sessions held there, &c. and the power of breathing forth sentences of punishment being put into his hands, he found his ambition enlarged, aiming at nothing more than to become a court-favourite: nor was it long before an opportunity offered itself, to make him be taken notice of: for so it happened, that some persons had imprinted a psalter, and entitled it (the better to shadow the injury they had done to the company of stationers, by invading their property) the King's Psalter, which occasioning a dispute, it was referred to a hearing before the council at Whitehall, the king being present, and the company the better to make out their title and claim, carried with them this person as their counsel, who in opening of the case, and making the complaint of the apparent injury done to the company, in printing what was really their property, he had this expression, viz. They have teemed with a spurious brat, which being clandestinely midwived into the world, the better to cover the imposture, they lay it at your majesty's door, &c. This, though the king might have taken it (for sundry reasons) as a reflection upon his royal person, yet he was so far from resenting it that way, that he only turned to one of the lords that sat next him, and said, This is a bold fellow, I'll warrant him. And indeed the stationers had the matter declared by the honourable board in their favour.

The Popish plot being discovered about this time by Dr. Oates and others, the nation was for a while in a ferment, and matters run extremely high in disputes and controversies, and he sailed with the current, declaring with much heat and violence against the priests, jesuits, and others of the conspirators and Romish faction; as appeared not only by his vehement expressions in pleading against them, but the alacrity and little concern that was visible in his countenance, when at any time, as recorder of London, he passed sentence of death upon any of them, which he generally did with more or less reproach, and became in a manner the terror of that party. But he no sooner perceived the wind tacking at court, and that there was some misunderstanding between king Charles the Second and his parliament, than he began to fall off, and grow cold in prosecuting the ends of the government, being frequently at court, and labouring, as much as in him lay, to draw the magistracy of the city after him; as appears more especially in one passage, viz. The king being recovered of an indisposition, that had for some time put the kingdoms in a fear and doubt of his life, the lord-mayor and aldermen went to congratulate him upon his going abroad; after which, and a favourable reception, it was proposed by Jeffreys, that they should in like manner wait upon his royal highness, then duke of York, who was not long before returned from Flanders; but perceiving no forwardness to be seconded, he only, with his father-in-law, stayed behind to gain that access. These and other proceedings created in the city a jealousy; that he had espoused an interest to their prejudice, which wrought so strong in their conceits, that it was concluded in the council-chamber at Guildhall, that he should resign his recordership; and accordingly they sent to him to deliver back the papers and writings they had intrusted him with, which accordingly was done, and sir George Treby constituted recorder in his stead.

Vexed to the heart at this, he now openly declared himself to be what before was only suspected, indulging his thoughts in nothing more, than how he might revenge it upon the dissenters, to whose influence on the court of aldermen he attributed his dismission from the recordership, and used his endeavours to blacken them as much as he could. Yet all his honour was not sunk; for he had prevailed for the removal of sir Job Charlton from the chief-justiceship of the county-palatine of Chester, and by the importunity and interest of his party at court, gained it for himself; and took the first possession of that charge in much splendour, paying at that time his father a visit with a numerous train, which, as it is reported, put the old gentleman in such a fret, for



for the drinking up his cyder, and devouring his provisions, that he charged him with the undertaking to ruin him, by bringing a whole country at his heels, commanding him never to attempt the like prodigality again with hopes of success.

Several petitions being put up upon the dissolving the parliament, in 1682, by most of the counties, boroughs, and corporations of England, for the speedy calling another, to redress the grievances of the nation; and the king shewing some dislike to that manner of proceeding, this person further to endear himself to the interest of the court, declared in his station as vehemently against them, by saying, He abhorred that petitioning, &c. from which, and the discountenancing the petitioners as much as in him lay, he gained the name and epithet of an Abhorrer; and upon the burning the pope in effigy at Temple-Bar, upon the birth-day of queen Elizabeth, amongst other figures, the arch wags had set one on horseback with his face to the tail, and a paper on his back, viz. I AM AN ABHORRER.

In the mean time, the parliament being called, met at Westminster, and amongst others, this person was called before them, for attempting to intrench upon the rights and privileges of the people, &c. and obliged at the bar of the House of Commons (after having been heard what he could say in defence of his proceedings by his counsel) to make his acknowledgment upon his knees, and receive the reprimand of the speaker; whereupon, with some sharp rebukes, as the censure of the house, he was dismissed.

This parliament being dissolved, and a call of serjeants had at the King's-Bench bar, Westminster, he was the first in the roll, and consequently the king's serjeant; and as it is usual to present the king with a ring on that occasion, the motto he agreed to, was, *A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex*; viz. The king from God, and the law from the king. And now the Popish party playing their cards with more security, Edward Fitzharris, who had been impeached by the Commons, and stood charged by them of high-treason; being nevertheless, upon the dissolution, tried at the King's-Bench bar, this person was the principal stickler against him, and by his rhetoric and florid expressions, wrought so powerfully with the jury, who were somewhat in doubt what they should do in this case, that they found him guilty, and the impeachment in parliament set aside, he was executed as a traitor at Tyburn: and soon after this, the Dissenters losing their esteem in the eyes of the court party, and some justices of peace of Middlesex being sharp upon them, this person was chosen chairman at the sessions at Hicks's-Hall, where he had an opportunity to make them, as he found his time, feel the resentment of his anger; but this place being held too low for a spirit winged with so large an ambition, he aimed at higher things, resolving, like Icarus, to be near the sun, though at the hazard of melting his waxen wings, dropping headlong into the sea of inevitable ruin. Whereupon perceiving some hot contests in the city of London, about the election of magistrates and officers, he turned the edge of his fury that way, inso-much, that a *Quo Warranto* came down against the charter of the honourable city of London, and in fine, after much pleading and arguments *pro & contra*, the charter was surrendered, at least in consent, by those that were in power, and the king suspending the execution of the judgment obtained, caused such orders to be observed as he thought most convenient, which being so well known to the citizens of London, it would appear a presumption in me to enter upon particulars; yet the chief cavil against the city was, taking the toll of markets, collecting money to build Cheap-side conduit, &c. Nor was it long after this, that several persons were tried for rioters, who attended the election of sheriffs and mayor, and fines were passed upon many worthy citizens, as rioters on that occasion; in promoting which, this person as a counsellor by his florid rhetoric was mainly instrumental, by giving the court an account of their respective abilities, the better to settle the fines; and the lord chief justice Saunders dying, he succeeded him as lord chief justice of the King's-Bench;

in which station he was scarcely settled, but he admitted the Popish lords to bail, that lay under an impeachment in parliament, and whose bailing had been refused by his predecessors, the judges.

Here by the way it will not be amiss to let the reader have a taste of some passages that happened on the public stage of business, in the jocular part of this great man's life, and the repartees he met with, of which I shall instance a few.

It happened once upon a trial, that a plain country fellow, giving evidence in the court, and pressing it home, moved this person, who was counsel on the other side, to pick a quarrel with this poor man's leather doublet, and amongst other interrogations, bawled out, You fellow in the leather doublet, pray what have you for swearing? The man upon this, looking steadily on him, replied, Truly, sir, if you have no more for lying than I have for swearing, you might wear a leather doublet as well as I. This bluntly retorted, caused at that time much laughter, and filled the town with the discourse of it.

It happened another time, that some musicians brought an action against a person, at whose wedding-day they had played, for the money they were promised or expected, when in the midst of the evidence, this person called to one of them, viz. You fidler, &c. at which the man seemed disgusted; he again, upon the party's alleging himself to be a musician, demanded, What difference there was between a musician and a fidler? As much, sir, said he, as there is between a pair of bagpipes and a recorder. And he then being recorder of London, it was taken as a suitable repartee.

A gentleman in the country having married a city orphan, comes and demands her fortune, which was about 1100l. but by all the friends that he could make, could not procure it, till he goes to Jeffreys, then recorder, and gave him 100 guineas to be his friend to get out his wife's fortune, upon which Jeffreys told him, that the court of aldermen would sit such a day; the gentleman appearing, was called in, Jeffreys being present, who asked him, Sirrah, what's your business? Upon which the gentleman told him, That he had married a city orphan, and desired he might have her portion out of the chamber; upon which Jeffreys asked him, If he had asked the consent of the court of aldermen? He told him, No. Upon which he called him rogue, rascal, sirrah, you should have asked leave from the court for such a marriage. He told him he understood not the custom of the city, and begged their pardon, being a country gentleman. Upon this Jeffreys abused him again; but afterwards gave him a note for his money; his public railing upon him being only to blind the court, that they might not suspect him bribed.

When he was chief justice, being at a country assize, trying a cause, an old man with a great beard came to give evidence before him, and not doing it to his mind; he began to cavil with his beard, and amongst other expressions told him, That if his conscience was as large as his beard, he might well swear any thing. This so nettled the old blade, that without any respect to his greatness, he briskly replied, My lord, if you go about to measure consciences by beards, your lordship has none.

Now Jeffreys prosecuted Mr. Baxter for his paraphrase upon the New Testament, and sent him to prison; he coming out by an *Habeas Corpus*, was fain to abscond in the country (in constant pain) till the term. Then his often waitings at the bar (where he could not stand) and then to be railingly treated by Jeffreys and Withins, and called rogue and knave, and not suffered to speak one word of answer for himself, and his counsel being reviled that offered to speak for him, was far harder to him than his imprisonment. And then going from the bar, he only said, That his predecessor thought otherwise of him. Jeffreys replied, There was not an honest man in England that took him not for a knave; not excepting the king, that had given him another testimony in words.

The several trials in the West were deferred for some time after the fatal blow given to the duke of Monmouth.



on Fower-Hill, because of my lord's being at Tunbridge; but the latter end of August, he with a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, assisted with four other judges, set forward with a party of horse, he being made by special commission their general. The first place he came at, was Winchester, where were divers prisoners on suspicion; but here began the tragedy: for the lady Lisle was there arraigned for high-treason, in harbouring Mr. Hicks and Mr. Nelthorp, that had been concerned with the duke; the lady being on her trial, the jury being dissatisfied once and again, but my lord's threats and other managery, so disposed the jury, that at last they brought the lady in guilty; on which he pronounced the sentence of death on her, as usual in such cases; but she had the favour of being beheaded: their other prisoners were carried to Salisbury; and this was the most remarkable thing at those assizes.

For Salisbury they set forward from thence, where were many prisoners that had been picked up and down the country, then in the gaol, the which, with those that were brought from Winton, were ordered to be carried to Dorchester, there not being evidence enough to accomplish what was then designed by my lord; so that little of moment passed there, but to pursue the matter, proceeds from thence to Dorchester, where he with his assistants, gownmen and swordmen, arrived on the 3d of September, on which day, being Thursday, the commission was read. Friday morning there was an excellent sermon preached before their lordships, by a worthy divine, chaplain to a worthy person of that country, much tending to mercy: it was observed, that while my lord chief justice was in church at prayers, as well as at sermon, he was seen to laugh; which was so unbecoming a person in his character, that ought, in so weighty an affair as he was then entering upon, to have been more serious, and have craved the assistance of Almighty God.

When the sermon was over, their lordships repaired to the court, which by order of the lord chief justice was hung with red cloth, a colour suitable to such a succeeding bloody tragedy, being accompanied by a numerous company of the gentry of that county, as well as the flower of the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Devonshire, and then proceeded to give his charge; in which charge, by reason of the severity of his sentiments, and positions laid down to make discoveries of all such as were abettors, aiders, or assisters to the late duke of Monmouth, on pain of high-treason, which was a great surprise to all the auditors, and so vehemently urged, and so passionately expressed, as seemed rather the language of a Romish inquisitor, than a Protestant judge; and then adjourned until eight o'clock next morning, when a bill was found against thirty persons charged with high-treason, for aiding and assisting the late duke of Monmouth; who put themselves on their trials, notwithstanding my lord's threatening, That if any did put themselves on trial, and the country found them guilty, they should have but a little time to live. And at the same time insinuated, That it were better to plead guilty, if they expected any favour.

"Now these thirty being on trial, the evidences being sworn and examined before the jury; by the violent deportment of the lord chief justice, and sharpness of the jury, they found twenty-nine guilty, though some of them were very hardly dealt with, and not so criminal as my lord and the country imagined. Particularly amongst the twenty-nine, were Mr. Matthew Bragg, of Thorncomb, and Joseph Speed, of Culliton, in the county of Devonshire, and Mr. Smith, constable of Chardstock, in the said county, and George Steward, of Culliton aforesaid.

"These persons being found (as before) guilty, my lord immediately pronounced sentence of death on them all, as is usual in cases of high-treason, and did the same night give a warrant to the sheriff for the execution of thirteen of the twenty-nine on Monday following; which accordingly was done, notwithstanding great application was made to the lord chief justice by gentlemen of the best quality, in this and the neighbouring counties, for a reprieve for Mr. Bragg, to all which he was deaf, and not

to be prevailed upon, though he was assured of his honesty, and true conformity to the church of England, yet it availed nothing. At last it was only requested for ten days respite, yet that had no better effect; but on Monday he with twelve more of that number were accordingly executed at Dorchester.

In the interim this proceeding was designed to shorten business, and to wheedle the rest that were to follow to a confession, without which the tenth part of them could not be proved guilty. A method was also taken without precedent, to entrap many poor ignorant people, by a couple of officers that were sent into the gaol, to call over, and to take the names of the prisoners, on promise, if they confessed, they might expect mercy, otherwise not; which many did. And this was written so, that had they pleaded not guilty, these two were designed to have been evidences against them from their own confessions, which so disposed the remaining great numbers, that all, except a very few, pleaded guilty, which put an end to any further trial.

Now the only thing remaining, was the pronouncing sentence on them, which were in number 292, who received sentence of death all at once. One Mr. Lawrence put himself on trial, but by the jury found guilty, whose case was hard, his circumstances being so small to be condemned to die; and had actually suffered, had not application been made to my lord's favourites, and with the payment and securing of 400l. preserved him from execution.

When this matter was adjusted, and execution awarded to about 80, which were executed, and their quarters set up and down the country to the dread of the spectators, as well as the annoyance of the travellers; his extraordinary whippings, though unmerciful, are not to be taken notice of. So we leave this place, and proceed towards the city of Exon: in their way thither, lying at an honourable gentleman's house, divers of the neighbouring parishes made their petitions to the lord chief justice in the behalf of some relations concerned. It happened, that through some disorder amongst his servants, some pistols were fired that night, which gave him a suspicion, or at least he took it, of some design upon him; on which at parting he said, Not a man of all those parishes that were of that vicinity, if found guilty, should escape. And so we proceed, and arrive at Exon, where to the number of 243 prisoners being in custody for assisting the said duke of Monmouth, one amongst the rest, Mr. Fower Acers, pleading not guilty, he being found by the jury, the said lord chief justice immediately pronounced sentence upon him, and immediate execution, which was done to terrify the rest, who all pleaded guilty; so that these unfortunate people had not time to have the fairness of trials allowed them, which is a right due by the laws of God and man. The remaining number he all condemned; and here was a little sparing, not so many ordered for execution as were in the other county, but those that were executed, were hung up and down in most towns of the county, and their quarters and heads scattered up and down the highways and public places. An extraordinary sentence of severe whipping was pronounced against Mr. Samuel Staple, of Thorncomb, in the said county; but these are trifles, and we shall endeavour to pursue our design, and make as quick dispatch as we can, that time may not be lost, the king served, and this miscreant's thirst quenched with Protestant blood, which is always well pleasing to inquisitors, and so proceed to the town of Taunton, at which place being arrived, it was thought fit by the lord chief justice to be as expeditious as might be; so that late in the afternoon the court sat, where the commission being read, he proceeded to give charge, which was so very keen and full of sharp invectives, as if the country itself had not been able to make expiation to his lordship, to quench his thirst in the blood of those that ventured their all in defence of the Protestant religion; and here we enter upon the bloodiest part of the tragedy; in this town, and at Wells in the said county, were more than 500 prisoners.

Now to begin at Taunton; the next morning after the charge given, the assizes began, where some few put them-



fellows on trial, who were found guilty, and immediately ordered to be executed: of which number one Mr. Simon Hambling was one, who was a zealous worthy good man, and his case no way dangerous, but on the contrary, had he had to do with a judge of another stamp. To proceed to the rest: this first cruelty caused the rest to plead guilty in hopes of favour, which was only a few days to live, which those that pleaded had not. Amongst these at Taunton were divers eminent persons that had been taken in the West, and carried to London, and brought down there to complete the bloody tragedy in those parts: Mr. Parrot, Mr. Hewling, the elder, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Hucker, and divers others were very eminent. To take notice of every particular in this matter, will alter our design, and swell the account to too great a bulk, being only designed for a short sketch; and useful it may be to see the cruelty of men when in their power, and how the devil stirreth up his instruments, to pursue those that adventure for the cause of God and religion. Here were in this country executed 239, the rest that were condemned were transported, except such as were able to furnish coin, and that not a little: for an account was taken of men's abilities, according to which the purchase for life must be managed by two of his favourites, who had a small share, the rest went into his lordship's pocket; according to the actions of Rome, where sins of any kind may be pardoned for money. This indeed was a glorious design in the eye of the mother church, to root out heresy by executions and transportations, to make room for a pack; here expedition must be made to conclude at Wells, for that a great man being fallen, our great judge designing his chair, which in short he had, as the reward of so eminent and extraordinary a piece of service as he did for the advancement of the Roman-Catholics interest, which is cruel always where it prevails.

Here we leave the town of Taunton, after awarding execution to many there, and their quarters to be scattered up and down the country; so we proceed to Wells, where divers prisoners that had been carried from gaol to gaol, in expectation of evidence against them, were in carts removed to Wells: in which place, to finish this expedition, the same method as was at the former assizes, was also taken here by a severe charge, affronting the gentlemen of this county, as he had done in all the counties before, terrifying the juries (when any pleaded) to make them bring in the persons guilty; some of which were over-awed, and it is doubted contrary to their judgments; which if so, the Lord forgive them.

Many eminent and worthy persons that received the sentence of death were among this number, but the executions of the county being put together, as you have before seen, we make no particular division of the number here, and the number at Taunton, the whole being recited before: we shall therefore endeavour to be as brief as we can, to give you what we think material, and truly matter of fact; my lord now being come to conclude this extraordinary commission, and in haste to be elevated, maketh all manner of dispatch to repair to the king then at Windsor, to give an account of his transactions, and to receive the reward of his meritorious service, in this butchering of Protestants, which is so acceptable to his holiness, and his bigotted disciples, as nothing can be more; and indeed, if you will believe them, a work that merits heaven at last, besides what temporal preferments are thought fit in this world. If this judge were a true Protestant, his case is much the worse, being made use of as a tool to destroy, and carry on Popish designs. Thus the affairs being ended, the country filled with heads and quarters of those that were executed, the rest that had not wherewith to purchase their lives, left in custody in order for transportation.

When this bloody tragedy in the West was over, our Protestant judge returns to London: soon after which alderman Cornish felt the anger of somebody behind the curtain; for it is to be noted, that he was sheriff when Best prayed an indictment might be preferred, and was, as well as sheriff Bethel, earnest in promoting it; alleging, that it was no ways reasonable that the juries of London should lie under such a reproach, &c.

But passing this over, we now find this person arrived at the pinnacle of honour: the purse and mace were reserved for him, vacant by the death of the lord-keeper North, and he advanced to the lord-chancellorship of England; raised by this means, as one might think, above the envy of the crowd; and it might be wished, in so dangerous a height he had looked better to his foot-steps; for now being created baron of Wem, we find him in a high commission, or ecclesiastical court, suspending the honourable the lord bishop of London, from performing the episcopal office and function of that see, and for no other default, than not readily complying with the king's letter, in suspending Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, for preaching a sermon in the parish church of St. Giles's in the Fields, at the request of the parishioners, shewing the errors and fallacies of the Romish religion; the better to confirm them in the faith and doctrine of the church of England. Nor was it this good bishop alone that was aimed at; for Magdalen-College, at Oxford, was next attempted, and in that very mother of learning, and chief seminary of our church, such alterations were made as startled the kingdom; by whose counsel I undertake not to determine: but in the midst of liberty of conscience, as twice declared, the church of England had a test put upon her sons, which seemed such a paradox that has been rarely heard of, viz. To read the king's declaration for liberty of conscience in the churches, during the time of divine service, and a mark, and penalties threatened to the refusers; which was evidently demonstrated by the imprisonment of those worthy patriots of the church, his grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the lord bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Peterborough, Chichester, St. Asaph, and Bristol; who for shewing their reasons why they could not comply with this command, by way of humble petition, were sent to the Tower, and afterwards tried upon information of high misdemeanor, at the court of King's-Bench; where their innocence appearing in a plain manner, they were acquitted, to the scandal of their accusers: yet orders were sent into all parts of England, to return an account to the lord-chancellor, of those that refused to read the declaration, that they might be proceeded against, for a contempt of what their consciences would not permit them to do; and for a time they were extremely hot upon it. Much about this time there was a considerable suit depending before him in chancery, between a great heiress and others, which was sufficiently talked of in the world, not without loud and deep reflection on his honesty and honour; for having given the cause for the young lady, he very speedily afterwards married her to his son; with this remarkable circumstance, she being a Papist, to make sure work, he married them both ways, both by a priest of the church of Rome, and a divine of the church of England. And here, I think, we may place the height of his honour and happiness, where he is not like to tarry long; for on the news of the great preparations in Holland, and that the prince of Orange was certainly designed for England, the determined councils cooled, and then quite ceased, so that the church of England men, whose cause the prince had espoused, were restored again to the commissions and trusts they had been lately deprived of; and amongst other charters that were on this occasion restored, was that of the city of London; and that which makes it more memorable, was, that it was brought to Guildhall by this person, though he was not attended by the shouts and acclamations he expected, nor seemed so florid or frolicksome as heretofore, which some looked upon as a bad omen; and it is reported, that soon after, he being asked by a courtier, What the heads of the prince's declaration were? he should answer, He was sure his was one, whatever the rest were.

As soon as the late king James was secured at Faversham, he desired to see his landlord, and demanded his name, who proved to be a person who had turned himself over to the King's-Bench, for a fine which fell upon him (and captain Stanbrooke, in Westminster) by the lord-chancellor's means at the board; when king James calling for a pen and ink, bid the gentleman write the discharge



discharge as effectually as he would; which he signed: adding, that he was now sensible my lord-chancellor had been a very ill man, and done very ill things. If he was thus censured by his master for his former services, and he had a bad opinion of him; without prophecy any man might predict his service and interest was ceased; and his life would have been like the scape-goat, he must have borne all their crimes, and been beheaded for his own, for no less indignation than death was couched in the words. Thus may be seen what would have been his catastrophe.

By this time the court beginning to scatter, and the prince of Orange approaching, the king thought fit to withdraw himself; upon notice of which the lord-chancellor betook himself to Wapping, disguised like a seaman, in order to effect his escape to Hamburgh in a collier; but being discovered, he was brought before sir J. Chapman, lord-mayor of the city of London, in a strange disguise, very different from the habit in which he formerly appeared: and by reason of the lord mayor's indisposition, he not being able to commit him, he offered to go to the Tower, to be out of the hands of the rabble, who there in great numbers with clubs and staves, threatened him with present destruction; but having a guard of the trained-bands to conduct him, he got thence safe, and soon after was charged in custody, by a warrant of commitment from the lords at Whitehall, where he continued under much affliction and indisposition, having moved for his *Habeas Corpus* to be bailed, but was not able to attain it. He had not been in the Tower many days, but as it is said (whether or no, I cannot affirm) he had a barrel of oysters sent him, upon sight of which he said to the bearer, I see I have some friends left still; but upon opening the barrel, he found them to be only friends that were impatient till they gave him a prospect of his future destiny, for verily the mighty present was nothing but a good stout halter. Now as I said before, whether this passage be true or no, I cannot say, but this I am sure (if we consider his lordship's life and cruelties) the moral of it is most excellent.

In this manner he continued for some months in the Tower, his chronical indispositions, the stone, &c. increasing very fast upon him.

Dr. Laver (a very ingenious man) was his physician: but nature being now tired out by a tedious combat with his disease, and the guilt of his former bloody life, notoriously known, he contracted an ill habit of body, and at last very happily for himself, if not his relations too, died in the Tower, about nine o'clock in the morning, *Anno Domini* 1689.

*A full Account of the direct Persecution of the Right Hon. Lord GEORGE GORDON, President of the Protestant Association and of the indirect Stigma thrown on that Body in General, through the Artifices of Romish Emiffaries.*

**T**HE better to trace this nefarious business to its original, it will be necessary to observe, that in the year 1778 a bill was brought into the House of Commons by sir George Savile, and afterwards passed into an act, for the repeal of certain provisions and penal laws, affecting the Roman-Catholics in this country; which said provisions and penal laws were contained in an act of parliament passed in the 11th and 12th years of the reign of king William the Third. This obnoxious act being now set aside by the late repeal, every Popish priest is consequently permitted to exercise any part of his function in this kingdom; Papists are allowed to keep schools, and take upon them the education, government, or boarding of youth, to purchase estates, with other indulgences and immunities.

It is further observable that it being proposed, the following winter, to bring a similar bill into parliament, to take off some penalties which were inflicted by the

laws of Scotland upon the Roman Catholics of that country; this measure was so resented by the Scots, that on the 2d of February an insurrection happened in the city of Edinburgh; in consequence whereof, two Popish chapels were attacked and set on fire; the houses of the Roman-Catholics in different parts of the town were ransacked and demolished; and the tumult rose to such a height, that the utmost exertions of the civil magistrate, assisted by some of the senebibles, were not able to suppress it, till the provost of the city gave assurances, in the most public manner, that the scheme was dropped, and no act of parliament would be applied for, respecting the Roman-Catholics of Scotland. Such was the effectual opposition the proceedings of the then violent British minister and parliament met with in the North, on the very first appearance of countenancing the Papists there.

Affairs remained quiet for some time in England, but at length the fears and jealousies of the people were roused, from a belief (too justly founded) that the late repeal of the statute of king William would be attended with immediate danger to the state, and to the Protestant religion; whereupon an association, called THE PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION, was formed; whose main object was, to defend the Protestant religion, as by law established, against the encroachments of Popery; and also to prepare and present a petition to parliament, for a repeal of the late act in favour of the Roman-Catholics. The right honourable lord George Gordon was president of this association; and many respectable and pious ministers, with a great number of worthy private Christians, composed a considerable part of the assembly.

By means of previous notice given in the public prints, upwards of 40,000 persons, with the members of the Protestant Association of London, Westminster, Southwark, &c. assembled in St. George's Fields, on Friday, the 2d of June 1780, in the morning, from whence they proceeded peaceably, and in regular order, to the House of Commons with their petition, which was carried by Mr. Hodgkinson. They consisted of four divisions; namely, the London, the Scotch, the Westminster, and the Southwark. When they arrived at the Parliament-House, their petition, praying for a repeal of the acts lately passed in favour of the Roman-Catholics, was presented by lord George Gordon, the president; and, being received, the subject matter of it was referred to the consideration of the House.

On this, however, as on other occasions of the like nature, where a mixed multitude is collected together, many evil-minded persons, unknown to the association, began to be very riotous, and committed awful outrages, by attacking and setting fire to Newgate and other prisons, releasing the persons confined in them, and demolished the houses and destroyed the goods of several Roman-Catholics, and others, on pretence of a zeal for the Protestant religion, but in fact for the sole purpose of indulging themselves in rioting, excess, and robbery. These lawless miscreants continued their enormities till Tuesday evening; when a tremendous scene opened, and the whole city of London was thrown into the utmost consternation, on account of the many gaols and houses that were burning at one and the same time; and had not his majesty collected together a military force on the next day to protect the city, it was apprehended that the conflagration would have been universal.

During the perpetration of these horrid acts by an abandoned rabble, lord George Gordon, accompanied by one of the sheriffs, went in person to several places where the tumults were subsisting, to harangue the outrageous banditti, and exhort them to a peaceable deportment; but all without effect. Such, however, was the malice of his enemies, who were bent on his destruction, that notwithstanding he employed every effort in his power to suppress the rage, and prevent the mischievous designs of the rioters, they did not scruple to accuse him of being their ringleader and principal abettor.



In consequence of this unjust accusation, his lordship was apprehended on Friday, the 9th of June 1780, by a warrant under the hand of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and was the same day committed a close prisoner to the Tower, where he was debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and no person of his acquaintance was suffered to enter the room, or to speak to him; and a keeper was appointed to watch him night and day, to carry the above rigorous order into strict execution.

His lordship was treated and confined in this severe manner till Michaelmas term of the said year; on the first day of which he applied to the court of King's-Bench, by petition founded upon the *Habeas-Corpus* act, to be either tried or set at liberty: a few days after which, in the same term, an indictment for high-treason was framed against him, and presented to the gentlemen grand jurors for the county of Middlesex, who returned it into the court of King's-Bench A TRUE BILL.

We shall here, in order to shew the unreasonableness, not to say injustice and cruelty, of these proceedings against his lordship, who was desirous, throughout the whole affair, of preserving the utmost order and decorum, insert some of the resolutions of the Protestant Association, issued for that purpose, previous to the setting out of the procession.

"Resolved, for the sake of good order and regularity, that this Association, in coming to the ground, do separate themselves into four distinct divisions, viz. the London division, the Westminster division, the Southwark division, and the Scotch division.

"Resolved, that the London division do take place upon the right of the ground towards Southwark, the Westminster division second, the Southwark division third, and the Scotch division upon the left, all wearing blue cockades, to distinguish themselves from the Papists, and those who approve of the late act in favour of Popery.

"Resolved, that the magistrates of London, Westminster, and Southwark, be requested to attend, that their presence may over-awe and control any riotous or evil-minded persons, who may wish to disturb the legal and peaceable deportment of his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

"By order of the Association, signed G. Gordon, President. Dated London, May 29."

By authority we add to this, that on his lordship's arrival at St. George's-Fields, the people there assembled formed a ring around him; in which situation, he made a short speech to them, strongly recommending a peaceable deportment and behaviour, and that in this disposition they would proceed to the house with their petition. A hand-bill inculcating the same pacific temper and conduct was likewise distributed.

Furthermore, to make it evident that neither lord Gordon, nor any of his friends, could with any degree of justice or propriety be charged as the promoters or encouragers of the horrid enormities afterwards committed by a lawless and abandoned rabble (which atrocious practices they utterly abhorred); the Protestant Association thought fit to publish the following advertisement by order of the committee, and signed by Mr. Fisher, their secretary:

"The Protestant Association think it their duty, as loyal subjects and members of civil society, in the most public manner to disavow any connection with those lawless rioters, who have for several days past, under pretence of opposing Popery, and promoting the success of the Protestant petitions, committed the most flagrant and dreadful depredations in and about the metropolis. They cannot but feel the deepest concern for the distress that has been brought on many individuals by such unprecedented and illegal proceedings, and hereby publicly declare their abhorrence of such atrocious conduct."

This full and clear vindication of his lordship and his Protestant adherents, will, we humbly trust, to

every unprejudiced mind, prove a sufficient testimony of their Christian moderation, and united desire to maintain the public tranquillity by every expedient possible.

But the persecuting rage exerted against lord George Gordon, the iniquity of which was manifested in his imprisonment and trial, will appear the more glaring, when we consider the characters of the evidence upon which the indictment was found. They are thus described, and their accounts represented as follow:

Mr. Chamberlayne, solicitor to the treasury, produced a paper, signed "G. Gordon," which had been given to a man, by way of certificate, of his being a Protestant, to prevent his house from being destroyed by the rioters. He swore that he had seen lord George Gordon's writing, and did believe that this letter was written by him.

William Hay swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say publicly, at a meeting at Coach-Makers-Hall, that the king had forfeited his crown, and therefore they had a right to take up arms to recover their religious liberties.

The Rev. Thomas Bowen swore, that he heard lord George Gordon (out of the house) say to the people, They must be firm, and stand by him, for that the Scotch did not obtain their religious liberty till they had pulled down the mass houses: and that he came a second time, and declared to the people, that alderman Bull and alderman Sawbridge were violent against their petition.

M'Ray (an Irish chairman) swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say, the petition should be granted, or else——. On being asked, What else? He answered, *Else! else!*——He was dismissed.

Mr. Justice Wright swore, that his house was destroyed by the rioters, but could not say whether at the instigation of lord George Gordon or not.

Jealous, Parrat, and M'Manus (three of sir John Fielding's runners) swore, that they saw lord George Gordon in St. George's-Fields, with a great number of people around him, and that he remained there some time, but they could not say how long.

The other witnesses were William Metcalf, John Anstruther, John Caler, Esq. Mr. Joseph Pearson, Sampson Rainsford, Thomas Baker, David Miles, Mr. Thomas Gates, William Hyde, Esq. right honourable lord Porchester, John Lucy, Barnard Turner (a sugar-refiner) Richard Pond, John Dingwell, &c.

His lordship's trial came on in the court of King's-Bench, on Monday, the 6th of February 1781. The council for the crown were, Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Howarth, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Norton. The council for the prisoner were Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine.

Mr. Kenyon made a very able defence in behalf of the noble prisoner, and several gentlemen were called to the support of what he had urged in favour of his lordship, and in contradiction to every fact asserted for the prosecution.

The names of the witnesses on behalf of the prisoner were, the Rev. Erasmus Middleton, Mr. T. Evans, lord viscount Stormont, sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Bart. sir James Lowther, Bart. William Smith, Mrs. Whittingham, Alexander Johnstone, Alexander Frazer, John Humphries, Sampson Hodgkinson, John Robinson, Mrs. Yaud, and Mr. alderman Pugh.

Mr. Erskine then spoke, for he begged to be permitted to reserve what he had to say till after the evidence on their part should be examined, which was granted. This gentleman displayed both his eloquence and understanding on the occasion. The Solicitor-General replied, and lord Mansfield then summed up the evidence, but declined making any comments, and as soon as he had delivered his charge he left the court.

The jury withdrew, and in about twenty minutes returned. Just as they were taking their seats, Mr. Erskine fainted away. Some time was lost by this accident. The verdict was then pronounced—NOT GUILTY.



The burst of applause that took place on this was very great, and attended by circumstances that made it highly affecting; lord William Gordon fainted away, and the old faithful servant of lord George fell into fits.

After the tumult had subsided, lord George Gordon, being rescued from the numbers that pressed upon him with their congratulations, came forward and addressed the jury in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the jury, you have done perfectly right in the verdict you have given. I am not the person I was charged to be. I declare to God, that I am as innocent as any one of you, and never designed any thing of treason against my king or country. Gentlemen, it has been a wicked and infamous prosecution—

His lordship was interrupted by the jury, upon which he concluded, "Gentlemen, I beg your pardon; excuse my warmth. I heartily thank you, and God bless you."

Judge Willes then informed lord George that he was discharged, and of course at liberty to depart, and his lordship, at near six o'clock on Tuesday morning (the 6th) went from the hall, attended by his brothers, the duke of Gordon and lord William Gordon. The duke of Richmond, lord Derby, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and many other public gentlemen, were also present.

The futility and contradictory nature of many of the evidence, collected together to procure the conviction and death of lord Gordon, for a crime of which he had always retained an utter detestation; together with the very able and clear justification of his conduct by his learned counsel, set his innocence in so conspicuous a point of view, as to bring about an honourable acquittal, to the confusion of his enemies, and the entire satisfaction of all real friends to civil and religious liberty, and the Protestant cause; and we have the pleasure to observe, that his lordship was much indebted to the very just and sensible description of the Protestant Association given by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, who was a member thereof.

And there never was a single person either convicted, tried, or even apprehended, on suspicion of being accessory to, or any ways promoting the riots, who was a member of that respectable body, the Protestant Association; this circumstance must therefore afford a satisfactory proof that the persecution of lord George Gordon was set on foot and carried on by unprincipled Protestants, and avowed Papists, in order to take away the life of this truly honourable man, who had always approved himself a hearty and zealous friend to his king and country, a warm defender of its civil and religious liberties, and a strenuous opposer and detester of the tenets and practices of the Roman-Catholics, as inimical to the best and dearest interests of mankind in general.

Such being the amiable disposition of mind possessed by his lordship, and so pure and well-directed were his views and intention respecting the important cause in which he engaged, that it is matter of astonishment such a spirit of persecution, nearly allied to that of a Popish inquisition, should go forth against him, were we not assured, from the sacred records, that the seed of the serpent will never cease to persecute and harass the seed of the woman. But as truth and innocence always have, and ever will, prove victorious over error and malevolence, so it happened in this instance.

As a further exculpation of his lordship, and the members of the Protestant Association, it may be necessary to observe, in general, that there was not one man of character or condition, of any description, who abetted the rioters in the commission of such dreadful enormities and excesses; nor was there any man among the Association who was either tried, or taken up on suspicion, except his lordship, whose too forward zeal might perhaps precipitate him into measures which he was far from imagining would be productive of those dreadful consequences by which the whole metropolis, and its environs, were thrown into a state of convulsion unparalleled in the annals of history. The horrid outrages committed by those abandoned wretches, the

rioters, were so numerous and terrifying, and the further mischiefs dreaded from their menaces were so tremendous, that (as was remarked of one of the cruel Roman emperors) one would almost think the Divine Being had suffered those miscreants to run such shocking lengths, to shew what horrid excesses the human mind is capable of, when left without restraint to its own evil bias. But the punishment due to such heinous crimes soon overtook many of them, though it is to be feared not all of the most guilty; since several imprudent and over-curious persons, by mixing with the principal actors, had involved themselves in the same punishment. But, however, the sufferings of some of the most notorious offenders, at the same time that it may serve as an example of terror to evil doers, sufficiently proves, that how daringly soever wickedness may triumph for a season, it will draw after it the punishment justly due to the transgression of human laws, and, without repentance, an obnoxiousness to the Almighty's vengeance.

All persecutions, particularly those on the score of religion, are in themselves diabolical, and therefore diametrically opposite to the mild and benign spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ, who, when he was reviled and maltreated, returned not evil for evil, but contrariwise blessing. In these enlightened days, persecution is considered as an abominable and detestable crime: its first principle was, to increase morality, by enforcing one opinion, and exterminating all others; but, like madness, its characteristic was, acting consistently upon wrong principles; it went on this grand error, that a man could judge of the opinion of another, better than he who entertained it: it might naturally have been imagined, that the philanthropic doctrines of Christianity would have proved a remedy for this error; but, through the depravity of the human heart, the reverse had turned out to be the fact, and torture and death had been introduced, to force men from their religious opinions into such as those in power entertained.

Persecution (if in the milder sense it may be so called) went originally upon a principle of kindness: its primary intention was, to promote unity of opinion with regard to the truth, as handed down to us by Christ and his apostles, and the extinction of those opinions which were conceived to be erroneous: but in process of time, persecution became a most cruel and insupportable tyrant, the very reverse of toleration, which is founded, and that successfully, on philosophy and reason. The language of persecution is arrogant, contracted, and haughty: it says, "I know the consequences of your opinions better than you know them yourself." The mild language of toleration is far different: that may indeed express a dislike of a certain opinion, but says, "Since you profess such and such an opinion, I will not believe that you think such dangerous inferences may be drawn from it, as I do." The latter mode of judging is less liable to error than the former, and far more adapted to promote the happiness and peace of the community. It is right to judge, by the fruit of the tree, from the effect of the cause: other modes of judging are liable to continual error; inasmuch as men must judge of acts, and not merely of opinions.

Impressed with these ideas, we may safely infer, that a persecuting Christian is a contradiction in terms; for the weapons of Christ's soldiers are not carnal, much less diabolical and infernal; such being injurious to a good cause, and scandalous to true religion. The word and Spirit of God are the most proper instruments for propagating and impressing the truth as it is in Jesus, who, being himself meek and lowly in heart, requires all that bear his name to be like-minded—not only to commit no evil themselves, but to bear it patiently from others, who will, by observing such a suitable conduct in real Christians, be convinced that they are governed by the dictates of scripture, right reason, good sense, and sound policy; thus rendering Christianity so amiable in the eyes even of its opposers and persecutors, that its enemies may be constrained to throw down their arms, and enlist under its banner.



**T H E**  
**N E W   A N D   C O M P L E T E**  
**BOOK of MARTYRS,**

**O. R,   A N**

**Universal History of Martyrdom:**

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**C O N T A I N I N G**

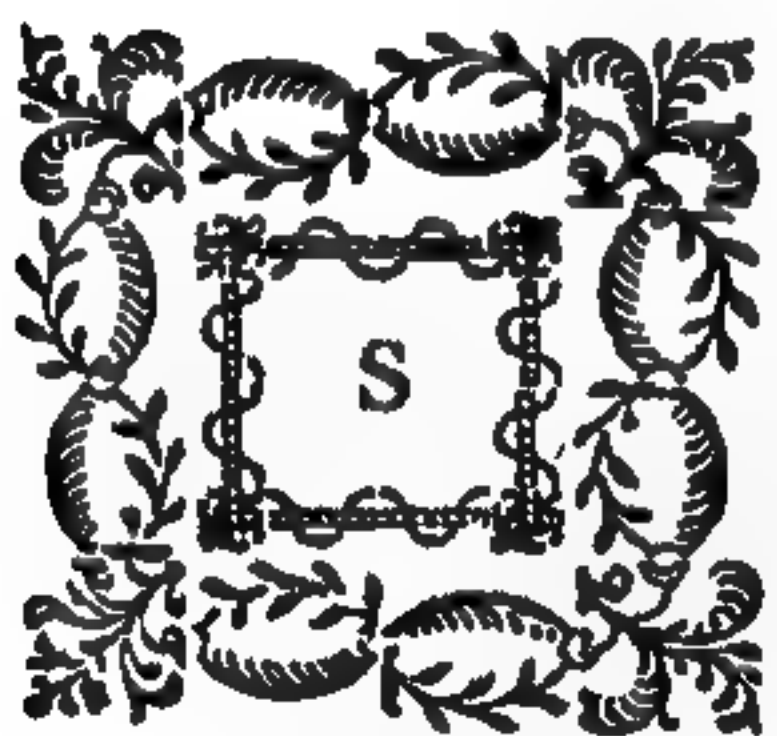
**COMPLETE HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS of the LIVES, SUFFERINGS,**  
**and DEATHS, of the**

**PRIMITIVE AND EARLY MARTYRS,**

**From the CREATION of the WORLD, to the Time of Queen MARY I.**

**C H A P.   I.**

**A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in the FIRST AGES of the WORLD.**



**S**HORTLY after the creation the spirit of persecution began to shew itself in the world. Of this we have a lamentable account given by Moses. The righteous Abel was the first martyr who fell a sacrifice to the envy and cruelty of his brother Cain.

Afterwards commenced the persecution of Noah by his son Ham; the persecution of Lot at Sodom; of Joseph by his brethren, &c.

The first general persecution in these early ages, may be deemed that of the children of Israel by Pharaoh. This tyrant not only afflicted both sexes of all ages by means of the most cruel task-masters, but even ordered the new-born infants of the Hebrew women to be murdered. He was, however, punished for his persecutions; first by ten dreadful plagues, and afterwards by being swallowed up in the Red Sea, with all his people.

The children of Israel, after being freed from bondage, were successively persecuted by the Philistines, Ammonites, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Arabians, and Assyrians; and many of the prophets and chosen of God were persecuted by several of the kings of Judah and Israel.

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the three righteous children were thrown into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel was cast into the lion's den by order of Darius; and Mordecai was persecuted by the malicious Haman: but these were all respectively saved by the Almighty, and their persecutors punished for their perfidy.

Likewise, the Jews were persecuted by the neighbouring idolators during the time of their building and fortifying Jerusalem, till that great work was finished by the care of Nehemiah; but after its completion they were frequently disturbed by the Persians, and the successors of Alexander the Great, though that monarch himself had granted favours the most unlimited.

About a little more than a century and a half before the birth of Christ, Antiochus seized upon and sacked the city of Jerusalem, plundered the temple, and murdered many of the Jews who refused to conform to his idolatry, by scourging, strangling, crucifying, and stifling them, and by closing up the mouths of the caves to which they fled for refuge.

However, Antiochus and the idolatrous tormentors were at length bravely opposed by Matthias a priest, and his valiant sons, the principal of whom was Judas Maccabeus. This able commander Judas, with his brave brothers, inspired the dispirited Jews with new courage, defeated the generals of Antiochus, freed their country from bondage, and afterwards turned their arms against the Edomites and Ammonites, over whom they were equally successful.

Antiochus at length died a terrible death, his flesh having been some time before quite putrid, and producing maggots; so that he became loathsome to himself, and nauseous to all about him. His successors, however, continued their enmity to the Jews; but they were opposed by the Maccabees with various success.

Now the Jews entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the Romans; but soon after lost their worthy champion Judas Maccabeus, who was slain in a bloody battle



battle fought with the Greeks, under the command of their general Bacchides.

While Antiochus Epiphanes reigned in Syria, having some success against the Jews, he went to Jerusalem, where he ordered Eleazer the priest to be put to death in the most cruel manner, for refusing to eat swine's flesh. Then seizing on a family of Maccabees, consisting of a matron named Salamona, and her seven sons, he carried them all to Antioch. Here he would fain have persuaded them to embrace his idolatry, which they nobly and unanimously refusing, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Accordingly Maccabeus, the eldest, was stripped, stretched on the rack, and severely beaten. He was next fastened to a wheel, and weights hung to his feet till his sinews cracked. Afterwards his tormentors threw him into a fire till he was dreadfully scorched; then they drew him out, cut out his tongue, and put him into a frying-pan, with a slow fire under it, till he died. As long as he had life, and power of expression, under these exquisite torments, he fervently called upon God, and exhorted his brothers to a similar perseverance.

When the second son had his hands fastened with chains, with which he was hung up, his skin was flayed off from the crown of his head to his knees. He was then cast to a leopard, but the beast refusing to touch him, he was suffered to languish till he expired with the excruciating pain, and loss of blood.

Machir, the third son, was bound to a globe till his bones were all dislocated; his head and face were then flayed, his tongue cut out, and being cast into a pan he was fried to death.

Judas, the fourth son, after having his tongue cut out, was beat with ropes, and then racked upon a wheel.

Achas, the fifth son, was pounded in a large brazen mortar.

Areth, the sixth son, was fastened to a pillar with his head downwards, slowly roasted by a fire kindled at some distance; his tongue was then cut out, and he was lastly fried in a pan.

Jacob, the seventh and youngest son, had his arms cut off, his tongue plucked out, and was then fried to death.

They all bore their fate with the same intrepidity as their elder brother, and called upon the Almighty to receive them into heaven.

Salamona, their mother, after having in a manner died seven deaths in beholding the martyrdom of her children, was, by the tyrant's order, stripped naked, severely scourged, her breasts cut off, and her body fried till she expired.

The inhuman tyrant who inflicted these cruelties, was afterwards struck with madness; and then his flesh became corrupted, and his bowels mortified, which put an end to himself and his wickedness.

## C H A P. II.

*Containing a full and particular Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and cruel MARTYRDOM of Our Blessed LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST; together with that of his APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, &c. the TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS in the PRIMITIVE CHURCH, &c. &c.*

**W**HEN Herod the Great was informed that a king of the Jews should be born in Bethlehem, he sent a number of troops to destroy all the children under two years of age, in that place, and throughout the neighbouring coast. By this cruel order he hoped to have destroyed the child Jesus; but in this he was not only disappointed, but punished with such a spirit of lunacy, that he slew his own wife, children, relations, friends, &c. He was afterwards visited by the most grievous maladies, particularly an inward burning, slow, but unremitting; an uncommon appetite, continually craving, but ever unsatisfied; a cramp that racked him with pain; a flux that reduced him to weakness; worms that bred in him and gnawed him; vermin that engendered about him and devoured him; a general putrefaction that consumed him; and, in fine, all those complicated disorders which could possibly render him hateful to himself, and odious to others. His torments at length became so intolerable, that not having either the comforts of religion, or the support of a good conscience to sustain his sinking spirits, he attempted to lay violent hands upon himself. Being prevented in this attempt by those about him, he at last sunk under the oppression of his afflictions, and in the most miserable manner expired.

Now when Herod the Less married the daughter of the king of Arabia, he repudiated her, and espoused Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: for which marriage, full of incest and adultery, John the Baptist boldly and severely reprov'd him. This freedom greatly incensed Herodias; for we are informed by St. Matthew, in the xiv. chapter of his gospel, that "when Herod's birth-day was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleased Herod: whereupon he promised with an oath, to give her whatsoever she would ask. And she being before instructed of her mother, said, Give me here John Baptist's head in a charger. And the king

was sorry: nevertheless, for the oath's sake, and them which sat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her; and he sent and beheaded John in the prison. And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel: and she brought it to her mother." The authors of this cruelty were, however, all severely punished; for the daughter of Herodias being afterwards dancing upon the ice, it broke, and she falling in, had her head severed from her body by its again closing; and Herod, with the incestuous adulteress Herodias, falling under the displeasure of the Roman emperor, were banished, and died miserably in exile. As this martyr's nativity happened on the 24th of June, accordingly on that day the church celebrates his memory.

Let us now proceed with the history of our Blessed Redeemer. In the reign of Herod the Great already mentioned, the angel Gabriel was sent by the Almighty to a holy virgin, called Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph, who resided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee, but the consummation had not then taken place; for it was the custom of the eastern nations to contract persons of each sex from their childhood, though the cohabitation was not permitted till years of maturity.

Upon this the angel informed Mary how highly she was favoured of God, and that she should conceive a son by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly: for travelling to Bethlehem to pay the capitation-tax then levied, the town was so crowded that they could only get lodgings in a stable, where the holy virgin brought forth our Blessed Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a star and an angel: the wise men of the East saw the first, and the shepherd's the latter. After Jesus had been circumcised, he was presented in the temple by the holy virgin; upon which occasion Simeon broke out into the celebrated words mentioned in



in the Liturgy: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Luke ii. 29, 30.

In his youth, Jesus disputed with the most learned doctors in the temple, and soon after was baptized in the river Jordan by John, when the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a voice was heard audibly to pronounce these words: "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased."

After this Christ fasted forty days and nights in the wilderness, when he was tempted by the Devil, but resisted all his allurements. He then performed his first miracle at Cana in Galilee; he likewise converted with the good Samaritan, and restored to life a nobleman's dead child. Travelling through Galilee, he restored the blind to sight, cured the lame, the lepers, &c. &c. &c. likewise among other benevolent actions, at the pool of Bethesda, he cured a paralytic man who had been lame thirty-eight years, bidding him take up his bed and walk; and he afterwards cured a man, whose right hand was shrunk up and withered.

When he had chosen his twelve apostles, he preached the celebrated sermon upon the Mount; after which he performed several miracles, particularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the surface of the water.

When the passover was celebrated, Jesus supped with his disciples; informed them, that one of them would betray him, and another deny him, and preached his farewell sermon. Soon after, a multitude of armed men surrounded him, and Judas kissed him, in order to point him out to the soldiers who did not know him personally. In the scuffle occasioned by the apprehending of Jesus, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus the servant of the high-priest, for which Jesus reproved him, and healed the wound by touching it. Peter and John followed Jesus to the house of Annas, who refusing to judge him, sent him bound to Caiaphas, where Peter denied Christ, as the latter had predicted; but on Christ's reminding him of his perfidy, Peter went out and wept bitterly.

As soon as the council assembled in the morning, the Jews mocked Jesus, and the elders suborned false witnesses against him: the principal accusation against him being, that he had said, "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands," Mark xiv. 58. Caiaphas then asked him if he was Christ, the Son of God, or no; being answered in the affirmative, he was accused of blasphemy, and condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, who, though conscious of his innocence, yielded to the solicitations of the Jews, and condemned him to be crucified.

The Jews previous to the crucifixion, by way of derision, clothed Christ in a regal robe, put a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed for a sceptre, in his hand: they then mocked him with ironical compliments, spit in his face, slapped his cheeks, and taking the reed out of his hand, they struck him with it upon the head. Pilate would fain have released him, but the general cry was, Crucify him, Crucify him; which occasioned the governor to call for a basin of water, and having washed his hands, he declared himself innocent of the blood of Christ, whom he justly termed a just person. The Jews, however, said, let his blood be upon us, and our children; which wish has manifestly taken place, as they have never since been a collected people.

While leading Christ to the place of crucifixion, they obliged him to bear the cross, which he being afterwards unable to sustain, they compelled one Simon, a native of Cyrenia, to carry the cross the rest of the way. Mount Calvary was the place of execution, where being arrived, the soldiers offered him a mixture of gall and vinegar to drink, which he refused. Having stripped him, they nailed him to the cross, and crucified him between two malefactors. After being fastened to the cross, he uttered this benevolent prayer for his enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The soldiers who crucified him being four in number, now cut his mantle to pieces, and divided it between them; but his coat being without seam, they cast lots for it. Whilst Christ remained in the agonies

of death, the Jews mocked him, and said, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross." The chief priests and scribes also reviled him, and said, "He saved others, but cannot save himself." Indeed, one of the malefactors who was crucified with him, cried out, and said, "If you are the Messiah, save yourself and us;" but the other malefactor, having the greatest reliance upon Jesus, exclaimed, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." To which Christ replied, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

When Christ was upon the cross, the earth was covered with darkness, and the stars appeared at noon-day; which struck even the Jews with terror. In the midst of his tortures Christ cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me;" and then expressed a desire to drink, when one of the soldiers gave him, upon the point of a reed, a sponge dipped in vinegar, which, however, Jesus refused. About three o'clock in the afternoon he gave up the ghost, and at the same time a violent earthquake happened, when the rocks were rent, the mountains trembled, and the graves gave up their dead. These were the signal prodigies that attended the death of Christ, and such was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind—*Hominum Salvator!!!*

### *A Particular Account of the LIVES, SUFFERINGS, and MARTYRDOM of the APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, &c.*

#### I. ST. STEPHEN,

THE Proto, or first martyr, was elected, with six others, as a deacon, out of the Lord's seventy disciples. Stephen was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that they suborned false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. Being carried before the council, he made a noble defence, but that so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant Stephen saw a vision from heaven of Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed in raptures, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." They then condemned him, and having dragged him out of the city, stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the emperor Theodosius, erected a superb church, and the memory of him is annually celebrated on the 26th day of December.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution in Jerusalem, in which 2000 Christians, with Nicarchus the deacon, were martyred; and many others obliged to leave that country.

II. ST. JAMES the GREAT, a Galilean, was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, the elder brother of St. John, and a relation to Christ himself; for his mother Salome was cousin-german to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fishing in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother John, were called by our Saviour to become his disciples. They cheerfully obeyed the mandate, and leaving their father, followed Jesus. It is to be observed, that Christ placed a greater confidence in them, than in any other of the apostles, Peter excepted.

Christ called these brothers Boanerges, or the sons of thunder, on account of their fiery spirits, and impetuous tempers.

When Herod Agrippa, was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly singled out James as an object of his vengeance.

When James was condemned to death, he shewed such an intrepidity of spirit, and constancy of mind, that his very accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to Christianity. This transition so enraged the



the people in power, that they likewise condemned him to death; when James the apostle, and his penitent accuser, were both beheaded on the same day, and with the same sword. These events took place in the year of Christ 44; and the 25th of July was fixed by the church for the commemoration of this saint's martyrdom.

About the same period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom; the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

**III. ST. PHILIP.** This apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of Disciple. He was honoured with several important commissions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, was greatly grieved to find the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry, as to worship a large serpent. St. Philip, however, converted many of them to Christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend, St. Bartholomew, found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which however, he was very near suffering the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of St. James the Great, A. D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Less, is commemorated on the 1st of May.

**IV. ST. MATTHEW.** This evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth in Galilee, but resided chiefly at Capernaum; on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had occasion to pass the sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Christ. After the ascension of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Judea about nine years. Designing to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew, for the use of the Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by St. James the Less. Going to Ethiopia he ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He then proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halbert in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Christ 60; and his festival is kept by the church on the 21st day of September. He was inoffensive in his conduct, and in his mode of living remarkably temperate.

**V. ST. MARK.** This evangelist and martyr was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined, that he was converted to Christianity by St. Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome to commit to writing the admirable discourses they had heard from St. Peter and himself: this request he complied with, and composed his gospel accordingly, in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and constituted a bishopric at Alexandria: afterwards he proceeded to Lybia, where he made many converts. Returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. To accomplish this they tied his feet, dragged him through the streets, left him to remain bruised as he was, in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body. This happened on the 25th of April, on which day the church commemorates his martyrdom. His bones were carefully gathered up by the Christians, decently interred, and afterwards removed to Venice, where he is considered as the tutelar saint, and patron of the state.

**VI. ST. JAMES the Less.** This apostle and martyr was called so, to distinguish him from St. James the Great. He was the son, by a first wife, of Joseph, the reputed father of Christ: he was, after the Lord's ascension, elected bishop of Jerusalem: he wrote his general

epistle to all Christians, and converts whatever, to suppress a dangerous error then propagating, viz. "That a faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works." The Jews, being at this time, greatly enraged that St. Paul had escaped their fury, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was now ninety-four years of age: they accordingly threw him down, beat, bruised, and stoned him; and then dashed out his brains with a club, such as was used by fullers in dressing cloths. His festival, together with that of St. Philip, is kept on the first of May.

**VII. ST. MATTHIAS.** This apostle and martyr was called to the apostleship after the death of Christ, to supply the vacant place of Judas, who had betrayed his master, and was likewise one of the seventy disciples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being first stoned, and then beheaded; and the 24th of February is observed for the celebration of his festival.

**VIII. ST. ANDREW.** This apostle and martyr was the brother of St. Peter, and preached the gospel to many Asiatic nations. Arriving at Edeffa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him very hard for preaching against the idols there worshipped. St. Andrew persisting in the propagation of his doctrines, he was ordered to be crucified on a cross, two ends of which were transversely fixed in the ground. He boldly told his accusers, that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, had he feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he said, that he coveted the cross, and longed to embrace it. He was fastened to the cross, not with nails but cords, that his death might be more lingering. In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greatest part of the time to the people; and expired on the 30th of November, which is commemorated as his festival.

**IX. ST. PETER.** This great apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman, which employment St. Peter himself followed. He was persuaded by his brother to turn Christian; when Christ gave him the name of Cephas, implying in the Syriac language, a rock. He was called, at the same time as his brother, to be an apostle; gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and always appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. He had, however the weakness to deny his master, after his apprehension, though he defended him at the time; but the sincerity of his repentance made an atonement for the atrociousness of his crime.

After the death of Christ, the Jews still continued to persecute the Christians, and even went so far as to order several of the apostles, among whom was Peter, to be scourged. This punishment they bore with the greatest fortitude, and rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer for the sake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa caused St. James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved in order to ingratiate himself further with the people, that Peter should fall the next sacrifice to his malice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the centinels, who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. St. Peter after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artifices, and confounded the magic of Simon, the magician, a great favourite of the emperor Nero: he likewise converted to Christianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he ordered both St. Peter and St. Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement, they converted two of the captains of the guard, and forty-seven other persons to Christianity. Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought out from thence for execution, when after being severely scourged, he was crucified with his head downwards; which position, however, was at his own request. His festival is observed on the 29th of June, on which day he, as well as Paul, suffered. His body be-  
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ing taken down, embalmed, and buried in the vatican, a church was afterwards erected on the spot; but this being destroyed by the emperor Heliogabalus, the body was removed, till the 20th bishop of Rome, called Cornelius, conveyed it again to the vatican: afterwards Constantine the great erected one of the most stately churches in the universe over the place. Before we quit this article, it is requisite to observe, that previous to the death of St. Peter, his wife suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and was exhorted, when going to be put to death, to remember her Saviour.

X. ST. PAUL, the apostle and martyr, was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia. He was at first a great enemy to, and persecutor of the Christians; but after his miraculous conversion, he became a strenuous preacher of Christ's gospel. At Iconium, St. Paul and St. Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews; wherefore they fled to Lycaonia. At Lystra, St. Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea, but appealed to Cæsar at Rome. Here he continued prisoner at large for two years. Being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and, by the order of Nero, martyred, by being beheaded. Two days are dedicated to the commemoration of this apostle; the one for his conversion, which is on the 25th of January, and the other for his martyrdom, which is on the 29th of June.

XI. ST. JUDE, the apostle and martyr, the brother of James, was commonly called Thaddæus. Being sent to Edeſa, he wrought many miracles, and made many converts, which stirring up the resentment of people in power, he was crucified, A. D. 72; and the 28th of October is, by the church, dedicated to his memory.

XII. ST. BARTHOLOMEW the apostle and martyr, preached in several countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diseases. He translated St. Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country: but at length, the idolators growing impatient with his doctrines, severely beat, crucified, and flayed him, and then cut off his head. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 24th of August.

XIII. ST. THOMAS, as he was called in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek, was an apostle and martyr. He preached in Parthia and India, where displeasing the Pagan priests, he was martyred by being thrust through with a spear. His death is commemorated on the 21st of December.

XIV. ST. LUKE, the evangelist and martyr, was the author of a most excellent gospel. He travelled with St. Paul to Rome, and preached to divers barbarous nations, till the priests in Greece hanged him on an olive-tree. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 18th of October.

XV. ST. SIMON, the apostle and martyr, was distinguished by the name of Zelotes, from his zeal. He preached with great success in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where, though he made many converts, he was crucified by the then barbarous inhabitants of this island, A. D. 74; and the church joining him with St. Jude, commemorates his festival on the 28th of October.

XVI. ST. JOHN was distinguished for being at once, a prophet, apostle, divine, evangelist, and martyr. He is called the beloved disciple, and was brother to James the great. He was previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apos-

les, but one of the three to whom Christ communicated the most secret passages of his life. The churches in Asia founded by St. John were, Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his book of Revelations. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered by the emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favour; the oil did him no injury, and Domitian therefore not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos to work at the mines. He was however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian after his decease, but was deemed a martyr on account of his having undergone the mode of an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and revelations, all in a different style; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death: lived the longest of any of them, being near 100 years of age at the time of his death; and the church commemorates the 27th day of December to his memory.

XVII. ST. BARNABAS was a native of Cyprus, but of Jewish parents: the time of his death is uncertain, but supposed to be about the year of Christ 73; and his festival is kept on the 11th of June.

*Particular Account of the FIRST PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, which began in the Year 67, under the Reign of NERO, Emperor of Rome.*

THE first persecution in the primitive ages of the church, was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero, the sixth emperor of Rome. This monarch reigned, for the space of five years, with tolerable credit to himself, but then gave way to the greatest extravagancy of temper, and to the most atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical whims, he took it into his head to order, that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which was done by his officers, guards, and servants, accordingly. While the imperial city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenæ, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and openly declared, "That he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the Circus, or place appropriated to horse-races: it was half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of seats rising above each other, and capable of receiving, with ease, upwards of 100,000 spectators. Besides this noble pile, many other palaces and houses were consumed; several thousands perished in the flames, were smothered in the smoke, or buried beneath the ruins.

Nine days this dreadful conflagration continued; when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of glutting his sight with new cruelties. This was the occasion of the first persecution; and the barbarities exercised upon the Christians were such as even excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians that the most infernal imagination could design. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens in order to illuminate them. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. In the course of it, St. Paul and St. Peter were martyred (as we have already mentioned in our account of the lives, sufferings, and martyrdom of the apostles, evangelists, &c. in the foregoing order) and beside many others whose names have not been transmitted to posterity, were some of their converts and followers, the circumstances concerning the principal of whom shall be our present subject.



ERASTUS, the chamberlain of Corinth, was converted by St. Paul, and determined to follow the fortune of that apostle. For this reason he resigned his office, and accompanied St. Paul in his voyages and travels, till the latter left him in Macedonia, where he was first made bishop of that province by the Christians; and afterwards suffered martyrdom, being tortured to death by the Pagans at Philippi.

ARISTARCHUS, the Macedonian, was born in Thessalonica, and being converted by St. Paul became his constant companion.

He was with that apostle at Ephesus, during a commotion raised in that city by Demetrius the silversmith. They both received several insults upon the occasion from the populace, which they bore with a true Christian patience, giving good advice in return for ill usage, and not in the least resenting any indignity put upon them.

Aristarchus accompanied St. Paul from Ephesus into Greece, where they were very successful in propagating the gospel, and bringing over many from ignorance to a saving knowledge, and from Pagan darkness to the glorious light of Christianity.

Having left Greece they traversed a great part of Asia, and made a considerable stay in Judea, where they were so successful in making converts in those parts, that idolatry seemed to fly before them, and truth to diffuse its rays wherever they came.

After this Aristarchus went with St. Paul to Rome, where he suffered the same fate as the apostle; for being seized as a Christian, he was beheaded by the command of Nero.

TROPHIMUS, an Ephesian by birth, and a Gentile by religion, was converted by St. Paul to the Christian faith.

When converted he accompanied his master in his voyages and travels; and upon his account the Jews raised a great disturbance in the temple at Jerusalem, the last time St. Paul was in that city. They proceeded so far in their malice against the apostle, that they attempted to murder him, for having introduced a Greek into the temple; for Trophimus being a Greek, was looked upon by the Jews with detestation. Lyfias, the captain of the guard, however, interposed his authority, and by force rescued St. Paul from the hands of the Jews.

Upon quitting Jerusalem, Trophimus followed his master to Rome, and did him every essential service in his power. He then attended him to Spain, and passing through Gaul, the apostle made him bishop of that province, and left him behind in the city of Arles.

He paid a visit to St. Paul in Asia about a twelvemonth after, and went with him, for the last time, to Rome, where he was witness to the martyrdom of his master; which was but the fore-runner of his own; for being soon after seized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by the emperor Nero's express orders.

JOSEPH, commonly called BARSABAS, was a primitive disciple, and is usually deemed one of the Seventy. He was, in some degree, related to our blessed Redeemer, and became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the vacant place of Judas Iscariot, the traitor.

The gospel and ecclesiastical writers make very little other mention of him; but Papias informs us, that he was once compelled to drink poison, which did not do him the least injury, agreeable to the promise of the Lord to those who believe in him.

He was during his life a zealous preacher of the gospel; and having received many insults from the Jews, at length received the crown of martyrdom, being murdered by the Pagans in Judea.

ANANIAS, bishop of Damascus, is celebrated in the sacred writings for being the person who cured St. Paul of the blindness with which he was struck by the amazing brightness which happened at his conversion.

He was one of the Seventy, and martyred in the city of Damascus. After his death a Christian church was built over the place of his burial, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque.

*Particular Account of the SECOND PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, under the Emperor DOMITIAN.*

THE emperor Domitian, being naturally inclined to cruelty, first slew his brother, and then raised the second persecution against the Christians. His rage was such, that he even put to death some of the Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates. He then commanded all the lineage of David to be put to death. Two Christians were brought before the emperor, and accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers, he despised them as ideots and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, for his lenity here, was determined to be more secure upon other occasions: for he took away the substance of many Christians, put several to death and banished others.

In all which the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution was Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who was crucified; and St. John, who was boiled in oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was made, "That no Christian, once brought before the tribunal, should be exempted from punishment without renouncing his religion."

There were a variety of fabricated tales during this reign, composed in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious turbulent spirit, of being pernicious to the Roman empire, of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals. Such was the infatuation of the Pagans, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was laid upon the Christians. These persecutions among the Christians increased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent.

Another hardship was, that when any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused to take it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments and inflicted cruelties were, during this persecution, imprisonment, racking, searing, broiling, burning, scourging, stoning, strangling, hanging, worrying.

Many indeed were torn piecemeal, with red hot pincers, and others were thrown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased Christians were refused the privilege of burying their poor remains.

The following were the most remarkable among the numerous martyrs who suffered during this persecution.

DIONYSIUS, the Areopagite, was an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental literature of Greece. He then travelled to Egypt to study astronomy, and made very particular observations on the great and supernatural eclipse, which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

Upon his return to Athens, he was highly honoured by the people, and at length promoted to the dignity of senator of that celebrated city. Becoming a convert to the gospel, he changed from the worthy Pagan magistrate to the pious Christian pastor; for even while involved in the darkness of idolatry, he was as just as he possibly could be in the gross errors of Paganism.

It is easy to be imagined, that a soul which could appear with some lustre while loaded with original sin, and tainted with superstition, must, when illuminated with the light of the gospel, shine with the most splendid brilliancy.



The sanctity of his conversation, and purity of his manners, recommended him so strongly to the Christians in general, that he was appointed bishop of Athens. He discharged his duty with the utmost diligence till the second year of this persecution, viz. A. D. 69, when he was apprehended, and received the crown of martyrdom, by being beheaded.

NICOMEDES, a Christian of some distinction at Rome, during the rage of Domitian's persecution, did all he could to serve the afflicted; comforting the poor, visiting those confined, exhorting the wavering, and confirming the faithful. For those and other pious actions he was seized as a Christian, and being sentenced, was scourged to death.

PROTASIUS and GERVASIUS were martyred at Milan; but the particular circumstances of their deaths are not recorded.

TIMOTHY, the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, was born at Lystra, in the province of Lycaonia, his father being a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess. But both his parents and his grandmother embraced Christianity, by which means young Timothy was taught the precepts of the gospel from his infancy.

Upon St. Paul's arrival at Lycaonia, he ordained Timothy, and then made him the companion of his pious labours. It appears, that while he attended the apostle, his zeal could be only equalled by his fidelity; for St. Paul mentions him with peculiar respect, and declares, that he could find none so truly united to him, both in heart and mind, as Timothy. Indeed, the apostle, upon various occasions, speaks of him in the most affectionate terms, which is a sufficient proof of his great merit, and evinces, that he was a disinterested and diligent servant of Christ.

Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, and there with the apostle and Silas, he laboured with assiduity in the propagation of the gospel. When St. Paul went to Achaia, Timothy was left behind to strengthen the faith of those already converted, or to induce others to quit the darkness of ignorance for the light of gospel-knowledge.

St. Paul at length sent for Timothy to Athens, and then dispatched him to Thessalonica, to strengthen the suffering Christians there against the terrors of the persecution which then raged.

As soon as Timothy arrived at the place of his destination, he did all that a zealous Christian could for the service of his Redeemer. Having performed his mission, he returned to Athens, and there assisted St. Paul and Silas, in composing the two epistles to the Thessalonians. He then accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, Jerusalem, and Ephesus.

After performing several other commissions for St. Paul, and attending him upon various other journeys, the apostle constituted him bishop of Ephesus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epistles gave him proper instructions for his conduct in so important a charge.

Timothy was so very temperate in his living, that St. Paul blames him for being too abstemious, and recommends to him the moderate use of wine to recruit his strength and spirits.

St. Paul sent to Timothy while he was in his last confinement at Rome to come to him; and, after that great apostle's martyrdom, he returned to Ephesus, where he zealously governed the church till A. D. 97. At this period the Pagans were about to celebrate a feast called Catagogion, the principal ceremonies of which were, that the people should carry battons in their hands, go masked, and bear about the streets the images of their gods.

When Timothy met the procession, he severely reprov'd them for their ridiculous idolatry, which so exasperated the people, that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

*Particular Account of the THIRD PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION under the Roman Emperors.*

UPON Nerva's succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third persecution against the Christians. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians; to whose epistle Trajan returned this indecisive answer, "The Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy, they should be punished."

Provoked by this absurd reply, Tertullian exclaimed in the following words: "O confused sentence! he would not have them sought for as innocent, and yet would have them punished as guilty." The emperor's incoherent answer, however, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain if they carried it on with severity, how he might chuse to wrest his own meaning. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to his officers to exterminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her seven sons were commanded by the emperor to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Unanimously refusing to comply with such an impious request, the emperor, in a rage, told her, that for her obstinacy, herself and her sons should be slain, to appease the wrath of his offended deities: to which she answered, that if he murdered her and her children, the idols he adored would only be held in the greatest detestation and contempt.

Now the emperor, being greatly exasperated at this, ordered her to be carried to the Temple of Hercules, where she was scourged, and hung up, for some time, by the hair of her head; then being taken down, a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river, where she expired. With respect to the sons, they were fastened to seven posts, and being drawn up by pulleys, their limbs were dislocated; these tortures, not affecting their resolution, they were thus martyred; Crescentius, the eldest, was stabbed in the throat; Julian, the second, in the breast; Nemefius, the third, in the heart; Primitius, the fourth, in the navel; Justice, the fifth, in the back; Staclus, the sixth, in the side; and Eugenius, the youngest, was sawed asunder.

PHOCAS, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast first into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired.

Trajan likewise commanded the martyrdom of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. This holy man was the person whom, when an infant, Christ took into his arms, and shewed to his disciples, as one that would be a pattern of humility and innocence. He received the gospel afterwards from St. John the Evangelist, and was exceedingly zealous in his mission. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which being cast into prison, he was tormented in a most cruel manner; for after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his sides, and set on light. His flesh was then torn with red hot pincers, and at last he was dispatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Adrian having succeeded Trajan, he continued this third persecution with as much severity as his predecessor. About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.

Many were crucified in Mount Ararat, crowned with thorns, and spears run into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion. Eustachius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was by the emperor ordered to join



in an idolatrous sacrifice, to celebrate some of his own victories; but his faith (being a Christian in his heart) was so much greater than his vanity, that he nobly refused it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forgot the services of this skilful commander, and ordered him and his whole family to be martyred.

During the martyrdom of Faustines and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Bressia, their torments were so many, and their patience so great, that Calocerius, a Pagan, beholding them, was struck with admiration, and exclaimed in a kind of ecstasy, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended, and suffered a fate similar to others.

Several other cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, till Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities, and relent in their favour. He indeed went so far as to command, that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only; but this gave other handles against them to the Jews and Pagans, for then they began to employ and seditious false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state, or civil authority.

Adrian dying in the year 138, was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, one of the most amiable monarchs that ever reigned; for his people gave him a title which he justly deserved, viz. The Father of Virtues. Immediately upon his accession to the imperial throne he published an edict, forbidding any further persecutions against the Christians, and concluded it in these words: "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released, and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could in an underhand manner.

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*Particular Account of the FOURTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION under the Roman Emperors, which commenced A. D. 162.*

**ANTONINUS PIUS** was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus, who, being a strong Pagan, began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France.

Such were the cruelties used in this persecution, that many of the spectators shuddered with horror at the sight, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c. with their points; others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures that could be devised, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

**GERMANICUS**, a young man, but true Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several Pagans became converts to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much, that they cried he merited death, as they did also of Polycarp, the pious and venerable bishop of Smyrna.

**POLYCARP**, hearing that persons were after him to apprehend him, escaped, but was discovered by a child. From this circumstance, and having dreamed that his bed suddenly became on fire, and was consumed in a moment, he concluded that it was God's will that he should seal his faith with martyrdom. He therefore would not attempt to make a second escape when he had an opportunity of so doing. Those who apprehended him were amazed at his serene countenance, and comely gravity. After feasting them, he desired an hour in prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency, that his guards repented they had been instru-

mental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the proconsul, condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man earnestly prayed to heaven, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the tormentors gave way on each side, the heat now becoming intolerable. In the mean time the bishop sung praises to God in the midst of the flames, but remained unconsumed therein, and the burning of the wood spreading a fragrance around, the guards were much surprised. Determined, however, to put an end to his life, they struck spears into his body, when the quantity of blood that issued from the wounds extinguished the flames. After considerable attempts, however, they put him to death, and burnt his body when dead, not being able to consume it while living. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarp, were soon after martyred.

**METRODORUS**, a minister, who preached boldly, and Pionius, who made some excellent apologies for the Christian faith, were likewise burnt. Carpus and Papilus, two worthy Christians, and Agathonica, a pious woman, suffered martyrdom at Pergamopolis, in Asia.

**FELICITATIS**, an illustrious Roman lady of a considerable family, and the most shining virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been, about this time, grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitatis was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed against her.

Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; on which he changed his battery, and began with the sons, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained steadfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution.

Januarius, the eldest, was scourged, and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Silvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were all beheaded. With respect to the mother, she suffered the same fate, and was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

**JUSTIN**, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the best education those times could afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the seventy interpreters of the sacred writings, and shewn the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Justin was a great lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity, and then, for the first time, perceived the real nature of truth.

Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired, and lived in so pure and innocent a manner, that it was evident he merited the title of a Christian philosopher.

This man likewise employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the Christian rites, and spent a great deal of time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Viminal mount.

He kept a public school, taught many who after-



wards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the Pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour, and addressed it to the emperor, to two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favour of the Christians, displays great learning and genius, and is written with manly elegance.

A short time after, he entered into frequent contests with Crescens, a person of a vitious life and conversation, but a celebrated cynic philosopher; and his arguments appeared so powerful, yet disgusting to the cynic, that he resolved on his destruction, which in the sequel he accomplished.

The second apology of Justin's was occasioned by the following circumstances: a man and his wife, who were both had lived, resided at Rome. The woman, however, becoming a convert to Christianity, attempted to reclaim her husband: but not succeeding, she sued for a divorce, which so exasperated him, that he accused her of being a Christian. Upon her petition, however, he dropped the prosecution, and levelled his malice at Ptolemeus, who had converted her. Ptolemeus was condemned to die; and one Lucius, with another person, for expressing themselves too freely upon the occasion, met with the same fate.

Justin's apology upon these severities, gave Crescens the cynic an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor against the writer of it: upon which Justin, and six of his companions, were apprehended. Being commanded as usual to deny their faith, and sacrifice to the Pagan idols, they absolutely refused to do either; on their refusal, they were condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded; which sentence was with all imaginable severity executed.

Only seven pieces of the writings of this celebrated martyr, and great philosopher, are now extant, viz. The two Apologies; an Exhortation to the Gentiles; an Oration to the Greeks; a Treatise on Divine Monarchy; a Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; and an Epistle to Diognetus.

A great many were beheaded for refusing to sacrifice to the image of Jupiter; in particular Concordus, a deacon of the city of Spoleto, being carried before the image, and ordered to worship it, not only refused, but spit in it's face; for which he was severely tormented, and afterwards had his head cut off with a sword.

At this time, some of the northern nations being in arms against Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them. He was, however, drawn into an ambuscade, and dreaded the loss of his whole army. Enveloped with mountains, surrounded by enemies, and perishing with thirst, the troops were driven to the last extremities. All the Pagan deities were invoked in vain; when the men belonging to the militia, or thundering legion, who were all Christians, were commanded to call upon their God for succour: they immediately withdrew from the rest, prostrated themselves upon the earth, and prayed fervently. A miraculous deliverance immediately ensued; a prodigious quantity of rain fell, which being caught by the men, and filling the dykes, afforded a sudden and astonishing relief. The emperor, in his epistle to the Roman senate, wherein the expedition is described, after mentioning the difficulties to which he had been driven, speaks of the Christians in the following manner.

"When I saw myself not able to encounter with the enemies, I craved aid of our country gods; but finding no relief at their hands, and being cooped up by the enemy, I caused those men, whom we call Christians, to be sent for; who being mustered, I found a considerable number of them, against whom I was more incensed than I had just cause, as I found afterwards: for, by a marvellous power, they forthwith used their endeavours, not with ammunition, drums, and trumpets, abhorring such preparations and furniture, but only praying unto, and trusting in their God, whom they carry about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be believed, although we call them wicked men, that they worship

God in their hearts; for they, falling prostrate on the ground, prayed, not only for me, but for the army also which was with me, beseeching God to help me in that our extreme want of victuals and fresh water (for we had been five days without water, and in our enemies land, even in the midst of Germany); I say, falling upon their faces, they prayed to a God unknown to me, and immediately thereupon fell from heaven a most pleasant and cool shower; but amongst our enemies great store of hail, mixed with thunder and lightning: so that we soon perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us; therefore we give these men leave to profess Christianity, lest, by their prayers, we be punished by the like: and I thereby make myself the author of all the evil that shall accrue by the persecution of the Christian religion."

It appears, that the storm which so miraculously flashed in the faces of the enemy, so intimidated them, that part deserted to the Roman army, the rest were with ease defeated, and the revolted provinces were entirely recovered. This affair occasioned the persecution to subside for some time, at least in those parts immediately under the inspection of the emperor; for we find that it soon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the tortures, to which many of the Christians were put, almost exceed the powers of description. The aspersions, false accusations, taunts, threats, revilings, menacings, which were but forerunners to all manner of punishments, torments, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, hanged, burnt, &c. and even the servants and slaves of opulent Christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their masters and employers. The following were the principal of these martyrs:

Vetius Agathus, a young man, who having boldly pleaded the Christian cause, was asked if he was a Christian? To which answering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death, and received the crown of martyrdom accordingly. Many, animated by this young man's intrepidity, boldly owned their faith, and suffered in like manner.

Blandinia, a Christian, but of a weak constitution, being seized and tortured upon the account of her religion, received so much strength from heaven, that her torturers became tired frequently, and were surprised at her being able to bear her torments for so great a length of time, and with such resolution.

Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna, was put to the torture, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried, "I am a Christian." Red hot plates of brass were placed upon those parts of the body that were tenderest, which contracted the sinews; but he remaining inflexible, was re-conducted to prison. Being brought out from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, his tormentors were astonished to find his wounds healed, and his person as perfect as before they tormented him: they, however, again proceeded to torture him; but not being able, at that time, to take away a life which was miraculously preserved, they only remanded him to prison, where he remained for some time after; and having had this respite, received, by being beheaded, the crown of martyrdom.

Biblias, a weak woman, had been an apostate, but having returned to the faith was martyred, and bore her sufferings with great patience. Attalus, of Pergamus, was another sufferer; and Pothinus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age, was so unmercifully treated by the enraged Pagan mob, that he expired two days after in the prison.

The Christians, upon these occasions, having received martyrdom, were ornamented, and crowned with garlands of flowers; for which they received eternal crowns of glory in heaven.

Various were the torments; and, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled



pelled to sit in red hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus already mentioned, and some others. Some were sewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcases of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the Pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them away by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons, according to the best accounts we could obtain, who suffered for the gospel, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177. They all died with great fortitude and serenity of mind, evidently evincing, that they preferred the everlasting pleasures of an immortal and happy life, to the transitory scenes of one that was precarious, dashed with afflictions, and at best but short and transitory.

Others, besides the above martyrs of Lyons, who are usually enumerated together, suffered in that city, and in the different parts of the empire, soon after. Of these, the principal were as follows:

Epipodius and Alexander, celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union with each other. The first was born at Lyons, the latter in Greece; they were of mutual assistance to each other, and prepared themselves for receiving a crown of martyrdom in this world, and a crown of glory in the next, by the continual practice of all manner of Christian virtues and godliness.

At the time the persecution began first to rage at Lyons, they were in the prime of life, and to avoid the effects of its severities, they thought proper to withdraw to a neighbouring village. Here they were, for some time, concealed by a Christian widow, whose piety protected, while her obscurity gave a sanction to their concealment.

Being eminent persons, the malice of their persecutors sought after them with indefatigable industry, and pursued them to their place of concealment with unremitting assiduity. Dragged from their retirement, they were committed to prison without examination; but their misfortunes did not oppress their spirits; for, shielded by the gospel, they were secure against the woes to which this life is exposed.

At the expiration of three days, being brought before the governor, they were examined in the presence of a crowd of Pagans. They confessed the divinity of Christ, when the governor being enraged at what he termed their insolence, absurdly said, "What signifies all the former executions, if some yet remain who dare acknowledge Christ."

Being separated, that they should not console with, or fortify each other, he began to tamper with Epipodius, the youngest of the two. With a dissembled kindness, he pretended to pity his condition, and entreated him not to ruin himself by obstinacy. "Our deities (continued he) are worshipped by the greater part of the people in the universe, and their rulers; we adore them with feasting and mirth, while you adore a crucified man; we, to honour them, launch into pleasures; you, by your faith, are debarred from all that indulges the senses. Our religion enjoins feasting, your's fasting; our's the joys of licentious blandishments, your's the barren virtue of chastity. Can you expect protection from one, who could not secure himself from the persecutions of a contemptible people? Then quit a profession of such austerity, and enjoy those gratifications which the world affords, and which your youthful years demand."

In reply to this illusive harangue, Epipodius contemned his compassion, as a heart full of faith could not want it. "Your pretended tenderness, said he, is actual cruelty; and the agreeable life you describe, is replete with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hath prepared for his followers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man being composed of two parts, body and soul; the first, as

mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the interests of the last. Your idolatrous feasts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part: that cannot therefore be enjoying life, which destroys the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains to perpetual happiness."

Epipodius, for this manly and rational speech, was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his flesh was torn with iron hooks. Having borne his torments with incredible patience, and unshaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

Alexander, the companion of Epipodius, was brought before the judge, two days after the execution of that excellent young man. On his absolute refusal to renounce Christianity, he was placed upon the rack, and beat by three executioners, who relieved each other alternately. He bore his sufferings with as much fortitude as his friend had done, and at length received the conclusion of his glorious martyrdom, by being crucified. These martyrs suffered A. D. 179; the first on the 20th of April, and the other in two days after.

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were imprisoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Christians. By some means, however, of which we are not informed, they made their escape, and travelled different roads.

The latter made several converts in the territories of Befançon and Chalons, but being apprehended, was carried before Priscus, the governor of those parts.

Priscus, the magistrate, knowing Marcellus to be a Christian, ordered him to be fastened to some branches of a tree, which were drawn down for that purpose. When he was tied to different branches, they were let go, with a design, to tear him to pieces by the suddenness of the jerks.

But this invention failing in its proposed end, he was conducted to Chalons, to be present at some idolatrous sacrifices, at which, refusing to assist, he was put to the torture, and afterwards fixed up to the waist in the ground; in which position he expired, A. D. 179, after remaining three days.

Soon after, Valerian was apprehended, and, by the order of Priscus, was first brought to the rack, and then beheaded in the same year as his friend and relation Marcellus.

About the same time the following martyrs suffered, but no circumstantial or particular accounts of their death have been ascertained.

Benignus, at Dijon; Speusippus, and others at Langres; Androches, Thyrsus, and Felix, at Salieu; Sympoviam and Florella, at Antun; Severinus, Felician, and Exuperus, at Vienna; Cecilia, the virgin, at Sicily; and Thraseus, bishop of Phrygia, at Smyrna.

The emperor Antoninus dying, was succeeded A. D. 180, by his son Commodus, who did not seem to copy his father in any particular. He had neither his virtues nor his vices: he was without his learning and morality, and, at the same time without his prejudices against Christianity. His principal foible was pride, and to that we chiefly ascribe the errors of his reign; for having taken it into his head to fancy himself Hercules, he sacrificed those to his vanity, who refused to subscribe to his absurd imagination.

In this reign Apollonius, a Roman senator, became a martyr. This eminent person was, at once, skilled in all the polite literature of those times, and in all the purest precepts taught by our blessed Redeemer. He was, indeed, a sincere Christian and an accomplished gentleman.

This just person was accused by his own slave Severus, upon an unjust and contradictory, but unrepealed edict, of the emperor Trajan's. This inconsistent law condemned



condemned the accused to die, unless he recanted his opinion; and at the same time ordered the execution of the accuser for slander.

Apollonius upon this ridiculous statute was accused; for though his slave Severus knew he must die for the accusation, yet such was his diabolical malice, and desire of revenge, that he courted death in order to involve his master in the same destruction.

As the accused Apollonius refused to recant his opinions, he was, by order of his peers, the Roman senators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed on the 18th day of April, A. D. 186, his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

Eusebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, and Peregrinus, for refusing to worship Commodus as Hercules, were likewise martyred.

Julius, a Roman senator, becoming a convert to Christianity, was ordered by the emperor, to sacrifice to him as Hercules. This Julius absolutely refused, and publicly professed himself a Christian. On this account, after remaining in prison a considerable time, he was in the year 190, pursuant to his sentence, beat to death with cudgels. Virtue, whose essence is religion, supported him, however, to the last, and he became a glorious martyr to the truth with fortitude and patience.

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*A full and particular Account of the FIFTH GENERAL PERSECUTION under the Roman Emperors.*

THE emperor Commodus dying in the year 191, was succeeded by the short-reigned Pertinax; and he was again succeeded by the still shorter-reigned Julianus. On the death of the last, Severus became emperor in the year 192.

When Severus was recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, he became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female Christian. Hence, during the reigns of the two emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians had a respite of several years, and consequently suffered no persecution.

But at length the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude prevailed, and obsolete laws were revived, and put in execution against the Christians.

The Pagans were alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and they revived the state calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors: Fire, sword, scourges, wild beasts, and cruel imprisonments, were now used; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves with Pagan prejudice, to be mangled by popular rage.

Yet, though persecuting malice raged, the gospel shone with resplendent brightness; and, firm as an impregnable rock, withstood the attacks of its boisterous enemies with success. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A. D. 201, though the circumstances are not ascertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus, and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides, were beheaded; Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother.

Potamiena, the sister of Rhais, was executed in the same manner as Rhais had been; but Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became her convert.

When Basilides, as an officer, was required to take a certain oath, he refused, saying, that he could not swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. Struck with surprise, the people could not, at first, believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed the same, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to prison, and beheaded immediately afterwards.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received both a polite and a Christian education. It is generally supposed, that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy about A. D. 187.

Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose the mode of keeping Easter there, above all other places, it occasioned some disorders among the Christians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a synodical epistle, in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal, in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded in A. D. 202.

Now the persecutions extending to Africa, many were martyred in that quarter of the globe; the most particular of whom we shall mention.

Perpetua, a married lady, of about twenty-two years of age, with a young sucking child at her breast, was seized upon for being a Christian.

Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to console with her during her confinement; and at the same time would fain have persuaded her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, preserving all the respect due to a parent, maintained the character of a Christian.

This her resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her unmercifully, and did not visit her for some days after. This gave her, and some others who were confined at the same time, an opportunity of being baptized, as they were only Catechumens before.

When carried before the pro-consul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon. The gloom of this place was of itself disagreeable, but the being deprived of her child was much more so. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, procured her some few hours daily to breathe the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to suckle her child. Foreseeing, however, that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's attention.

Perpetua's father paid her a second visit, and again besought her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour now was all paternal tenderness, and endearing humanity. If any thing worldly could have softened her, this would; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." With an heart almost bursting he left her, and only in tears found consolation.

Perpetua gave the strongest proofs of fortitude on her trial, though of a sex naturally timorous; and exhibited to her friends, as well as a great number of spectators, an amazing strength of mind.

At the same time the judge entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain; and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility, to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her, that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwise.

Perceiving



Perceiving that she must die, the father's parental tenderness returned, and in the fury of his anxiety, he attempted to carry her off; on which account he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter shewed that she had not lost all natural sentiments of filial duty; for she immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely, than if she had received it herself. Being conducted back to prison, she remained for the day of execution, when several other persons were to be executed with her, of whom we must give an account as follows:

Felicitas, a married Christian lady, was big with child at the time of her being apprehended. The procurator, when he examined her, begged that she would have some pity upon herself, and the child within her, and consider the condition she was in; but she replied, that his compassion was thrown away, for no thought of self-preservation could ever induce her to submit to any idolatrous terms. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own, and also brought up by her as such.

Revocatus was a Catechumen of Carthage, and a slave. The names of the other prisoners, who were to suffer upon this occasion, were Satur, Saturninus, and Secundulus.

When the day appointed for the execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturninus, and Revocatus, being bold enough to denounce God's judgments upon their persecutors, they were ordered to run the gantelope between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and as they passed were severely lashed.

Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull: but some of the spectators, through decency, desired that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which request was granted.

The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturninus was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions were on the 8th day of March, A. D. 205.

Speratus, and twelve others, were likewise beheaded; as was Andoclus in France. Asclepiades, bishop of antioch, suffered many tortures, but they spared his life.

Cecilia, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman named Valerian. Being a Christian herself, she soon persuaded her husband to embrace the same faith; and his conversion was speedily followed by that of Tiburtius his brother.

This information drew upon them all the vengeance of the civil magistrate: the two brothers were beheaded; and the maximus, or officer, who led them to execution, becoming their convert, suffered in like manner.

When the lady was apprehended, she was doomed to death; the manner of which was thus: she was placed naked in a scalding bath, and having continued there a considerable time, her head was struck off with a sword, A. D. 222.

Calistus, bishop of Rome, was martyred A. D. 224; but the manner of his death is not recorded: and A. D. 232, Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate.

Agapetus, a boy of Præneste, in Italy, who was only fifteen years of age, absolutely refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was severely scourged, and then hanged up by the feet, and boiling water poured over him. He was afterwards worried by wild beasts, and at last beheaded. The officer, named Antiochus, who superintended this execution, while it was performing, fell suddenly from his judicial seat, cried out that his bowels burnt him, and expired; feeling, miraculously,

in this world, a sample of the torments due to such cruelty in the next: while the martyr patiently suffered, in hopes of a glorious reward.

*A full and particular Account of the SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, under the Roman Emperors.*

**I**N A. D. 235, Maximinus being emperor, he raised a persecution against the Christians. In Cappadocia, the president, Seremianus, did all he could to exterminate the Christians from that kingdom.

A Roman soldier, refusing to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessing himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death afterwards.

Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there destroyed.

Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded the last-mentioned bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government, by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only forty days, he suffered martyrdom himself.

Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family and other Christians, to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates.

Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way.

Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tyber with a millstone fastened about his neck.

Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of being all Christians, put to the most excruciating tortures, and then to the most painful deaths. Thus this nobleman suffered the confiscation of his effects, poverty, revilings, imprisonment, scourging, tortures, and loss of his life, for the sake of his blessed Redeemer and Mediator.

Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, likewise suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded.

Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, was tied to a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, bushes, &c. till he died.

While this persecution, raised by Maximinus, lasted, numberless Christians were slain without trial, and buried indiscriminately in heaps; sometimes fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together, without the least decency.

When the tyrant Maximinus died, A. D. 238, he was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years; but A. D. 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is to be observed, however, that this was done at the instigation of a Pagan priest, without the emperor's knowledge.

The fury of the people being let loose against the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, stole away the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners: the universal cry being, "Burn them, burn them; Kill them, kill them." The names of the martyrs (three excepted) and the particulars of this affair, however, have not been recorded.

The three martyrs alluded to were as follow:  
Metus, an aged and venerable Christian, refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricked with sharp reeds, and at length stoned to death.





Flaying PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS alive, and cutting out their Tongues during the 10<sup>th</sup> fiery Persecution.



Another mode of Torture inflicted on the Primitive Martyrs, by the Emperor Dioclesian, Vinegar & Salt being poured on the most tender parts while roasting.



ST. LAWRENCE Burnt on a GRIDIRON, by order of the Emperor Valerianus, in the 8<sup>th</sup> Roman Persecution of the Christian Church.



Two Primitive Martyrs put into a Copper of Boiling Oil, by order of the Proconsul of Ephesus during the Reign of Nero, A.D. 69.



Quinta, a Christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and at last dispatched in the same manner as Metrus was.

Apollonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she fastened to a stake; but requesting to be unloosed, it was granted on a supposition that she meant to recant, when to their great surprise, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was there consumed, which plainly evinced that she contemned the fears of death, and trusted to a lasting future reward, for a temporary punishment in this world.

*A full and particular Account of the SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, under the Roman Emperors.*

NOW Decius, being emperor of Rome, began a dreadful persecution against the Christians, A. D. 249. This was occasioned, partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly to his jealousy concerning the amazing increase of Christianity; for the heathen temples began to be forsaken, and the Christian churches crowded.

Provoked at this, Decius attempted the very extirpation of the name of Christian; and it was unfortunate for the cause of the gospel, that many errors had, about this time, crept into the church: the Christians were at variance with each other; self-interest divided those whom social love ought to have united; and the virulence of pride occasioned a variety of contentions.

The heathens in general were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit in themselves. The martyrs, upon this occasion, were innumerable; but the principal we shall give some account of in rotation.

Fabian, the bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor Philip had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man. But Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized; and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by losing his head.

Abdon and Semen, two Persians, were seized on as strangers; but being found Christians, were put to death, on account of their faith; and Moyse, a priest, was beheaded on the same account.

Julian, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to be the object of greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the ignorant people.

Perceiving all endeavours to make him recant his religion ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a most dreadful manner. He was put into a leather bag, together with a number of serpents and scorpions, and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior qualities of his body and mind, was apprehended for being a Christian at Lampascus, or the Hellepont, and carried before Optimus, pro-consul of Asia.

When commanded to sacrifice to Venus, he said, "I am astonished that you should wish me to sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debaucheries even your own historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions, as your laws would punish.—No! I shall offer

the true God the acceptable sacrifice of praise and prayers."

When Optimus heard this he ordered the prisoner to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken in a shocking manner.

Notwithstanding, his torments inspired him with fresh courage; he smiled on his persecutors, and seemed, by the serenity of his countenance, not to upbraid, but to applaud his tormentors for his sufferings.

At length the pro-consul, tired with tormenting him, ordered him to be beheaded; which command was immediately executed.

Nichomachus, being brought before the pro-consul as a Christian, was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan idols. Nichomachus replied, "I cannot pay that respect to devils, which is only due to the Almighty." This speech so much enraged the pro-consul, that Nichomachus was put to the rack. He bore the torments, for some time, with patience and great resolution; but, at length, when ready to expire with pain, he forfeited all the advantages he had gained in his former sufferings, by abjuring his faith, and becoming an apostate. He had no sooner given this proof of his frailty, than he fell into the greatest agonies, dropped down on the ground, and immediately expired.

Denisa, a young woman of only sixteen years of age, who beheld this terrible judgment, suddenly exclaimed; "O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's ease, at the expence of a miserable eternity?" Optimus hearing this, called to her, and asked if she was a Christian? She replied in the affirmative; and being commanded to sacrifice to the idols, refused to comply.

Enraged at her resolution, Optimus gave her up to two libertines, to become the object of their lust. These took her to their own home, and made many attempts upon her chastity, but without effect. At midnight they were deterred from further attempts by a frightful vision, which so amazed them, that they fell at the feet of Denisa, and implored her prayers, that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. This deliverance, however, did not soften the heart of Optimus; for the damsel was beheaded soon after by his order.

Andrew and Paul, two companions of Nichomachus the martyr, on confessing themselves Christians, were condemned to die, and delivered to the multitude to be stoned. Accordingly, A. D. 251, they suffered martyrdom by stoning, and expired, calling on their blessed Redeemer and Mediator.

Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Christians; and confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt in the fire; and we are informed, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, but not in the same manner; for these were beheaded.

Lucian and Marcian, two wicked Pagans, though skilful magicians, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted upon bread and water only. After some time spent in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their solitude in order to bring others to Christianity. Pursuant to this pious and laudable resolution they became zealous preachers, and made many converts. The persecution, however, raging at this time, they were seized upon, and carried immediately before Sabinus, the governor of Bithynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered, "That the laws of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour the conversion of their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil."

Lucian having spoken in this manner, Marcian also said, that "Their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel."



When the pro-conful found that he could not prevail with them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was executed soon after:

Trypho and Respicius, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty the whole time. They were then exposed naked to the severity of the open air, which benumbed all their limbs, as it was the very depth of the cold season.

When remanded to prison, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelties of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, A. D. 251, on the first day of Feb.

Agtha, a Sicilian lady, was not more remarkable for her personal and acquired endowments, than her piety: her beauty was such that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her virtue.

The governor being reputed to be a great libertine, and a bigotted Pagan, the lady very discreetly thought proper to withdraw from two such dangerous enemies, as lust and superstition. She accordingly retired from the town, but being discovered in her retreat, she was apprehended and brought to Catana immediately.

Now finding herself in the power of an enemy, both to her soul and body, she recommended herself to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death, as a relief from her afflictions.

In order to gratify his passions with the greater convenience, the governor put the virtuous lady into the hands of Aphrodica, a very infamous and licentious woman. This wretch tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but found all her efforts were vain; for her chastity was impregnable, and she well knew that virtue alone could procure true felicity.

Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, who, enraged to be foiled in his designs, changed his lust into resentment. On her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge, since he could not his base love.

Agreeable to his orders she was scourged, burnt with red hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. Having borne these torments with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and then being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who, nevertheless, exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction; for he was now eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any such requisitions. But as he had long taught others to save their souls, that now he should only think of his own salvation and everlasting welfare.

When the governor found all his persuasions in vain, he pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in words to the following effect.

"I order and appoint, that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive."

The good worthy prelate heard this sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with great resolution.

The persecution raged in no place more than in the island of Crete; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place streamed with the pious blood of many.

The principal Cretan martyrs, whose names have been transmitted to us, are as follow:

Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, were inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; and Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenes, Agathopas, Bastides, and Euaristus, were brought from different parts of the island on accusations relative to their professing Christianity.

When brought into court, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge threatened them with the severest tortures imaginable. To these menaces they unanimously answered, "That to suffer, for the sake of the Supreme Being, would to them be the sublimest of pleasures."

The judge's threats failing, he attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by discanting on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images.

Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude. They at length suffered the period of their martyrdom, A. D. 251: being all beheaded at the same time.

Babylas, a Christian of a liberal education, became bishop of Antioch, A. D. 237, on the demise of Zebinus. He acted with inimitable zeal, and governed the church during the most tempestuous times with admirable prudence.

The first misfortune that happened to Antioch during his mission, was the siege of it by Sapor, king of Persia; who having over-run all Syria, took and plundered this city among others, and used the Christian inhabitants with greater severity than the rest.

However, his cruelties were not lasting; for Gordian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the hands of the emperor.

On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, that emperor came to Antioch, where, having a desire to visit an assembly of Christians, Babylas opposed him, and absolutely refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reprovved him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the Pagan deities as an expiation for his supposed crime.

Having refused this, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils.

When they went to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me, and the children that the Lord hath given me." They were martyred, A. D. 251; and the chains worn by the bishop in prison were buried with him.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, about this time was cast into prison on account of his religion, where he died through the severity of his confinement.

When Serapian was apprehended at Alexandria, he had all his bones broken, and was then thrown from a high loft, when he was killed by the fall.

Julianus, an old man, lame with the gout, and Cronion, another Christian, were bound on the backs of camels, severely scourged, and then thrown into a fire and consumed. A person who stood by, and seemed to commiserate them, was ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment for entertaining sentiments of tenderness and lenity.

Macar, a Lybian Christian, was burnt: Heron-Ater, and Isidorus, Egyptians; with Dioschorus, a boy of fifteen, after suffering many other torments, met with a similar fate; and Nemefion, another Egyptian, was first tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accused of Christianity, which confessing, he was scourged, tortured, and finally burnt.

Ishyrian, the Christian servant of an Egyptian nobleman, and magistrate, was run through with a pike by his own master, for refusing to sacrifice to idols; Venatius, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy; and forty virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were destroyed by fire.

The emperor Decius having erected a Pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year of our Lord 251, he com-

manded



manded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malchus, Dionysius, Constantinus, and Seraion.

The emperor, wishing to win these soldiers to renounce their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a considerable respite till he returned from a journey.

While the emperor was absent, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; which the emperor being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they all perished with hunger.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the stews, that her virtue might be sacrificed to the brutality of lust. Didymus, a Christian, disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and advised her to make her escape in his dress.

Having effected this, and a man found in the brothel instead of a beautiful lady, Didymus was taken before the president, to whom confessing the truth, and owning that he was a Christian, the sentence of death was immediately pronounced against him. In the mean time Theodora, hearing that her deliverer was likely to suffer, came to the judge, threw herself at his feet, and begged that the sentence might fall only on her as the guilty person; but deaf to the cries of the innocent, and insensible to the calls of justice, the inflexible judge condemned both; when they were executed accordingly, being first beheaded, and their bodies afterwards consumed with fire.

Secundianus having been accused as a Christian, was conveyed to prison by some soldiers. On the way, Verianus and Marcellinus said, "Where are you carrying the innocent?" This interrogatory occasioned them to be seized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged, and their heads were cut off when they were dead.

Origen, the celebrated presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, at the age of sixty-four, was seized, thrown into a loathsome prison, laden with heavy fetters, his feet placed in the stocks, and his legs extended to the utmost for several successive days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every means that the most infernal imaginations could suggest. But unappalled with dangers, and unshaken by sufferings, his Christian fortitude bore him through all. Indeed, such was the rigour of his judge, that his tortures were ordered to be lingering, that death might not too soon put a period to his miseries. During this cruel temporising, the emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who succeeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Christians met with a respite. In this interim Origen obtained his enlargement, and retiring to Tyre, he there remained till his death, which happened when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The emperor Gallus having concluded his wars, a plague broke out in the empire: sacrifices to the Pagan deities were ordered by the emperor, and superstition immediately bowed the knee to false gods.

On the Christians refusing to comply with these rites, they were charged with being the authors of the calamity. Hence the storm of persecution spread, from the interior to the extreme parts of the empire, and many fell martyrs to the impetuosity of the rabble, as well as the prejudice of the magistrates.

Cornelius, the Christian bishop of Rome, was, among others, seized upon this occasion. He was first banished to Centum-Cellæ, Civita Vecchia, as it is now called; and after having been cruelly scourged, was, on the 14th of September, A. D. 252, beheaded, after having been bishop fifteen months and ten days.

Lucius, who succeeded Cornelius as bishop of Rome, was the son of Porphyrius, and a Roman by birth. His vigilance, as a pastor, rendered him obnoxious to the foes of Christianity, which occasioned him to be banished: but in a short time, he was permitted to return from banishment.

He was, not long after, however, apprehended, after

having been bishop about six months, and beheaded March the 4th, A. D. 253. This bishop was succeeded by Stephanus, a man of a fiery temper, who held the dignity a few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperor been murdered by his general Æmilian, when a profound peace succeeded throughout the whole empire, and the persecution of course terminated.

Several of the errors which crept into the church at this time arose from placing human reason in competition with revelation; but the fallacy of such arguments being proved by the most able divines, the opinions they had created vanished away like stars before the sun.

#### *A full and particular Account of the EIGHTH GENERAL PERSECUTION under the Roman Emperors.*

**ÆMILIAN**, the general, not being properly supported by the army, was slain, and Valerian elected to the empire.

This emperor, for the space of four years, governed with moderation, and treated the Christians with peculiar lenity and respect. But A. D. 257, an Egyptian magician, named Macrianus, gained a great ascendancy over him, and persuaded him to persecute the Christians.

Accordingly edicts were published, and the ungovernable rage of ignorance and superstition was let loose against the Christians. The persecution began in the month of April, and continued for three years and six months.

Innumerable were the martyrs that fell in this persecution, and their tortures and deaths as various and painful. The most eminent martyrs were the following, though neither rank, sex, nor age met with respect.

Rufina and Secunda were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Asterius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was designed in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank and immense wealth.

These suitors, at the time of the persecution's commencing, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose. Rufina and Secunda, though too just to change their religious sentiments, were too diffident of their own strength to remain longer the objects of such solicitations; on which account they left the kingdom.

The lovers disappointed in their purpose, were base enough to inform against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome.

Now being inflexible to all remonstrances; and having passed through several tortures, they sealed their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded A. D. 257.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, was beheaded in the same year; and about that time Saturnius, bishop of Thoulouse, was set upon and seized by the rabble of that place, for preventing as they alleged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to the idols, he was treated with all the barbarous indignities imaginable, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a signal given, the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were dashed out. The small number of Christians in Thoulouse had not courage sufficient to carry off the dead body, till two women conveyed it away, and deposited it in a deep ditch.

This martyr was a most orthodox and worthy primitive Christian, and his doctrines are to be firmly depended upon.

Stephen was succeeded by Sextus as bishop of Rome. He is supposed to have been a Greek by birth, or by extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and uncommon courage, distinguished him upon



upon many occasions; and the happy conclusion of a controversy with some heretics, is generally ascribed to his prudence.

Marcianus, who had the management of the Roman government in the year 258, procured an order from the emperor Valerian, to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome.

The senate having testified their obedience to the imperial mandate, Sextus was one of the first who felt the severity of the rescript. Cyprian tells us, that he was beheaded August 6, A. D. 258. We are likewise informed, that six of his deacons suffered with him.

Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, the principal of the deacons, who taught and preached under Sextus, followed him to the place of execution; when Sextus predicted; that he should meet him in heaven three days after.

Laurentius looking upon this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return gathered together all the Christian poor, and distributed the treasures of the church, which had been committed to his care, among them; thinking the money could not be better disposed of, or less liable to fall into the hands of the Heathens.

Such liberality alarmed the persecutors, who seized on him to make a discovery from whence it arose, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor, of the church treasures.

Laurentius promised he would do this, but begged a short respite to put things in proper order; when three days being granted him, he was suffered to depart; whereupon, with great diligence, he collected together a great number of aged, helpless, and impotent poor, and repaired to the magistrate, presenting them to him, saying, "These are the true treasures of the church."

Provoked at the disappointment, and fancying the matter meant in ridicule, the governor ordered him to be immediately scourged. He was then beat with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and had his limbs dislocated.

He endured these tortures with fortitude and perseverance; when he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, with a slow fire under it, that his death might be the more tedious.

But his astonishing constancy during these trials, and serenity of countenance while under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many became converts at the same time.

Having lain, for some time, upon this burning bed, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was present, in a kind of jocular distich, made extempore, which may be translated thus:

"This side enough is roasted,  
"Then turn me, tyrant, and eat;  
"And see, whether raw or roasted,  
"I seem the better meat."

Accordingly the executioner turned him, and after having lain a considerable time longer, he had still strength and spirits sufficient left to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great serenity, that he was dressed enough, and only wanted serving up. He then cheerfully lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty, on August 10, A. D. 258.

Romanus, a soldier, who attended the martyrdom of Laurentius, was one of the converts to his sufferings and fortitude; for he could not help feeling the greatest veneration for a God, who inspired his votaries with such courage, and rendered his martyrs superior to all the cruelties of their enemies.

When the martyr Laurentius was remanded to prison, the brave Romanus took that opportunity of fully inquiring into the nature of the Christian faith; and being entirely satisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Christian, received his baptism from the captive, and seemed to have his mind impressed with a lively idea of the kingdom of Christ; a kingdom replete with eternal joys, and everlasting felicity.

Romanus's sudden change was soon known, when he was apprehended, scourged severely, and afterwards beheaded.

Hypolitus was another, who, for the same crime, was seized in like manner, and suffered a similar fate.

The persecution raged in Africa with peculiar violence; many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters:

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was an eminent prelate, and a pious ornament of the church. The brightness of his genius was tempered by the solidity of his judgment; and with all the accomplishments of the gentleman he blended the virtues of the Christian. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language easy and elegant; and his manners graceful and winning: in fine, he was both the pious and polite preacher. Indeed, an easy delivery, and polished manner, are requisite in every preacher, who would make an impression on the hearts of his audience. This was the practice of St. Paul, and this was the accomplishment of Cyprian.

It is said, the latter was so perfectly a master of the rules of rhetoric, and the precepts of logic, and so complete in the practice of elocution, and the principles of philosophy, that he was made professor of those sciences in his native city of Carthage, where he became so popular, and taught with such success, that many of his students afterwards became shining ornaments of polite erudition.

He was educated in his youth in the principles of Gentilism, and having a considerable fortune, he lived in the very extravagance of splendour, and all the dignity of pomp. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feasting, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of fashionable parade, he seemed to fancy that man was born to gratify all his appetites, and created for pleasure only.

In or about the year 246, Cœlius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the happy instrument of Cyprian's conversion; on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for the author of his conversion, he was termed Cœcilius Cyprian.

Before his baptism he studied the scriptures with care, and being struck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practise the virtues therein recommended. After his baptism he sold his estate, distributed the money among the poor, dressed himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of austerity and solitude.

Soon after he was made a presbyter; and being greatly admired for his virtues, and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage.

The care of Cyprian not only extended over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his transactions he took great care to ask the advice of his clergy, knowing, that unanimity alone could be of service to the church: this being one of his maxims, "That the bishop was in the church, and the church in the bishop; so that unity can only be preserved by a close connection between the pastor and his flock."

Cyprian was publicly proscribed A. D. 250, by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœcilius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians: and the universal cry of the Pagans, was, "Cyprian to the lions, Cyprian to the beasts."

However, the bishop withdrew himself from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiscated thereupon.

In his retirement he wrote thirty pious and elegant letters to his flock; but several schisms that then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did every thing in his power to expunge erroneous opinions and false doctrines.

A terrible plague breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates,



gistrates began to persecute accordingly, which occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity.

Cyprian was brought before the pro-consul Aspasius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith, and owned himself a Christian. This confession, however, did not occasion his death, but an order for his banishment, which exiled him to a little city on the Lybian sea. On the death of the pro-consul who banished him, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded; on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this sentence was executed.

Certainly this bishop was a most valuable pastor of the church, a pious Christian, an excellent philosopher, and an accurate preacher. Before we quit this article, we think it necessary to insert his own account of his conversion, which is as follows:

"While I laid in darkness and uncertainty, I thought on what I had heard of, a second birth, proposed by the divine goodness; but could not comprehend how a man could receive a new life from his being sprinkled with water; cease to be what he was before, and still remain the same body. How, said I, can such a change be possible? How can he, who is grown old in a worldly way of living, strip himself of his former inclinations, and inveterate habits? Can he, who has spent his whole time in plenty, and indulged his appetite without restraint, ever be transformed into an example of frugality and sobriety? Or he who has always appeared in splendid apparel, stoop to the plain, simple, and unornamented dress of the common people? It is impossible for a man, who has borne the most honourable posts, ever to submit to lead a private and an obscure life: or that he who was never seen in public without a crowd of attendants, and persons who endeavoured to make their fortunes by attending him, should ever bear to be alone. This (continues he) was my way of arguing; I thought it was impossible for me to leave my former course of life, and the habits I was then engaged in, and accustomed to: but no sooner did the life-giving water wash the spots of my soul, than my heart received the heavenly light of the Holy Spirit, which transformed me into a new creature; all my difficulties were cleared, my doubts dissolved, and my darkness dispelled. I was then able to do what before seemed impossible; could discern that my former life was earthly and sinful, according to the impurity of my birth; but that my spiritual birth gave me new ideas and inclinations, and directed all my views to God."

Cyprian's disciples who were martyred in this persecution were, Lucius, Flavian, Victorinus, Remus, Montanus, Donatian, Julian, Primolus.

A most terrible tragedy was exhibited at Utica, 300 Christians were, by the orders of the pro-consul, placed round a burning lime-kiln. A pan of coals and incense being prepared, they were commanded either to sacrifice to Jupiter, or to be thrown into the kiln. Unanimously refusing, they bravely jumped into the pit, and were suffocated immediately.

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon, in Spain, and his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, for avowing themselves Christians, were consumed by fire.

Malchus, Alexander, and Priscus, three Christians of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily accused themselves of being Christians; on which account they were sentenced to be devoured by tygers, which sentence was accordingly executed.

Donatilla, Maxima, and Secunda, three virgins of Tuburga, had gall and vinegar given them to drink, were then severely scourged, tormented on a gibbet, rubbed with lime, scorched on a gridiron, worried by wild beasts, and beheaded at last.

Pontius a native of the city of Simela, near the Alps, being apprehended as a Christian, was tortured on the rack, worried by wild beasts, half burnt, then beheaded, and lastly thrown into the river; and Protus and Hyacinthus likewise suffered martyrdom for the sake of their blessed Redeemer.

Here it is proper to take notice of the singular but miserable fate of the emperor Valerian, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians.

At length this tyrant, by a stratagem, was taken prisoner by Saphores, emperor of Persia, who carried him into his own country, and there treated him with the most unexampled indignity, making him kneel down, as the meanest slave, and treading upon him as a footstool when he mounted his horse, saying, in a vaunting manner, "This posture is a greater proof which way the victory went, than all the pictures the Roman artists can draw."

Having kept him, for the space of seven years, in this abject state of slavery, he at last caused his eyes to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age.

His desire of revenge being not yet satisfied, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired; and thus fell one of the most tyrannical emperors of Rome, and one of the greatest persecutors of the Christians.

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him A. D. 260, and, during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, intestine broils, and incursions of barbarians.

Gallienus upon this reflecting, that when his father favoured the Christians he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, he determined to relax the persecution; so that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years. The chief of the few martyrs alluded to, is as follows:

Marnius, a centurion, who being apprehended as a Christian, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate, whether he would sacrifice to the Pagan deities, or become a martyr? Being wavering during this interval, a Christian prelate placed the gospel and a sword before him, and demanding which he would chuse, Marnius took the sword without hesitation.

Again meeting with the governor, he made a noble confession of his faith, and was speedily after beheaded, in the year 262.

#### *A full and particular Account of the NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION under the Roman Emperors.*

A. D. 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians; the principal sufferers are as follow:

Felix, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274. He was the first martyr to Aurelian's petulancy, being beheaded in the same year on the 22d of December.

Agapetus, a young gentleman, who sold his estate, and gave the money to the poor, was seized as a Christian, tortured, and then brought to Præneste, a city within a days journey of Rome, where he was beheaded.

These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium.

Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as the latter was by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunder storm, his sons, Carnius and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns the church enjoyed rest.

Dioclesian mounting the imperial throne, A. D. 284, at first shewed great favour to the Christians. In the year 286, he associated Maximian with him, in the empire; and the following Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out.

Felician and Primus, two brothers. These Christians were seized by an order from the imperial court: they owned themselves Christians, and were accordingly scourged, tortured, and finally beheaded.

Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors, to whom the education of the children were intrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured and then condemned to be beheaded.

A respite of a month was obtained for them by their friends,



friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to Paganism, but in vain; the calls of nature were overcome by piety, and religion got the better of worldly feelings.

At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before satirized.

Tranquillinus, the father of the two young men, was sent for by the præfect to give him an account of the success of his endeavours. Appearing before the magistrate he confessed, that so far from having persuaded his sons to forsake the faith they had embraced, he was become a Christian himself.

This said, he stopped till the magistrate had overcome his surprise, and then resuming his discourse, he used such powerful arguments that he made a convert of the præfect, who soon after sold his estate, resigned his command, and spent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

The præfect, who succeeded the above-mentioned convert, had nothing of the disposition of his predecessor: he was morose and severe, and soon seized upon the whole of this Christian race, who were accordingly martyred by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of the before-mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian: this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures.

Lamenting her condition, they gave her full instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She complied with their request, and was at length relieved; for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech returned again.

This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian; and her husband, finding her cured, soon became a convert to Christianity. These conversions made a great noise, and the converts were soon apprehended. Zoe, was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down it was thrown into a river, with a large stone tied to it, in order to sink it.

Tibertius, a native of Rome, was descended from a family of rank and distinction. Being accused as a Christian, he was commanded either to sacrifice to idols, or to walk upon burning coals. He chose the latter, and passed over them without damage, when Fabian passed sentence upon him that he should be beheaded: which sentence was performed in the month of August, A. D. 286, and his body was afterwards buried by some pious Christians.

A most remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286, a legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebaus: they were quartered in the East till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy.

They passed the Alps into Gaul, under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exuperis, their worthy commanders, and at length joined the emperor.

About this time, Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and likewise he commanded, that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

Terrified at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion, absolutely refused either to sacrifice, or take the oaths prescribed. This so greatly enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be selected from the rest, and put to the sword.

This cruel order having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inflexible, when a second decimation took place, and every tenth man of those living were again put to the sword.

But this second severity made no more impression than the first had done; the soldiers preserved their fortitude and their principles, but by the advice of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperor, in which they told him, "that they were his subjects and his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence from God. While your commands (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master, we shall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be directed against his enemies; but we cannot submit to stain our hands with effusion of Christian blood; and how, indeed, could you, O emperor! be sure of our allegiance and fidelity, should we violate our obligation to our God, in whose service we were solemnly engaged before we entered the army? You command us to search out and to destroy the Christians: it is not necessary to look any further for persons of that denomination, we ourselves are such, and we glory in the name. We saw our companions fall without the least opposition or murmuring, and thought them happy in dying for the sake of Christ. Nothing shall make us lift up our hands against our sovereign; we had rather die wrongfully, and by that means preserve our innocence, than live under a load of guilt: whatever you command we are ready to suffer; we confess ourselves to be Christians, and therefore cannot persecute Christians, nor sacrifice to idols."

It might be presumed, a declaration like this, would have softened the emperor, but it had the contrary effect: for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords.

This inhuman affair happened on the 22d of September, A. D. 286; and such was the inveterate malice of Maximian, that he sent to destroy every man of a few detachments, that had been drafted from the Theban legion, and dispatched to Italy.

An old veteran soldier of another legion, whose name was Victor, met the executioners of this bloody business. As they appeared rather merry, he inquired into the cause of their jocularity, and being informed of the whole affair, he sharply reproved them for their barbarity. This excited their curiosity to ask him if he was of the same faith as those who had suffered? On answering in the affirmative, several of the soldiers fell upon him, and dispatched him in a very short time.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, received its name, was the first British martyr. This island had received the gospel of Christ from Lucius, the first Christian king, but did not suffer by the rage of persecution for many years after.

This man was originally a Pagan, but being naturally of a very humane and tender disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, when some officers were in pursuit of him on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him, and to imitate what he admired. The fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and, before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion, which afforded him no little satisfaction.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban, in order to apprehend him. The noble host desirous of protecting his guest and convert, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person for whom they were seeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered; and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak all his vengeance upon Alban:

with



with this view he sternly commanded the prisoner to advance to the altar, and to sacrifice to the Pagan deities; or threatened, in case of refusal, with the vengeance intended to be exercised against the person who had escaped by his contrivance. The brave Alban however unterrified by these menaces, declared that he would not comply with such idolatrous injunctions, but freely professed himself to be a Christian. Hereupon the governor ordered him to be scourged, which he bore with great fortitude, and seemed to acquire new resolution from his sufferings: he then was sentenced to be beheaded.

The venerable Bede assures us, that, upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to Christianity, and entreated permission either to die for Alban, or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task of executioner. This happened on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory, about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice being destroyed in the Saxon wars, was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible, and the church is a noble Gothic structure.

Faith was a Christian female, of Aquitaine, in France. Dacian, the Roman governor of Gaul, in the time of Maximian, resided at Agen, in Aquitaine, and was very active in persecuting the Christians.

Faith being informed that there was a design to seize her, forestalled the intention, by surrendering herself up as a prisoner; and being inflexible in her faith, was ordered to be broiled upon a gridiron, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed A. D. 287.

Capacius was one who had concealed himself from the persecutors of Christianity, but being informed of the fortitude of Faith, he openly avowed his religion, and delivered himself up to the governor, who had him first tortured, and then beheaded.

Quintin was a Christian, and a native of Rome, but determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul. He accordingly went to Picardy, attended by one Lucian: they preached together at Amiens; after which Lucian went to Beawaris, where he suffered martyrdom for the truth.

Quintin remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry. His continual prayers to the Almighty were, to increase his faith, and strengthen his faculties to propagate the gospel. Being seized upon as a Christian, he was stretched with pulleys till his joints were dislocated: his body was then torn with wire scourges, and boiling oil and pitch poured on his naked flesh: lighted torches were applied to his sides and arm-pits; and after he had been thus tortured, he was remanded back to prison.

Varus, the governor, being obliged to repair to Vermandois, ordered Quintin to be conducted thither under a strong guard, where he died of the barbarities he had suffered, on the 31st of October, A. D. 287; and his body was sunk in the Somme.

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*A full and particular Account of the TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION under the Roman Emperors, commonly called the ÆRA of the MARTYRS.*

VARIOUS reasons have been assigned for the occasion of this persecution, particularly the great increase of the Christians, whose numbers rendered them formidable; many of them having lost their humility, and given themselves up to vanity, by dressing gay, living sumptuously, building stately edifices for churches, &c. which created envy; and the hatred of Galerius, the adopted son of Dioclesian, who being stimulated by his mother, a bigotted Pagan, never ceased persuading the emperor to enter upon the persecution, till he had accomplished his determination.

The fatal day fixed upon to commence the bloody work, was the 23d of February, A. D. 303, that being

the day in which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the Pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity and faith.

When the day appointed arrived, the persecution began in Nicomedia, on the morning of which the præfect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and assistants, to the church of the Christians, where having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames.

The whole of this transaction was in the presence of Dioclesian and Galerius, who not contented with burning the books, had the church levelled with the ground. This was followed by a severe edict commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order soon succeeded to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity, or of receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm.

An immediate martyrdom was the consequence of the publication of this edict; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice and cruelty. A provocation like this was sufficient to call down Pagan vengeance upon his head; he was accordingly seized, very severely tortured, and then burnt alive.

After this, all the Christian prelates were apprehended and imprisoned; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretence given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity and rigour.

Now a general sacrifice was commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian, named Peter, was tortured, broiled, and then burnt; several deacons and presbyters were seized upon, and executed by various means; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded.

There was no distinction made of age, or sex; the name of Christian was so obnoxious to the Pagans, that all fell indiscriminately sacrifices to their opinions. Many houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames; and others had stones fastened about their necks, and being tied together were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the East; and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom: some were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire in Cappadocia; and several in Mesopotamia were hung with their heads downwards over slow fires, and suffocated.

A variety of tortures were used in Pontus, in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them; and various modes were adopted in tormenting the Christians, the indecency of which could be only equalled by the savage barbarities practised in their execution.

In Egypt, the Christians were martyred by means of the four elements, some were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the waters of the Nile, many were hung up in the air till they perished, and great numbers received their death by being thrown into large fires, &c. &c.

Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poison, crosses, and famine, were made use of in various parts to dispatch the Christians; and invention was exhausted to devise tortures against such as had no crime, but thinking differently from the votaries of superstition.

A city of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of Pagan soldiers to prevent any from escaping; who setting it on fire, all the inhabitants perished in the flames. But though the sufferings of the Christians were many, their souls were serene: a perfect resignation to the chastisements of heaven being one of the greatest Christian duties.

At



At last tired with slaughter, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of so many subjects." Hence many were respited from execution, but though they did not put them to death, as much as possible was done to render their lives miserable.

Many of the Christians had their ears cut off as marks of infamy, their noses slit, their right eyes put out, their limbs rendered useless by dreadful dislocations, and their flesh seared in conspicuous places with red hot irons.

Now it is necessary to particularize the most conspicuous persons, who laid down their lives in martyrdom during this bloody persecution.

Sebastian, a celebrated martyr, was born at Narbonne in Gaul, instructed in the principles of Christianity at Milan, and afterwards became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unallured by the splendors of a court, untainted by evil examples, and uncontaminated by the hopes of preferment. Esteemed by the most eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and place, till the rigour of the persecution deprived him of the latter with his life, though not of the former.

This hero was informed against, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman prætor, by Torquatus a pretended Christian; but being of a rank too considerable to be put to death without the emperor's express orders, Dioclesian was acquainted with the whole business.

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself.

To this Sebastian replied, that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not stimulate him to any thing against the welfare of the empire in general, or the emperor in particular, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his imperial person. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows; which sentence was accordingly executed.

A few pious Christians coming to the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and immediately moving him to a place of security, they in a short time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a second martyrdom; for as soon as he was able to go out, he placed himself intentionally in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a person supposed to be effectually dead, greatly astonished the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr less surprise him; for he began with great severity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

When Dioclesian had overcome his surprise, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, carried to a place near the palace, and beat to death; and that the Christians should not either use means again to recover, or bury his body, he ordered that it should be thrown into the common sewer. Nevertheless, a Christian lady, named Lucina, found means to remove it from the sewer, and bury it in the catacombs, or repositories of the dead.

At this time the Christians, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under an heathen emperor. Their reasons were many and substantial; the principal were as follow:

1. That they thereby were frequently under the necessity of profaning the Christian sabbath.
2. That they were obliged, with the rest of the army, frequently to be present at idolatrous sacrifices, before the temples of idols.
3. That they were compelled to follow the imperial standards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their representations.

Such reasons induced many to refuse to enter into the imperial army, when called upon so to do; for the Roman constitution obliged all young men, of such a certain stature, to make several campaigns.

Maximilian, the son of Fabius Victor, being pointed out as a proper person to bear arms, was ordered by Dion, the pro-consul, to be measured, in order to be enlisted in the service. Maximilian, however, boldly declared himself a Christian, and consequently absolutely refused to be enlisted.

Being found of the standard height, Dion gave directions that he should be marked as a soldier, according to the usual custom. He, however, strenuously opposed this, and told Dion that he could not possibly engage in the service.

The pro-consul, incensed at his conduct, plainly told him, that he should either serve as a soldier, or die for disobedience. "Do as you please with me (replied Maximilian); behead me if you think proper; I am already a soldier of Christ, and cannot serve any other power."

Dion, perceiving the inflexibility of the young man, commanded his father to use his authority over him, in order to persuade him to comply; but Victor coolly replied, "My son knows best what he has to do."

Dion again demanded of Maximilian, with some acrimony, if he was yet disposed to receive the mark? To which the young man replied, he had already received the mark of Christ. "Have you!" (exclaimed the pro-consul in a rage) then I shall quickly send you to Christ. "As soon as you please (answered Maximilian) that is all I wish or desire."

The pro-consul then seeming to soften, represented to him that it was a great pity he should be lost in the prime of his years. Maximilian replied, that he might die, but should not be lost; for though he left the world, his immortal soul would reside eternally with the Almighty. On which the pro-consul pronounced this sentence upon him, "That for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for professing the Christian faith, he should lose his head." This sentence he heard with great intrepidity, and exclaimed, with apparent rapture, "God be praised!"

When at the place of execution, he exhorted those that were Christians to remain so; and such as were not, to embrace a faith which led to eternal salvation.

Addressing his father then, with a cheerful countenance, he desired that the military habit intended for his wearing, might be given to the executioner; and, after taking leave of him, said, he hoped they should meet again in the other world, and be happy to all eternity. He then received, at once, the fatal stroke, and the crown of martyrdom.

The worthy father beheld the execution with amazing fortitude, and saw the head of his heroic son severed from his body, without any visible emotions, but such as seemed to proceed from a conscious pleasure, in being the parent of one whose piety and courage rendered him so shining an example for Christians to imitate in future ages.

Vitus, a Sicilian of a considerable family, was brought up a Christian; when his virtues increased with his years, his constancy supported him under all afflictions, and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils and misfortunes.

Hylas, his father, who was a Pagan, finding that he had been instructed in the principles of Christianity by the nurse who brought him up, did all his endeavours to bring him back to Paganism; but finding his efforts in vain, he forgot all the feelings of a parent, and informed against his son to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in persecuting the Christians at this period.

The young man, at the time of his being apprehended upon the information of his father, was little more than twelve years of age; Valerian therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to frighten him out of his faith. He was accordingly threatened with great anger, and ordered to be severely scourged.

Having



Having received this punishment, the governor sent him back to his father, thinking that what he had suffered would certainly make him change his principles: but in this he was mistaken; and Hylas, finding his son inflexible, suffered nature to sink under superstition, and determined to sacrifice his son to the idols.

On being apprized of his design, Vitus escaped to Lucania, where being seized, he was by order of Valerian put to death, June 14, A. D. 303; but we are not informed in what manner.

His nurse, Crescentia, who brought him up as a Christian, and Modestus, a person who escaped with him, were martyred at the same time, but the manner unknown.

There was one Victor, a Christian of a good family at Marseilles, in France, who spent a great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak; which pious work he could not, consistent with his own safety, perform in the day-time; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians, thinking that riches were useless unless subservient to works of charity, and if otherwise employed, a bane to all possessors.

At length, however, he was seized by the emperor's orders, and being carried before two præfects, they advised him to embrace Paganism, and not forfeit the favour of his prince, on account of a dead man, as he styled Christ. In answer to which he replied, "That he preferred the services of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and was risen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince, should never interfere with his duty to the King of heaven; and that as for the gods, whose worship they recommended to him, he could not think them any better than evil spirits."

Victor was loaded with reproaches for this reply, but being a man of rank, he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. When brought before him, the emperor, under the severest penalties, commanded him to sacrifice to the Roman idols. On his absolute refusal to comply, Maximian ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of cruelties and indignities.

Still remaining inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy, and Christian confidence called ill-grounded and irrational: to which he replied, "That the ready disposition of the disciples of Christ to undergo any sufferings on that score, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful deaths, were a sufficient proof of their assurance of the object of that hope." And added, "That he was ready to give an example of what he had said in his own person."

When by the emperor's order stretched upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to endue him with patience; after which he underwent the tortures with most admirable fortitude. After the executioners were tired with inflicting torments on him, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a dungeon.

However, his confinement became a fortunate circumstance, for he converted the gaolers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the ears of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and the gaolers were beheaded accordingly.

Now Victor was again put to the rack, and unmercifully beaten with battoons, and then again sent to his dungeon. Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately. Fired with indignation at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol.

The emperor Maximian, who was present, was so enraged at this, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Victor was afterwards sentenced to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones thereof.

In some measure, this cruel sentence was put into execution; Victor was thrown into the mill, but part

of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from it terribly bruised; and the emperor not having patience to stay till it was mended, ordered his head to be struck off, which, A. D. 303, was executed accordingly.

While Maximus, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus being the eldest, and first in rank, was accordingly the first addressed by Maximus, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "A Christian." This reply offending the governor, he again made the same demand, and was answered in a similar manner. Hereupon the governor told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperors themselves did what he recommended to him now to perform: but to this Tarachus replied, that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction. As for promotion, he desired it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place, office, or post, which would subject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to honours, he desired not greater than the honourable title of Christian. As to the emperors themselves being Pagans, he added with the same undaunted and determined spirit, that they were superstitiously deceived in adoring senseless idols, and evidently misled by the machinations of the Devil himself.

For the boldness of this speech, his jaws were ordered to be broken, that the parts which uttered the words should suffer for their supposed impropriety. He was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two prisoners.

Then Probus was brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked him his name?

Undauntedly the prisoner replied, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian; but that the usual appellation by which he was distinguished was Probus; that his father was a Thracian, and that himself was born at Sida, in Pamphylia.

To this Maximus replied in the following words: "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you, be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the favour of the emperor."

But Probus nobly answered, "That as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a soldier of Christ, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendship, or the favour of the emperor."

By the governor's order Probus was then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, that those severities were agreeable to him. What! cries Maximus, does he still persist in his madness? To which Probus rejoined, "That character is badly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or what is worse, devils."

After being scourged on the back, he was then scourged on the belly, which he suffered with as much intrepidity as before, still repeating, "The more my body suffers, and loses blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer." He was then committed to gaol, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet stretched upon the stocks.

Andronicus was next brought up for examination, when being asked the usual questions, he said, "I am a Christian, a native of Ephesus, and descended from one of the first families in that city." After a great deal of altercation, in which the governor was unsuccessful in endeavouring to dissuade him from his fate, he was ordered to undergo punishments similar to those of Tarachus and Probus, and then to be remanded to prison.

Having been confined some days, the three prisoners were brought before Maximus again, who began first to reason with Tarachus, saying, that as old age was honoured from the supposition of it's being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already passed, upon deliberation, have caused a change in his sentiments.



sentiments. Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly, fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smoked with wet straw; a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and he was then again remanded to his dungeon.

Then Probus being called for, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already suffered, has only confirmed and strengthened me in my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your masters, the emperors, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the Devil who is your father, shall oblige me to adore gods whom I know not."

Now the governor attempted to reason with him on religious subjects; for having a slender education, he was proud of shewing his talents; for those who know little are fond of talking much, and by mistaking casuistry for reason, would fain deceive others as they do themselves. He launched forth into the most extravagant praises of the Pagan deities, and as he enumerated them, described their respective powers, and separate virtues; and inferred, from what himself had said, that such deities, possessed of such admirable qualities, ought to be worshipped. However, continues he, as your chief objection is against a plurality of deities, I will not press you to sacrifice to all of them; sacrifice only to Jupiter, the chief, the most powerful, and most invincible of our gods.

But Probus, easily confuted his arguments, turned his casuistry into ridicule, and in particular said, "Shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter, to one who married his own sister to an infamous debauchee, as is even acknowledged by your own priests and poets."

Provoked at this speech, the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then seared with hot irons; he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged; his head was then shaved, and hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all these tortures, he was again sent to prison.

When Andronicus was again brought before Maximus, the latter attempted to deceive him, by pretending that Tarachus and Probus had repented of their obstinacy, and owned the gods of the empire. To this the prisoner answered; "Lay not, O governor, such a weakness to the charge of those, who have appeared here before me in this cause, nor imagine it to be in your power to shake my fixed resolution with artful speeches. I cannot believe that they have disobeyed the laws of their fathers, renounced their hopes in our God, and obeyed your extravagant orders: nor will I ever fall short of them in faith and dependance upon our common Saviour: thus armed, I neither know your gods, nor fear your authority; fulfil your threats, execute your most sanguinary inventions, and employ every cruel art in your power on me; I am prepared to bear it for the sake of Christ."

On account of this answer he was cruelly scourged, and his wounds were afterwards rubbed with salt. Being perfectly well again in a short time, the governor reproached the gaoler for having suffered some physician to attend him. The gaoler in his own defence, declared, that no person whatever had been near him, or the other prisoners, and that he would willingly forfeit his head if any allegation of the kind could be proved against him. Andronicus corroborated the testimony of the gaoler, and added, that the God whom he served was the most powerful of physicians, and the plant of grace the most salutary of vegetables.

Afterwards, these three worthy Christians were brought to a third examination, when they retained their constancy, were again tortured, and at length ordered for final execution.

When brought to the amphitheatre, several beasts were let loose upon them; but none of the animals, though hungry, would touch them. This so greatly irritated Maximus, that he severely reprehended the keeper, and ordered him to produce a beast that would execute the business for which he was wanted. The keeper then brought out a large bear, that had that

very day destroyed three men; but this voracious creature, and a fierce lioness, both refused to touch the prisoners.

Perceiving the design of destroying them by the means of wild beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by a sword, which was accordingly executed on the 11th of October, A. D. 303. They all declared, previous to their martyrdom, that as death was the common lot of all men, they wished to meet that for the sake of Christ, which they must of course fall a victim to on account of nature; and to resign that life to faith, which must otherwise be the prey of disease. These sentiments are noble, Christian-like, and philosophical; for as death is certain, the time and mode is not of that importance commonly supposed.

Romanus, a native of Palestine, was deacon of the church of Cæsarea, at the time of the commencement of Dioclesian's persecution. Being at Antioch when the imperial order arrived for sacrificing to idols, he was greatly afflicted to see many Christians, through fear, submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their existence.

While censuring some of the recreant Christians for their conduct, he was informed against to the emperor, and soon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he boldly confessed himself a Christian, and said he was ready and willing to suffer any thing which he was pleased to inflict upon him for his confession.

When condemned for his faith, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beat from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened him so many mouths to preach the doctrines of Christianity; for, says he, every wound is a mouth, to sing the praises of Jehovah.

The following circumstance, which happened upon this occasion, is related by Prudentius, and other writers.

Romanus offered to stand to the decision of a young child, whose age must be free from malice, or any other vices; and to put the truth of the Christian upon that test. Asclepiades (they add) accepted of the proposal, and agreed to put the merits of the cause to that issue; accordingly, a child of about seven years of age was called out of the crowd, and being asked whether he thought it to be true, that men ought to worship but one God in Christ, or to worship many gods? He answered, that certainly, whatsoever men affirm to be God, must be but one, and as this one is Christ, he must of necessity be God; for that there are many gods, continued the boy, we children cannot believe. The governor amazed at this, was highly enraged with the child, and calling him little villain, and young traitor, asked him who taught him that lesson? To which the child replied, "My mother, with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ." This so incensed the governor, that he ordered the infant to be horfed and most severely whipt; insomuch that the beholders could not refrain from tears, the mother of the child only excepted, who chid him for asking for a draught of water to be given to him, charging him to thirst for that cup which the infants of Bethlehem had drank of, and bidding him remember Isaac, who willingly offered his neck for the sacrifice to his father's sword. Whilst the woman was giving her son this lesson, the merciless executioner plucked the skin and hair from the crown of his head; his mother at the same time saying to him, "Though you suffer here, my child, you shall shortly be with him, who shall adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." Upon which the child smiled upon her and his executioners, and bore their stripes with man-like fortitude.

Romanus soon after was ordered to be strangled, and the child to be beheaded; which sentences were executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 303.

Marcellinus was an ecclesiastic at Rome: being apprehended on account of his religion, he was ordered to be privately executed in the forest, and was accordingly beheaded there.

Peter,



Peter, a Christian, apprehended for the same cause, was executed at the same time and place.

Also about this period Smaragdus, Largus, and Cyriacus, a deacon of the Christian church, were martyred; but the mode of their deaths is not specified by our authors.

Sufanna, the niece of Caius, bishop of Rome, was pressed by the emperor Dioclesian to marry a noble Pagan, who was nearly related to him: but this noble lady refused the honour intended her, on account of her religion, which was that of a Christian, which so greatly enraged the emperor, that she was immediately afterwards beheaded by his order.

Dorotheus, the high chamberlain of the household to Dioclesian, was a Christian, and took great pains to make converts. In his religious labours, he was joined by Gorgonius, another Christian, and one belonging to the palace. They were both high in the emperor's favour, but they soon had an opportunity of evincing, that worldly honours and temporary pleasures, were nothing when set in competition with the joys of immortality; for being informed against, they were first tortured and then strangled.

One Peter, an eunuch belonging to the emperor, was a Christian of singular modesty and humility. His humility caused him to undertake any menial office to serve the afflicted; and his benevolence occasioned him to give whatever he possessed, to those who needed assistance; convinced that riches did not constitute happiness, and that want could give instructions which wealth could never bestow.

Having been informed against as a Christian, and confessing the charge, he was scourged till his flesh was torn in a most terrible manner; and then salt and vinegar were thrown upon the wounds to render them more grievous. Having endured these tortures with the utmost tranquillity, he was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a slow fire till he expired in the greatest agony.

Cyprian, known by the title of the magician, to distinguish him from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in his youth, and particularly applied himself to astrology; after which he travelled for improvement through India, Egypt, Greece, &c.

When he had finished his studies he settled near Babylon, and being skilled in the Chaldean mysteries, he employed his talents in endeavouring to draw women from chastity and conjugal faith, and in persecuting the Christians, and ridiculing Christianity.

He became, in the course of time, acquainted with Justina, a young lady of Antioch, whose birth, beauty, and accomplishments, rendered her the admiration of all who knew her.

Justina had been educated in idolatry, but being happily converted to Christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the same faith. Her modesty was remarkable, and her prudence in avoiding the carnal conversation of men was extremely commendable. A Pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favourable return to his addresses, applied for assistance to Cyprian.

Cyprian undertook the design, but with a treacherous intent; for under the pretence of acting for his friend, he determined, if possible, to possess the lady himself. To effect this, he employed all his skill, and essayed a variety of infernal contrivances; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was fully convinced that a superior power protected her from his evil intentions.

His serious reflections, on this account, awakened him to search into the truths of Christianity, and his research became so beneficial, that he renounced the errors of Paganism, and embraced a faith, of the excellency of which he could not fail to be assured.

Cyprian's repentance was truly sincere; he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends in his power for the crimes he had committed. Eusebius, a Christian, confirmed him in this resolution, and prevented him from falling into despair for his past follies and wicked intentions.

Now Cyprian burnt his books of astrology and magic,

received baptism, and became animated with a powerful spirit of grace. The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the Pagan gentleman who paid his addresses to Justina, and he in a short time embraced Christianity in like manner.

During the persecution of Dioclesian, Cyprian and Justina were seized upon as Christians, when the former was torn with pincers, and the latter chastised; and after suffering other torments, both were decapitated.

Sergius was an officer in the Roman army, and attended the emperor Maximian into Syria. Being accused as a Christian, he was ordered to sacrifice to Jupiter. Refusing to perform any such idolatrous command, he was stripped of his military habit, and, by way of derision, dressed in woman's clothes. He then was forced to walk a considerable way with nails in his sandals, and had a conclusion put to his sufferings by being at last beheaded.

Bacchus, an officer of the same rank as Sergius, being apprehended at the same time, underwent similar sufferings, and was beheaded A. D. 303, on the same day.

A Spanish lady of a Christian family, named Eulalia, who was remarkable in her youth for a sweetness of temper and solidity of understanding, seldom found in the capriciousness of juvenile years, was apprehended as a Christian. The magistrate attempted, by the mildest means, to bring her over to Paganism, but she answered him in so ironical a manner, and ridiculed the Pagan deities with such asperity, that the judge, incensed at her behaviour, ordered her to be tortured.

Accordingly her sides were torn by hooks, and her breasts burnt in the most shocking manner, till the fire catching her head and face, she expired, in December A. D. 303, by the violence of the flame.

The emperor Dioclesian falling ill, in the year 304, the persecution was carried on by Galerius, and the governors of the several provinces, when many fell victims to the infatuated zeal, or infernal malice of the persecutors; among whom the following persons are enumerated.

Vincent, a Spanish Christian, was brought up by Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, who, on account of his great merits, ordained him a deacon. When the persecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governor of Terragona, ordered Valerius the bishop, and Vincent the deacon, to be seized, loaded with irons, and imprisoned.

Some short time after Dacian examined them with great asperity, and threatened them with death, unless they renounced their principles. Vincent undertaking to speak for both, as Valerius had an impediment in his speech, delivered himself with great freedom, and avowed their full determination to persist in the faith.

Hereupon, Dacian, in a rage at his freedom of speech, declared, that unless he immediately burnt incense to the gods he despised, he should fall a sacrifice to the contempt he expressed.

But the prisoners being firm in their resolutions, Valerius was banished, and the whole of Dacian's rage directed against Vincent, who was racked, had his limbs dislocated, his flesh torn with hooks, and was laid on a gridiron, which had not only a fire placed under it, but spikes at the top, which run into his flesh. In this situation, while one side was broiling over the fire, the other was tormented with red hot irons, or salamanders; and then salt was thrown over the wounds.

All these torments neither destroying him, nor changing his resolutions, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a small loathsome dark dungeon, which, to make it the more disagreeable, was strewed with sharp flints, and pieces of broken glass. Orders were given not to suffer him to have any provisions whatever, and that the news of his death should be carried to Dacian as soon as known.

By the time the keepers thought him famished, they entered the dungeon, when, instead of seeing only a corpse as they expected, they beheld, to their great astonishment, Vincent at prayers, his wounds healed, and his body in tolerable health.

Now



Now this speedy recovery and preservation had such an effect upon the keepers, that it became the happy means of their conversion.

However Dacian, abandoned to the hardness of his heart, and impenetrable to conviction, instead of being softened by these uncommon circumstances, was enraged at the triumph of Vincent over his cruelties; and gave order for new tortures to be prepared for him of so severe a nature, as to make him sink under their load and oppression.

But fortunately, his malice was again disappointed, for before the instruments could be prepared, God took him to himself, and he died with all the serenity of a good conscience, and as much calmness as if he had only sunk into a gentle repose.

The extreme hatred conceived by Dacian against Vincent did not conclude with his death, for he ordered that his body should be exposed in the open fields to the birds of prey; but they not offering to touch it, he commanded that it should be thrown into the river, which was done accordingly, A. D. 304, his death happening on the 22d of January, in that year.

It was in this year the persecution of Dioclesian began particularly to rage, when many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful and ignominious deaths; the most eminent and particular of whom we shall here give an account of.

Saturninus, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa, used to officiate in his clerical capacity, preach, and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, who privately assembled at the house of Octavius Felix: for the severity of the times was such, that they could not publicly perform their religious duties.

Having been informed against, Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended; and that their punishment might be the more exemplary and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of all Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the pro-consul of that quarter of the globe.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave such spirited answers, and vindicated the Christian religion with such force of eloquence, as shewed that he was worthy to preside over an assembly that professed a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his superior arguments, which he could not confute, ordered him to be stopped from saying any more by being put to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, burning with hot irons, &c. Having been thus inhumanely tortured, he was remanded to prison, and there starved to death.

His four children notwithstanding they were variously tormented, remained steady in their faith, on which they were sent back to the dungeon in which their father was confined, and were also starved to death in the same manner.

There were eight other Christians tortured on the same day as Saturninus, and much in the same manner. Two expired on the spot through the severity of their sufferings, and the other six being sent back to prison, were suffocated by means of the closeness of the prison.

Thelico, a pious Christian; Dativus, a noble Roman senator; Victoria, a young lady of considerable family and fortune, with some others of less consideration, had been all auditors of Saturninus, were seized at the time he was, tortured in a similar manner, and perished by the same means; sealing their testimony with their lives, and receiving the glorious crown of martyrdom as a reward for their sufferings in this transitory life.

Three sisters, Chionia, Agape, and Irene, were seized upon at Thessalonica, when Dioclesian's persecution reached Greece. They had been educated in the Christian faith, but had taken great precautions not to be seized on that account, being, from the softness of their natures, unwilling to meet the rage of the times.

They now retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

When Agape was examined before Duleatius, the governor, was asked whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the emperor? She answered, "That being a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her resolution was fixed, and nothing should deter her from continuing in it to the last moment of her life."

Her sister Chionia being next examined, replied in the same manner as Agape had done, when the governor not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; pursuant to which they were burnt, and March 25, A. D. 304, received a crown of martyrdom in the flames.

After this Irene was brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings would engage her to comply with his proposals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to Christianity.

These propositions she heard with indignation, and positively refused to comply with any of them; the governor asked her, Who it was that persuaded her, and her sisters, to keep those books and writings? She answered, "It was that God who commanded them to love him to the last; for which reason she was resolved to submit to be burned alive rather than give them up into the hands of his professed enemies."

When the governor found that he could make no impression on her, he ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets, which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt, April 1, A. D. 304, at the same place where her sisters suffered before her.

One Agatho, a man of a pious turn of mind, with Cassice, Philippa, and Eutychia, were martyred about the same time; but the particulars have never been ascertained.

Also Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded Caius in that see, was greatly perplexed during this persecution; and having strongly opposed paying divine honours to Dioclesian, who wished to exact them from the people, and to appear as a god, he was at length seized and committed to a dungeon.

Notwithstanding, his conduct was steady, his constancy immoveable, and his patience great. He suffered martyrdom, by a variety of tortures, in the year 304, comforting his soul till he expired with the prospect of those glorious rewards it would receive by the tortures suffered in the body.

Theodotus, a Dalmatian, kept an inn at Ancyra: Being a Christian, and of a very humane disposition, he devoted a great part of his time to visit the afflicted, and a great part of his property to relieve the poor; he assisted the sick in body, and converted the sick in soul, so that he was in every capacity a true servant of Christ his Redeemer.

Theotecnus, the governor of these parts, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmost endeavours to root out Christianity from every place where he had any sway.

Thus encouraged by the governor, the Pagans began to inform against, abuse, and persecute the Christians. Great numbers were seized upon, and imprisoned; their goods were destroyed, and their estates confiscated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves, where some supported themselves by feeding upon such roots as they could casually find, and others perished by famine. Indeed many were starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem: the governor gave strict orders, that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the markets, without having been first consecrated to the idols; hence the Christians were compelled to eat what had been offered to the Devil, or to refrain from food and perish. The latter dreadful alternative was chosen by many, who, to preserve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives.

During these critical times, Theodotus did all that he could



could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred, though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with such food as they might use with a safe conscience, for having laid in a great stock of corn and wine, he sold it out at prime cost.

One Polychronicus, a Christian, being seized, forfeited his faith, in order to preserve his life, and compounded for a frail existence, by informing against his friend Theodotus, who hearing of this treachery, surrendered himself to the governor of his own accord.

Upon his arrival in the court, he surveyed the divers instruments of torture with a smile, and seemed totally regardless of their power.

When placed at the bar, the governor informed him, that it was still in his power to save himself, and to escape the torments prepared for disobedience, by sacrificing to the gods of the empire; "and (continued he) if you renounce your faith in Christ, I promise you my friendship, and the emperor's protection, and will constitute you one of the magistrates of the town."

In his answer, Theodotus discovered great courage and eloquence; he absolutely refused to renounce his faith, declined the friendship of the governor, and protection of the emperor, upon the terms proposed, and treated the Pagan idols with the greatest contempt.

The Pagans on hearing this, were in general extremely clamorous for the prisoner to be immediately punished; and the priests in particular rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets, the badges of their offices, through rage. The governor, without hesitation, complied with their desire, when Theodotus was scourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his flesh was seared with burning torches, and his teeth were knocked out of their sockets. He was then remanded to prison, and by the way, pointing to his mangled body, he said to the people, "it was but just that Christians should suffer for him who suffered for us all."

After the expiration of five days, he was brought from prison, A. D. 304, tortured, and then beheaded.

There was one Victor, a native of Ancyra, accused by the priests of Diana, of having abused their goddesses. For this imputed crime he was seized upon, and committed to prison, his house plundered, his family turned out of doors, and his estate forfeited.

When put to the rack, his resolution failed him, and he began to waver in his faith, through the severity of his torments. Being carried back to prison, in order to make a full recantation, God punished him for his intended apostacy; for his wounds mortified, and put an end to his life in a short time.

There were seven aged women of Ancyra, apprehended for their faith; they were examined before the governor, who, on finding them steadfast in their religious principles, reviled their belief, ridiculed their age, and ordered them to be delivered over to some young libertines, that their virtue might be abused; this being done, one of the debauchees, more bold and forward than the rest, seized upon the eldest of the women, whose name was Tecusa, who thus addressed him: "What designs, child, can you have on us, who are worn out with age and infirmities. I am now more than three-score and ten years old, my companions are not much younger; you may look on us as so many rotten carcases, as we shall soon be, for the governor after death refuses us burial;" then lifting up her veil, she shewed him her grey hairs, and then went on: "You may, perhaps, have a mother-of nearly the same age as myself, this should give you some respect to us." The young men, though entire libertines, were so affected with this speech, that they desisted, and immediately returned to their homes.

Now the governor, upon the failure of his design of having them prostituted, determined to compel them to assist in the idolatrous rites of washing the goddesses Minerva and Diana; for it is to be understood, that in Ancyra, it was the custom annually to wash the images of those heathen goddesses, and that the washing was considered as a material part of the adoration of these idols.

Accordingly, these seven Christian women, whose names were Tecusa, Phamme, Claudia, Alexandria, Julitta, Euphrasia, and Matrona, were forced to the temple; but absolutely refusing to wash the idols, the governor was so enraged that he ordered them all to have stones tied about their necks, and to be pushed into the water intended for the washing, in which they gloriously suffered, being thereby drowned.

A worthy Christian, of the name of Timothy, being carried before Urban, governor of Palestine, was sentenced to be burnt to death by a slow fire; which sentence was executed at Gaza, on the 19th day of August, A. D. 304.

Philip, bishop of Heraclea, had, in every act of his life, appeared as a good Christian; the chief of his disciples were Severus, a priest; and Hermes, a deacon; and these three did all in their power to promote the cause of Christianity. This worthy bishop was advised to secrete himself, in order to avoid the storm of the persecution; but he reproved those who counselled him so to do, telling them that their merit would be enhanced by their sufferings, and that death had no terror for the virtuous. He therefore publicly performed his duty.

An officer named Aristomachus, being employed to shut up the Christian churches in Heraclea, Philip took great pains to convince him, that the shutting up buildings made by hands could not destroy Christianity, while the living temples of the Lord remained; for the true faith consisted not in the places where God is adored, but in the hearts of those who adore God.

However, being denied entrance into the church where he used to preach, Philip took up his station at the door, and there exhorted people to patience, perseverance, and godliness.

Such exhortations, of course, caused him to be seized and carried before the governor, who severely reprimanded him, and then continued to speak sternly in these words: "Bring all the vessels used in your worship, and the scriptures which you read and teach the people, and surrender them to me, before you are forced thereto by tortures." "If," replied the bishop, "you take any pleasure in seeing us suffer, we are prepared for the worst you can do. This infirm body is in your power; use it as you please. The vessels you demand shall be delivered up, for God is not honoured by gold and silver, but by the fear of his power; the ornaments of the souls of his servants are more pleasing to him, than the decorations of churches: but as to the sacred books, it is neither proper for me to part with them, nor for you to receive them." This answer so much incensed the governor, that he ordered one Mucassor, a person particularly distinguished for inhumanity, to torture the prelate. Hermes, expressing himself freely against such barbarities, was likewise ordered to be scourged at the same time.

The Pagans having proceeded to the place where the scriptures, and the church plate were kept, immediately seized them; they likewise, unroofed the church, walled up the doors, embezzled the plate, and burnt the sacred scriptures.

When Philip was taken to the market-place, he was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to a very handsome image of Hercules in particular; to which command, "Alas!" replied the prelate, "how unhappy are you, who are thus grossly mistaken in the nature of the Deity, and so ignorant in the truth, as to worship your own workmanship: what value is there in gold, silver, brass, iron, or lead, which are dug out of the earth? You are unacquainted with the divinity of Christ, which is incomprehensible to human capacities; but what power can your idols boast, which are made by base mechanics, a drunken statuary, or a debauched carver, and tricked up by the arts of the taylor and the goldsmith? and yet these are your gods." And after some other observations on the absurdities of the Pagan religion, he concluded, that from what he had already said, it appeared that the heathens worshipped what might lawfully be trod on, and made gods of such things as Providence had designed for their service.

Now the governor tried the constancy of Hermes, but



but finding him as inflexible as the bishop, he committed them both to prison. Soon after this, the governor's time of ruling those parts being expired, a new governor named Justin arrived; but he was to the full as cruel as his predecessor had proved.

Now Philip was dragged by the feet through the streets, severely scourged, and then brought again to the governor, who charged him with obstinate rashness, in continuing disobedient to the imperial decrees; but he boldly replied, "My present behaviour is not the effect of rashness, but proceeds from my love and fear of God, who made the world, and who will judge the living and the dead, whose commands I dare not transgress. I have hitherto done my duty to the emperors, and am always ready to comply with their just orders, according to the doctrine of our Lord Christ, who bids us give both to Cæsar and to God their due; but I am obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man."

On hearing this speech, the governor immediately passed sentence on him to be burnt, which was executed accordingly, and the martyr expired, singing praises to God in the midst of the fire.

Likewise Hermes, for behaving in a similar manner, and Severus, who had surrendered himself up in order to suffer with his friends, met with the same fate. Such were the effects of a diabolical zeal for the adoration of idols, and such the consequences of the blindness of Pagan idolatry.

We are informed by St. Ambrose, that Agricola, was a Christian of so very amiable a disposition, that he even gained the esteem and admiration of the Pagans. Being apprehended as a Christian, he was crucified in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, together with the cross, were buried at Bologne, in Italy, in one grave.

Vitalis, the servant and convert of the above martyr, Agricola, was seized upon on the same account as his master, and being put to the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors, through the severity of his sufferings.

Carpophorus, Victorius, Severus, and Severianus, were brothers, and all four employed in places of great trust and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed against the worship of idols, they were apprehended, and scourged with the plumbetæ, or scourges, to the ends of which were fastened leaden balls. This punishment was exercised with such excess of cruelty, that the pious brothers fell martyrs to it's severity.

A worthy Christian of Aquileia, named Chrysogonus, was beheaded by order of Dioclesian, for having instructed Anastasia, a young lady of that city in the Christian faith. This young lady was descended from an illustrious Roman family. Her mother, named Flavia, was a Christian, and dying while her daughter was an infant, she bequeathed her to the care of Chrysogonus, with a strict injunction to instruct her in the principles of Christianity. This Chrysogonus punctually performed; but the father of the young lady, who was a Pagan, gave her in marriage to a person of his own persuasion, named Publius, who was of a good family, but bad morals, and having spent his wife's and his own patrimony, he had the baseness and inhumanity to inform against her as a Christian.

However, Publius dying soon after, his wife was released; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to distressed Christians, she was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, governor of Illyricum. Florus commanded that she should be put to the torture, when finding her constant in the faith, he ordered her to be burnt, which sentence was put in execution on December 25, A. D. 304. The event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysogonus, her instructor as already mentioned.

Some time in the same year, Mouris and Thea, two Christian women of Gaza, were martyred in that city. The former died under the hands of her tormentors, and the latter perished in prison of the wounds she had received when tortured.

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura his wife, had not been united together by the bands of wed-

lock above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution.

Being apprehended as a Christian, Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to allure him from his faith, and induce him to embrace the Pagan superstition.

Perceiving his endeavours vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the Holy Scriptures, the governor commanded him to deliver them up, that they might be burnt: to which Timothy answered, "Had I children, I would sooner deliver them up to be sacrificed, than part from the word of God." The governor being much incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you, for you shall not see to read them."

So great was his patience under the operation that the governor grew more exasperated; he, therefore, in order, if possible, to overcome his fortitude, ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

This severity of treatment the worthy Christian underwent with the greatest courage, when some busy person acquainted the governor that he had been but newly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus was glad to hear this, as he thought that love might effect what menaces could not, and that an affection for his wife might prevail over that intrepid spirit which could sustain so many torments with such resolution and fortitude.

Accordingly Maura was sent for, and promised a handsome reward, with the life of her husband, if she could prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. This was a severe attack upon the principles of Maura: weak by nature, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband, she undertook the impious business.

When conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of real affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth, in order to give him an opportunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. The consequence of which was, that Maura repeated her importunities, till the martyr, her husband, reproached her so strongly with her weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking, and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany, or follow him to glory. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undertaken that shameful and sinful commission. Maura made some difficulty, at the first, to comply with his advice, to undertake this dangerous and arduous task. However, being further strengthened by his exhortations, and the grace of God, she went to Arrianus and told him, that she was united to her husband in opinion as well as love, and was ready to suffer any thing to atone for her late crime, in wishing to make him an apostate. After trying in vain to alter her resolution, the governor ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity. After this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, A. D. 304, both receiving the crown of martyrdom with the greatest intrepidity and resolution.

A bishop of Assisium, named Sabinus, refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter, and pushing the idol from him, had his hands cut off by the order of the governor of Tuscan. After patiently suffering this barbarity, he was committed to prison, where he remained a considerable time without any assistance or relief but what he received from a Christian widow, whose blind grandfather had been by him restored to sight.

The governor, who was himself afflicted with sore eyes, on hearing this intelligence, revolved it's singularity in his mind, and began to consider the behaviour of the Christians, and the tenets of Christianity, in a more candid light than he had hitherto done. Sending for Sabinus, he informed him that he now entertained very different sentiments to what he had hitherto done, both



with respect to him and his faith; then throwing himself at the feet of Sabinus, he entreated him to afford assistance both to his inward and outward ailments, and to undertake the cure of his body and soul.

The undissembled fervency with which he spoke, convinced Sabinus of his sincerity. Having received proper instructions concerning the principles of Christianity, he was baptized, and the disorder in his eyes immediately left them: this conversion of the governor was followed by that of his whole family, and some of his friends.

When the tyrant Maximian was informed of these circumstances, he immediately sent one of his principal officers, named Lucius, to Assisium, who, according to his instructions, ordered the governor and all his family to be beheaded.

Immediately after their execution, Sabinus himself was scourged to death, in the month of December, A. D. 304. In like manner two ecclesiastics, named Marcellus and Exuperantius, who officiated under Sabinus, were scourged in a most dreadful manner; but remaining constant in their faith, their flesh was torn with hooks till they expired.

Weary of the farce of state, and public business, the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the imperial diadem, and were succeeded by Constantius and Galerius; the former, a prince of the most mild and humane disposition, and the latter, equally remarkable for his tyranny and cruelty.

These divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the East, and Constantius in the West; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the different dispositions of the two emperors; for those in the West were governed in the mildest manner, but such as resided in the East felt all the miseries of oppression and despotism.

In regard to the Christians, to whom Galerius bore a most prejudiced and implacable hatred, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt in slow fires, after this horrible manner: they were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: then flambeaux just extinguished were put to all parts of their bodies, so that they might be tortured all over; and care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces and giving them some to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till, at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to expire, were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burnt to ashes; after which they were ground to powder, and thrown into some river."

Of the members martyred by the order of Galerius, the most eminent are as follow:

Amphianus was a gentleman of distinction in Lycia, and a scholar to Eusebius; pressing through the crowd while the proclamation for sacrificing to idols was read, he caught the governor Urbanus by the hand, and severely reprov'd him for his wickedness.

Hereupon, the governor incensed at this freedom, ordered him to be put to the torture, and then thrown into the sea, in the waves of which he was drowned.

Ædesius, brother to the above martyr, was, for nearly the same offence, much about the same time, martyred at Alexandria, in a singular manner.

Julitta, a Lyconian of royal descent, but more celebrated for her virtues than noble blood, was a Christian lady of great humility, constancy, and integrity. When the edict for sacrificing to idols was published at Iconium, she withdrew from that city to avoid the bigotted rage of Domitian the governor, taking with her only her young son Cyricus, and two women servants. She was, however, seized at Tarsus, and being carried before Alexander, the governor, she acknowledged that she was a Christian. For this confession her son was taken from her, and she was immediately put to the rack, and tortured with great severity; but she bore all her sufferings with a true Christian fortitude and patient resignation.

But young Cyricus cried bitterly to get at his mother; when the governor observing the beauty, and being melted at the tears of the child, took him upon his knee, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyricus, he still called upon the name of his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, lisped out, "I am a Christian." This innocent expression turned the governor's compassion into rage; he lost the man in the bigot, and throwing the child furiously against the pavement, dashed out its brains. Now the mother, who from the rack beheld the whole transaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should be without any anxiety concerning his future welfare, certain that now no advantage could be taken of his tender years, to pervert his principles, and hinder him of his salvation.

To complete the execution, Julitta had boiling pitch poured on her feet, her sides torn with hooks, and received the conclusion of her martyrdom, by being beheaded, April 16, A. D. 305.

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, was taught most branches of human learning by his father, who was a Pagan, and the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian. Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in the knowledge of physic, and in process of time was appointed physician to the emperor Galerius. The name of this man in Greek signifies *humane*, and the appellation well-suited his nature, for he was one of the most benevolent men living. He assisted the poor, to the utmost of his fortune: and, by the help of God, his skill in physic was attended with the most astonishing success. However, his extraordinary and well-deserved reputation roused the jealousy of the Pagan physicians, who accused him to the emperor. Galerius, finding him a Christian, which he had not before known, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, which sentence on July 27, A. D. 305, was accordingly executed.

Hermolaus, a venerable and pious Christian, of a great age, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon's, suffered martyrdom for his faith on the same day, and in the same manner as Pantaleon.

Julitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of distinguished capacity, great virtue, and uncommon courage: she was martyred on account of a law-suit, of which Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, gives an account to the following purport:

"She had a troublesome law-suit with one of the principal men in Cæsarea, who was unjustly possessed of a considerable part of her estate, and had seized both her servants and cattle. This oppressive usurper had found means to bribe the judges in his favour, and hired persons to swear, that the land and goods in dispute were his property: Julitta, supported by the justice of her cause, thought that she had nothing more to do, but to give the magistrates a plain and an ingenuous account of her title. When the cause came to be tried, the defendant, instead of supporting his claim, or giving any answer to the plaintiff's plea, urged that the law would not suffer him to engage at that bar, with one of a different religion; so that he could not proceed in his defence, unless the lady, who was the plaintiff, renounced Christianity.

"The judge was too well instructed not to second the motion, and gave it as his opinion, that what he insisted upon was according to the laws of the empire. He then ordered an altar to be brought in, and some fire to be put on it, and incense to be prepared, and then told the parties, that if they expected, either of them, to enjoy any benefit of the laws, they must both of them offer incense to the gods.

"The usurper, who was an heathen, immediately complied; but Julitta made it appear, that her faith was much dearer to her than her goods, or even than life itself. "No, said she, my affection to what is undoubtedly my own, shall never hinder me from sacrificing my all, and even my life, if required, rather than violate my fidelity to my God and Saviour." This declaration greatly incensed the judge, but Julitta went on with the same intrepidity, and thanked God for the



the assurance she had of an eternal inheritance, while what was her own upon earth was disputed, and unjustly taken from her. The magistrate made several attempts to persuade her to renounce her faith, but was always answered that she was the servant of Christ, and as such she could not listen to his proposals without horror; upon this she was condemned to be burnt: which sentence, A. D. 305, was executed accordingly.

Eustratius, secretary to the governor of Arminia, was thrown into a fiery furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith. Auxentius and Eugenius, two of Eustratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarius, another friend of his, expired under the hands of his tormentors; and Orestes, a military officer, was broiled to death on a gridiron, for wearing a golden cross at his breast.

Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier by profession, and a Christian by faith, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through an honest indignation at the idolatrous worship practised therein: for which being apprehended, he was severely scourged, and February 18, A. D. 306, burnt to death.

Dorothy, a Christian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women, who had become apostates to the faith, with a view that she might be induced to follow their example. However, this lady's discourses had such an effect upon the two apostates, that they became re-converted, and were put to death for not succeeding. Soon after which, Dorothy herself was tortured, and then beheaded.

Pancratius, or Pancrass, was a native of Phrygia, but being made a Christian and brought to Rome, by his uncle, he there suffered martyrdom, being beheaded after the decease of his uncle, who died a natural death a little time before.

Cyrinus, Nazarius, Nabor, and Basilides, four worthy Christian officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, and being condemned, were scourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, being Christians, were apprehended on account of their faith. As they were both men of great abilities in their profession, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce Christianity; but these endeavours being found ineffectual, they were ordered to be beheaded. Crowds of people attended the execution, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a Pagan, entreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian however reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but embraced her and the infant before the stroke was given. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and then both, with great willingness and resolution, received the crown of martyrdom.

Besides these there were several others whose names and sufferings are not ascertained.

Likewise, in the kingdom of Naples, several martyrdoms took place: in particular, Januarius, bishop of Beneventum; Sofius, deacon of Misene; Proculus, another deacon; Etyches and Acutius, two laymen; Festus, a deacon; and Desiderius, a reader, were all, on account of being Christians, condemned, by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beasts. The savage animals, however, not touching them, they were ordered to be beheaded, which sentence was immediately put into execution.

Marcellus, a centurion, of the Trajan legion, was posted at Tangier, and being a Christian, suffered martyrdom, of which the following account is recorded.

"It happened that while he was there, the emperor's birth-day was kept with great solemnity, and the sacrifices to the Pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his de-

testation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud, that he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. "If, continued he, their imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission, and quit the army."

Marcellus's behaviour and speeches occasioned an order for his being beheaded, on a double score, viz, desertion from the army, and impiety against the gods of the empire. He heard the sentence with intrepidity, and received the crown of martyrdom with great willingness. Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such severe proceedings, was ordered into custody; when avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate, and suffered a similar martyrdom.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before Matenius, the governor, was ordered to sacrifice to the Pagan deities, agreeable to the edicts of various Roman emperors. To which he replied, "The emperors insist upon our sacrificing to their deities, against the express prohibition of God; to deities which we can by no means own, because they are, in reality, nothing: whereas the power that I serve is every where, above all things, supports, governs, and disposes of all things, as he pleases; for he is the sovereign master, and sole author of the universe." For this speech he was ordered to be severely scourged.

When under the hand of the executioner, the governor was urgent with him to sacrifice, and offered to make him a priest of Jupiter. To which Quirinus replied, That he was already engaged in the priestly office, while he thus offered a sacrifice to the true God. "I, continued he, scarce feel my torments, and am ready to suffer still greater, that my example may shew those whom God has committed to my care, the way to the glory we wish for."

Perceiving his constancy, the governor sent him to gaol, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; flattering himself, that the hardships of a gaol, and the weight of his chains, might overcome his resolutions.

But being deceived in his expectations, he was sent to Amantius, the principal governor of Parmonia, now Hungary, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of the Danube, exposing him to ridicule wherever he went.

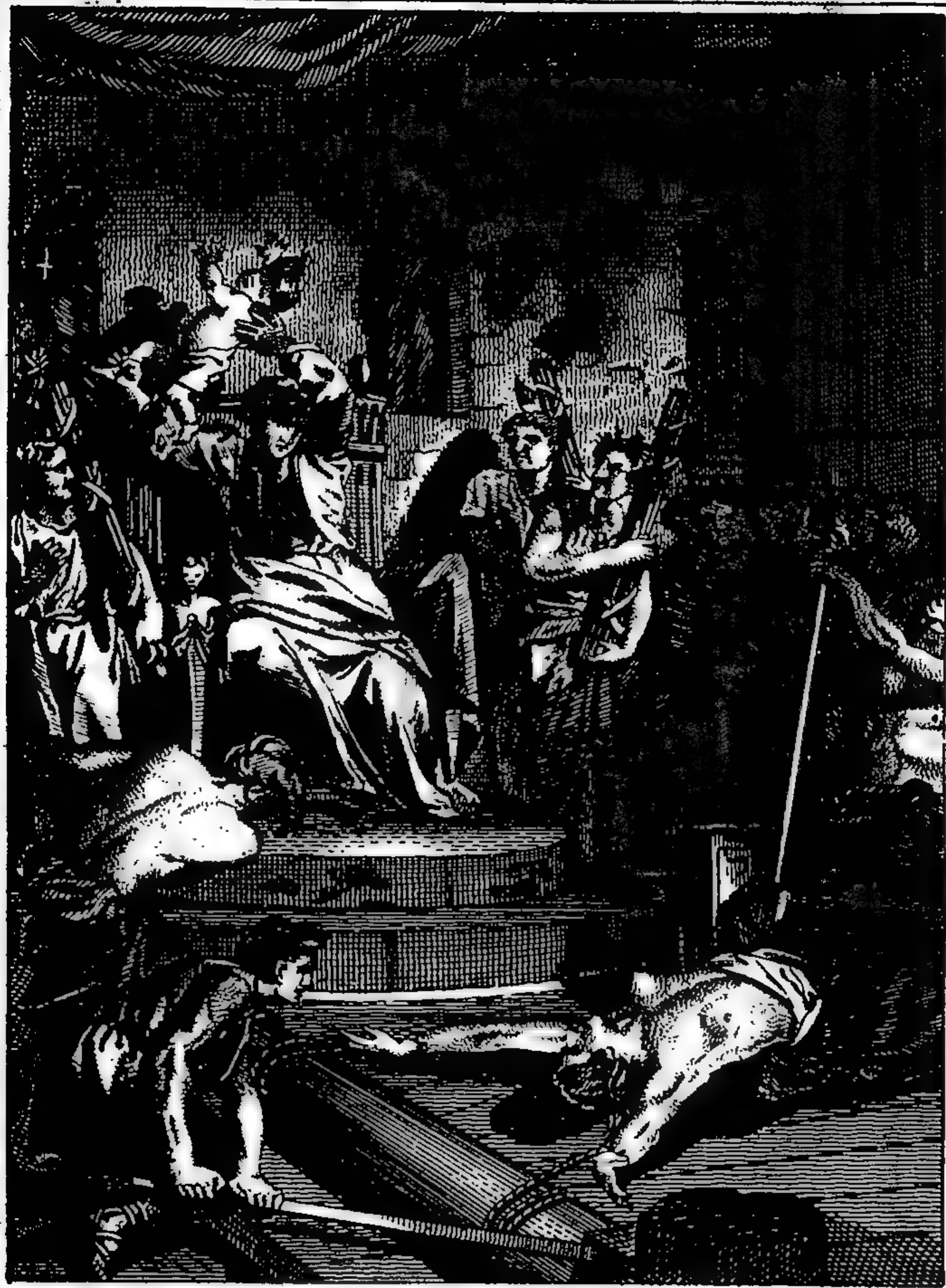
At length arriving at Sabaria, and finding that Quirinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be cast into a river, with a stone fastened to his neck. The sentence was accordingly put into execution, and Quirinus, floating about for some time, exhorted the people in the most pious terms, concluding his admonitions with this prayer:

"It is no new thing, O all-powerful Jesus! for thee to stop the course of rivers, or to cause a man to walk upon the water, as thou didst thy servant Peter: the people have already seen the proof of thy power in me; grant me now to lay down my life for thy sake, O my God!"

Having pronounced these last words, he immediately sunk and died, June 4, A. D. 308; and his body was afterwards taken up, and buried by some pious Christians.

There were five Egyptian Christians upon a visit to their afflicted brethren in Cæsaria, who were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of Palestine, who on questioning them concerning whence they came, and what they were, was answered by one, in the name of the rest, that they were Christians, and belonged to the glorious city of Jerusalem, speaking allegorically of the heavenly Jerusalem. The governor was surprised at the answer, as he knew Vespasian, and his son Titus, had destroyed the ancient Jerusalem; and that the considerable town erected by Adrian upon the spot, was called Ælia Capitolina: he therefore inquired more particularly





**MARTYRDOM of JULIETTA**  
*a Liconson who was Racked to Death, and her  
Child hurled on the ground before her face by which  
its Brains were dashed out.*



cularly concerning it. The Christian who had spoken before, again replied, and pursuing the allegory, described, with great force of imagination, the great beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian still mistaking the Christian's meaning, by understanding his words in a literal sense, was dreadfully alarmed; for not dreaming that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Christians were strengthening and fortifying some place, in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperor. Full of this mistake, and enraged at the supposed disloyalty, he condemned the five prisoners to be cruelly tormented, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed A. D. 309, on the 16th of February.

Pamphilus, a native of Phœnicia, of a considerable family, was a man of such extensive learning, that he was called a second Origen. He was received into the body of the clergy at Cæsarea, where he established a public library, and spent his time in the practice of every Christian virtue. He copied the greatest part of the works of Origen with his own hand, and, assisted by Eusebius, gave a correct copy of the Old Testament, which had suffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former transcribers. He likewise gave public lectures on religious and literary subjects, in an academy which he had erected for that purpose, till the year 307, when he was apprehended, and carried before Urban, the governor of Palestine.

This governor, thinking that a man of his abilities must be of great importance to any party, did all he could to induce him to embrace Paganism. Finding his endeavours vain, he changed persuasions into menaces, and from entreating began to threaten him.

Still Pamphilus maintained his resolution, whereupon he was ordered to be tortured severely, and then sent to prison, which was immediately put into execution.

Immediately after, Urban, having displeased the emperor, was displaced and beheaded; but another was appointed in his room, who was equally prejudiced against the professors of Christianity.

Pamphilus suffered martyrdom under the new governor by being beheaded; together with Valens, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem; and Paul, a layman of Jamnia, in Palestine.

Porphyrius, the servant of Pamphilus, was martyred by means of a straw fire, for only requesting leave to bury the body of his master and other martyrs who suffered.

Theodulus, a venerable and faithful servant to Firmilian, the governor, being accused as a professor of the Christian faith, confessed the charge, and was, by order of his cruel master, crucified, on February 17, A. D. 309; and, on the same day, Julian, a Cappadocian, was burnt.

Marcellus, bishop of Rome, being banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, A. D. 310, on the 16th of January.

Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, by order of Maximus Cæsar, who reigned in the East, was martyred, November 25, A. D. 311.

Lucian, a learned and eloquent Syrian, was a man of so benevolent a temper, that he disposed of the greatest part of his fortune in charitable actions. Being advanced to the clerical character in Antioch, he became a true servant of Christ, and a zealous pastor of the church. At length he was apprehended as a Christian, imprisoned for the space of nine years, put to the rack, rolled upon sharp flints, nails, &c. and then being tortured to death, his body was thrown into the sea; but it was afterwards cast on shore, and received Christian interment.

A virgin of only thirteen years of age, of the name of Agnes, was beheaded for being a Christian; Valentine, a priest, suffered the same fate at Rome; and Erasmus, a bishop, was martyred in Campania. Cosmus and Damian, Arabians, and brothers, were martyred in Cilicia; Adrian, an imperial officer, was beheaded for being a Christian; Barbara, a young lady, was martyred at Nicomedia; Lucy, a Christian virgin, was put to death at Syracuse; and even Serena, the empress of Dioclesian, was beheaded for being and avowing herself a Christian.

Gordius, a native of Cæsarea, and a centurion in the

Roman army, was first tormented, and then burnt; Menas, an Egyptian soldier, was beheaded; and Barlaam, a noble martyr, as we are informed by Basilus, having endured the torments of the executioners, even to the very point of death, the tormentors at last brought him, and laid him upon the altar, where they used to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put frankincense into his hand, which they lighted, imagining that the heat and force of the fire would oblige him to scatter the burning incense on the altar, that they might thereby say that he had sacrificed; but in this they were disappointed, for the flame went round his hand, which appeared as if it had been covered with red hot embers, while he uttered this exclamation of the psalmist: "Blessed is the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." After which he surrendered his soul into the hands of his blessed Redeemer! The Pagans having full authority to use the Christians as bad as they thought proper, shut up the doors of a church, in which a Christian congregation were assembled, and having set fire to the building, every person perished in the flames. Many were severely beaten with sticks, cords, scourges, rods, whips, &c.

However, Constantine the Great determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But previous to his entering upon this expedition, we are informed, that he considered that it was necessary to have some superior Being to confide in, besides his own strength; and as at that time there were many deities in the world, he was studious to learn which was the most worthy for him to fix upon as his protector, and tutelar guardian. He reflected on the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who had so violently maintained a multiplicity of gods, and reposed an entire confidence in their assistance. On the other hand he considered that while his own father adored only one God he continually prospered, and had peace of mind. Hence he rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the assistance of the only true God; who heard his prayers, and answered them in a manner so surprising and miraculous, that Eusebius, who relates this history, acknowledges it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth upon his oath. The extraordinary circumstances are as follow:

"The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross with this plain inscription on or about it, ΤΟΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, In this overcome. Constantine was greatly surprised at this strange sight, which was visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and auspices, or soothsayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; the emperor himself did not understand it, till at length our blessed Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand, which he had shewed him in the day before, commanding him to make a royal standard, like that he had seen in the heavens, and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety. Early the next morning, Constantine informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and sending for proper workmen, sat down by them, and described to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make with the greatest art and magnificence; and accordingly they made it after this manner: a long spear, plated over with gold, with a traverse piece at the top, in the form of a cross, to which was fastened a four square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beset with precious stones, which reflected an amazing lustre: towards the top was depicted the emperor between his two sons: on the top of the shaft, above the cross, stood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely the two first letters



of Christ in Greek, X and P, struck one through the other: this device he afterwards bore not only upon his shields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant."

Afterwards engaging Maxentius, he defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now published in favour of the Christians, in which Licinius joined with Constantine, and a copy of it was sent to Maximus in the East. Maximus, who was a bigotted Pagan, greatly disliked the edict, but being afraid of Constantine, did not openly avow his disapprobation of it.

At length Maximus invaded the territories of Licinius, but being defeated, he was so mortified, that he put an end to his life by poison.

Licinius, as before observed, was not a real Christian in his heart, but rather affected to appear as such, through the dread of Constantine's power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he took occasion to put to death Blase, bishop of Sebaste, several bishops and priests of Egypt and Lybia, who were cut to pieces, and thrown into the sea; and forty soldiers of the garrison of Sebaste, who suffered martyrdom by fire, and sealed their faith in the flames. These things offending Constantine the Great, he marched against Licinius, who was defeated by him, and afterwards slain by his own soldiers.

St. George, the tutelar saint and patron of England, was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents, who brought him up according to the tenets of the gospel.

His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country. Here she claimed a patrimonial estate, which afterwards descended to her son. St. George being strong, active, and of a great spirit, took up the profession of a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was accordingly promoted in the army of the emperor Dioclesian. During the persecution, St. George threw up his command, went boldly to the senate-house, and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against Paganism, and point out the absurdity of worshipping idols. This freedom so greatly provoked the senate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy, and without any change in his religious principles. Exasperated at his fortitude and resolution, he was by the emperor's orders dragged through the streets, and beheaded the next day.

The calendar commemorates his martyrdom on the 23d of April; many churches have been dedicated to him, and he is considered as the tutelar saint and patron of England. The order of the Garter, instituted by Edward the Third, is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, St. George, and St. Edward the Confessor. This saint is represented on horseback, tilting at a dragon, which is only allegorical, and implies that he had conquered the devil, or the dragon, by his faith in Christianity, and his fortitude in adhering thereto.

## C H A P. III.

*Including a minute Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in Persia under SAPORES; the PERSECUTIONS under the ARIAN HERETICS; those under JULIAN the Apostate, the GOTHs, VANDALS, &c. and in various other Parts of the World.*

*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS in Persia.*

THE holy gospel having spread itself into Persia, the Pagan priests were greatly alarmed, and dreaded the loss of that influence they had hitherto maintained over the people's minds and properties. Hence they thought it expedient to complain to the emperor, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and held a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia.

The emperor, who was naturally averse to Christianity, easily believed what was said against the Christians, and gave orders to persecute them in all parts of his empire. On account of this mandate many fell martyrs to the ignorance and ferocity of the Pagans, the sufferings of the most eminent of whom we shall here relate.

Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with many other ecclesiastics, to the number of an hundred and twenty-eight, were apprehended and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans.

Now the emperor being greatly exasperated against them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The worthy archbishop coming into his presence, boldly acknowledged his faith, and nobly defended the cause of Christianity. The emperor, being offended at his freedom, not only reproved him for it, but ordered him to kneel before him, as he had always heretofore done.

To this Simeon answered, "That before, having the free admittance to his presence, he did not scruple to conform to the customary salutation of the country; but being now brought before him a prisoner, for the truth of his religion, and the sake of his God, it was not lawful for him to kneel, lest he should be thought to worship

and to betray his faith, which he was fully resolved to defend with his last breath."

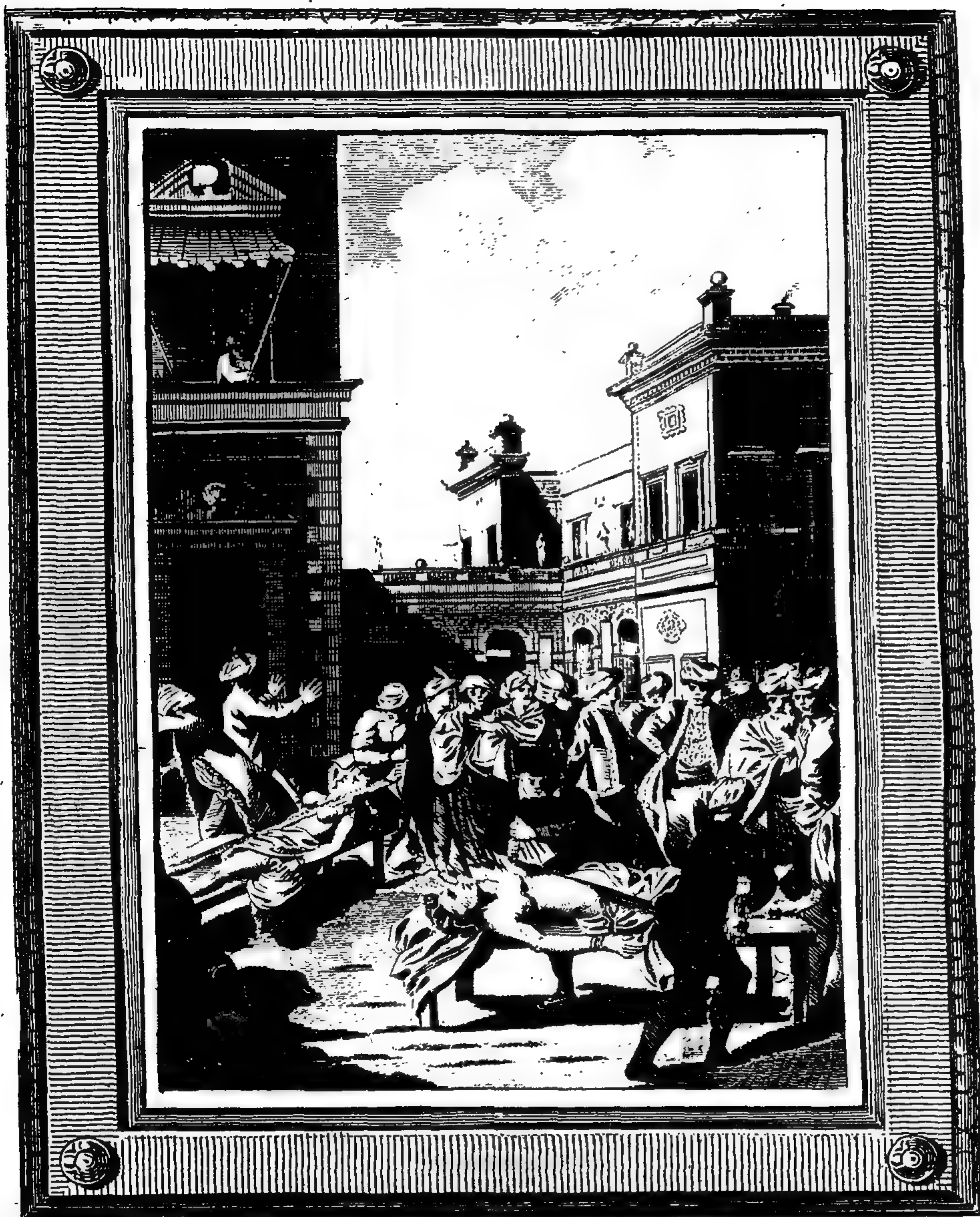
Whereupon the emperor told him; that if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions, should be put to death; but Simeon rejected with disdain the proposal to kneel, and told him that he would abide the consequences. On this reply the emperor ordered him to be sent to prison till he had considered what punishment he should inflict.

Some short time after, Simeon, with his fellow-prisoners, was again examined, and commanded to worship the sun, agreeable to the Persian custom; but this they all unanimously refused. The emperor then sentenced them to be beheaded, and they were accordingly executed.

An aged eunuch, named Ustazares, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great estimation at court, on observing Simeon, the fore-mentioned martyr, leading to prison, saluted him. Simeon, however (as Ustazares had formerly been a Christian, and turned apostate from the faith to oblige the emperor) would not return his salute, but sharply reproved him for his apostacy. This so affected the eunuch, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Ah! woe is me! how shall I hereafter look upon my God, whom I have denied, when Simeon, my old companion and familiar acquaintance, disdains to give me a gentle word, or to return my salute!"

When the emperor was told that his ancient tutor was greatly afflicted, he sent for him, and asked him whether he desired or wanted any thing which could be conferred upon, or procured for him. To which the eunuch replied, That there was nothing that he wanted, which this earth could afford; but that his grief was of another kind, and for which he justly mourned, namely, that





*Two SISTERS of Simeon BISHOP of SALENCIA, in Persia,  
sawed into quarters which were hung up in different parts of the City.*

*G.W.J. page 1*



that to oblige him he had denied his God, and had dissemblingly worshipped the sun, against his own conscience! for which, continued he, I am deserving of a double death, first, for denying of Christ, and secondly, for dissembling with my king; at the same time solemnly protesting, that he would never more forsake the Creator of the world, to worship the creatures which were made by him.

Upon this the emperor, greatly offended at the explanation of the cause of his grief, ordered Uthazares to be beheaded. While he was going to the place of execution, he desired that a messenger might be sent to the emperor, to request the favour that it might be proclaimed, "That Uthazares did not die a traitor for any crime against the king or the state; but only that being a Christian, he would not deny his God." This petition, we are informed, was granted, and accordingly performed; which was a great satisfaction to Uthazares, whose chief reason for desiring it was, because his falling off from Christ had caused many others to follow his example, who now hearing that he died for no crime but his religion, they might learn, like him, to return to Christ, and become fervent and constant in the faith. Uthazares, being thus satisfied, cheerfully yielded his neck to the stroke of the executioner, and received his crown of martyrdom with great joy!

After the above execution, on the Good Friday, an edict was published, to put to death all who confessed themselves Christians, on which occasion great multitudes suffered. About this time the empress of Persia falling sick, the sisters of Simeon, the archbishop, were accused by some of the magi, of being the occasion. This absurdity being believed, they were, by the emperor's order, sawed in quarters, and their quarters fixed upon poles, between which the empress passed as a charm to effect her recovery.

Acephimus, and many other clergymen were seized upon, and ordered to adore the sun; which refusing, they were scourged, and then tormented to death, or suffered to remain in prison till they expired.

Athalas, a priest, though not put to death, was so miserably racked, that his arms were rendered useless; and he was ever after obliged to be fed like a child. In fine, by this edict, above 16,000 either suffered miserably by torture, or lost their lives.

When Constantine the Great was informed of the persecutions in Persia, he was exceedingly concerned, and began to ruminate in what manner he should redress their grievances, when an ambassador arrived from the Persian emperor upon some political business.

This ambassador Constantine received civilly, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he recounts the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the great success that had attended those who had refrained from persecuting the Christians; and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperor of his own time, he said, "I subdued those solely by faith in Christ; for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and hath enlarged to me the bounds of the Romish empire, that it extends from the Western ocean, to almost the uttermost parts of the East: for which purpose I neither offered sacrifices to the ancient deities, nor made use of charm or divination, but only prayers to Almighty God, and followed the cross of Christ: and how glad should I be to hear that the throne of Persia flourished, by embracing the Christians! that so you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire, as no doubt but you would, as God, the Almighty Creator of all things, would become your protector and defender.

"These men I commend to your kingly honour; I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them according to your humanity; for in so doing, you shall procure to yourself grace through faith, and shall bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

By means of this the persecution ended during the life of Sapore; but it was again renewed under the lives of his successors; the following sufferers being the most principal.

Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman, on being convicted of professing Christianity, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This ignominious task he performed for some time, when the emperor one day, looking out of a window which commanded the yard where the elephants were kept, saw Hormisdas, and perceived that he was prodigiously tamed. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a shirt should be put on him, and that he should be brought into his presence.

As soon as he came to the imperial throne, the emperor asked him if he would now deny Christ. On this question being put, Hormisdas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I will deny my faith for the sake of a shirt, take your gift again." The emperor, on hearing this expression, banished him from Persia; and he died in exile.

Suenes, a Christian nobleman, refusing to deny Christ, had his wife taken from him, and given to one of the meanest of the emperor's slaves; and what added to his mortification was, that he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the slave, which at length broke his heart, and he died.

Theodoret, a deacon, was imprisoned for the space of two years, and being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. Disregarding, however, the order, he did his utmost to propagate the gospel of Christ; for which being seized upon, he was miserably tormented, by having sharp reeds thrust under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced up his body, and he expired in the most excruciating agony.

Bademus, a Christian of Mesopotamia, gave away his fortune to the poor, and determined to devote his life to religious retirement. This inoffensive Christian, together with seven others, were seized upon and cruelly tortured for being Christians, and above all for their charity. The seven Christians, who were apprehended with Bademus, received the crown of martyrdom, though the particular manner is not recorded: and Bademus himself, after having been four months in prison, was brought to the place of execution, and beheaded by Narses, an apostate Christian, who was ordered to act as the executioner of this worthy man, in order to convince the emperor that he was sincere in the renunciation of the truth.

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*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS under the ARIAN HERETICS.*

**A**RIUS, a native of Lybia, and a priest of Alexandria, was the author of the Arian heresy, and in A. D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by a council of the Lybian and Egyptian bishops, and that sentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A. D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favour of Constantius, his son and successor in the East; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishop and clergy. The celebrated Athanasius, and other bishops, were banished, and their sees filled with Arians.

Thirty bishops were martyred in Egypt and Lybia, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and, A. D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city, and its environs, and carried it on with the most infernal severity. He was assisted in his diabolical malice by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Faustinus, the treasurer; and a Roman officer, named Heraclius.

So great was this persecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those that had been practised by the Pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a Christian, made his escape, then his whole family were massacred, and his effects forfeited.

Now the orthodox Christians, being deprived of all places



places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions in a desert place at some distance from it. Assembling for this purpose on a Trinity-Sunday, George, the Arian bishop, engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with his soldiers, while they were at prayers. On this occasion several fell a sacrifice to the popular fury of the troops, and received the crown of martyrdom for no other offence than performing necessary acts of piety. The modes of cruelty were various, and the degrees different; for they were beaten over their faces till all their features were disfigured; then they were lashed with twigs of palm-trees newly cut, with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds and bruises.

Several, whose lives had been spared, were, however, banished to the deserts of Oasis, where they suffered unspeakable hardships; but their exile admitted of their indulgence of the most pious thoughts, and their sorrows were of a salutary nature.

Secundus, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name; the bishop, who had imbibed all the heretical opinions of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he had thought proper to embrace. Taking one Stephen with him, who was as much an Arian as himself, they sought out Secundus privately, and being unable to make him change his opinion, they fell upon and murdered him: when the holy martyr, just before he expired, called upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his enemies.

Dissatisfied with the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the principal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to put their churches into possession of the Arians.

Having obtained their request, an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in those provinces.

When the general received the order, he signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers, and commanded, that the mandate should be immediately put into execution. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized, and imprisoned for examination; when it appearing that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their banishment into the most wild, uncultivated, and desert places. Thus were the orthodox clergy used, and many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few indeed escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severities of the persecutors.

Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian by birth, and was designed, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander the predecessor of Paul was on his death bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor: when, we are informed, he told them, "That if they were disposed to choose a person of an exemplary life, unexceptionable character, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; who, though young, had all the prudence and gravity of more advanced age; but if they had rather have a person of a well-composed appearance, acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius, who had all the proper qualifications." Macedonius was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in their different characters. Nevertheless the Arians, with their accustomed dissingenuousness, gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business: it is true, indeed, he was a master in the art of speaking and persuading; but the sequel of his life and sufferings sufficiently evinced the absurdity of their deeming him a man formed for the world: for, after some struggle, the orthodox carried their

point, and Paul was consecrated accordingly. However, Macedonius, being greatly offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop, and was very severe upon his moral character; but not gaining any belief, he dropped the charge, and reconciled himself to Paul. This, however, was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who resumed the accusations under two heads, which were as follow:

1. "That he had led a disorderly life before his consecration.

2. "That he had been placed in the see of Constantinople without the consent of the bishops of Nicomedia and Heraclea, two metropolitans, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion."

Eusebius, to support these accusations, procured the emperor's authority, by representing, that Paul having been chosen during the absence of Constantius, the imperial dignity had been insulted. This artifice succeeded, and Paul being deposed, Eusebius was placed in his stead.

Thus Paul having lost all his authority in the East, retired to the territories of Constantius, in the West, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy. At Rome he visited Athanasius, and assisted at a council held there, by Julius, the bishop of that see. Letters being written by this council to the eastern prelates, Paul returned to Constantinople, but was not restored to his bishopric till the death of Eusebius. The Arians, however, constituting Macedonius their bishop, by the title of bishop of Constantinople, a sedition, and a kind of civil war ensued, in which many were destroyed.

Constantius, the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of these matters, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. Hermogenes, the officer who had received the emperor's order, attempted in vain to put it into execution; for the orthodox Christians rising in defence of Paul, Hermogenes was killed in a scuffle that consequently arose.

Now this transaction greatly exasperated the emperor, who left Antioch, though in the depth of winter, and immediately returned to Constantinople, with a design to punish the Christians severely. But their submission and entreaties softened him, and he contented himself with banishing Paul and suspending Macedonius.

Hereupon Paul retired again to the territories of Constantius, implored the protection of that emperor, and, by his intercession, was again vested in his see. On this occasion, we are informed, that "his re-establishment did but exasperate his enemies, who were at that time constantly employed, both in secret and open attempts against his life, against which the affections of his people were his only security; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for allowing his stay at Constantinople, but the dread of disobliging his brother, Paul could not think himself wholly restored to his bishopric, while things were in this situation; and being very much concerned at what the orthodox bishops suffered from the power and malice of the Arian faction, joined Athanasius, who was then in Italy, in soliciting a general council."

Accordingly a council was held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were present one hundred bishops of the western, and seventy-three of the eastern empire. But disagreeing in many points, the Arian bishops of the East retired to Philippolis, in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the council of Sardica. From which place they pretended to issue out an excommunication against Julius, bishop of Rome; Paul, bishop of Constantinople; Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and several other prelates.

The emperor Constantius died, A. D. 350, which gave the Arians fresh courage, and they immediately applied to the emperor Constantius, who being an Arian in his heart, wrote an order to the præfect Philip, to remove Paul from the bishopric of Constantinople, and banish him again, to restore Macedonius.

Being



Being exiled to Cucucus, he was confined in a small, loathsome, dark dungeon, where he was kept six days without food, and then strangled. He met death with fortitude, as he was always perfectly resigned in misfortunes, and convinced of the vanity of this transitory world.

At this time, the Arian party prevailing, made Gregory of Cappadocia, a very obscure person, bishop of Alexandria, after having deposed Athanasius for his strict adherence to the orthodox faith. In the accomplishment of this affair, they were assisted by Philagerius, the governor of Egypt, who was an apostate, and who suffered them to commit all manner of outrages. Hence arming themselves with swords, clubs, &c. they broke into one of the principal churches of Alexandria, where great numbers of orthodox Christians were assembled at their devotions; and falling upon them in a most barbarous manner, without the least respect to sex or age, the principal part of them were destroyed.

A venerable bishop of Heraclea, named Potamo, who had formerly lost one of his eyes in Dioclesian's persecution, fell a martyr upon this occasion; being so cruelly scourged and beaten that his wounds occasioned his death.

Now the Arian mob broke into many places, public and private, under a pretence of searching for Athanasius, and committed innumerable butcheries and barbarities; robbing orphans, plundering the houses of widows, dragging devoted virgins to private places to be the sacrifices of lust; imprisoning the clergy, burning churches and dwelling-houses belonging to orthodox Christians, besides other enormous cruelties.

*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTION under JULIAN the Apostate.*

**JULIAN**, the Apostate, as he was commonly called, was the son of Julius Constantius, and the nephew of Constantine the Great. He studied the rudiments of grammar under the inspection of Mardonius an eunuch, and an heathen of Constantinople. His father sent him some time after to Nicomedia, to be instructed in the Christian religion; by the bishop Eusebius, his kinsman; but his principles were corrupted by the pernicious doctrines of Maximus the magician, and Ecebolius the rhetorician.

In the year 361 Constantius died, and Julian succeeded him, and had no sooner attained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Christianity, and embraced Paganism, which had for some years fallen into great disrepute. He again restored idolatrous worship, by opening the several temples that had been shut up, rebuilding such as were destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example. He, however, made no public edicts against Christianity, but tried to do that privately which other emperors had done openly. He recalled all banished Pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, but deprived all Christians of offices at court, in the magistracy, or in the army. He was chaste, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and seemingly pious, so that by his hypocrisy and pretended virtues he for a time did more mischief to Christianity, than the most profligate libertine of his predecessors. Thus he attempted to undermine Christianity by artifice instead of expelling it by force; and to make his measures the more effectual, he prohibited any Christian from keeping a school or public seminary of learning, and deprived all the Christian clergy of the privileges which Constantine the Great had granted them.

Accordingly, this persecution was more dangerous than any of the former, as Julian aimed to sap the foundations of Christianity, instead of attacking the superstructure; and under the mask of clemency, practised the greatest cruelty in wishing to delude many thousands of their true belief.

Thus the Christian faith was in more danger of being subverted than it ever had been before, by the means of a monarch, at once witty and wicked, learned and hy-

pocritical; who, at first, made his attempts, not by the means of fire, sword, and poison, but by flattering gifts, and favours; not by using racks and tortures, but by bestowing offices and dignities; and then, by prohibiting Christian schools, he compelled the children of the gospel either to become idolators or remain illiterate.

Among other methods taken by Julian were, to order that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions, and in all parts of the empire, and to employ several witty persons to turn them, and their principles, into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign; for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers; and though he affected never to patronize them for their murders, he never offered to punish them for their delinquency. We shall recount the names, sufferings, and martyrdoms of such as have been transmitted to the present times, that their example may inspire fortitude, and their lives give to mankind in general a useful lesson.

First, by his opposition to Arianism, Basil made himself famous, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Arian bishop of Constantinople, who issued out an order to prevent his preaching. He continued, however, to perform his duty at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. Enraged at his orthodox and manly proceeding, his enemies accused him of being an incendiary, and a disturber of the public peace; the monarch, however, was too intent on an expedition to Persia, to take notice of the accusation, and their malice at that time was wholly frustrated.

Now Basil continued to preach strenuously against the idolatry of Paganism on the one hand, and the errors of Arianism on the other: and earnestly exhorted the people to serve Christ, in the purity of faith, and fervency of truth. By this conduct, both heathens and Arians were exasperated against him, and appeared equally desirous of accomplishing his ruin.

One day meeting with a number of Pagans going in procession to a sacrifice, he boldly expressed his abhorrence of such idolatrous proceedings, and inveighed against such absurd worship, at once in a manly and decent manner. This freedom caused the people to seize him, and carry him before Saturninus, the governor, where they brought three accusations against him, viz. Reviling the gods, abusing the emperor, and disturbing the city's peace.

Having heard these accusations, which were equally malicious as groundless, Saturninus desired to know his sentiments from his own mouth; when finding him a strenuous Christian, he ordered him first to be put to the rack, and then committed to prison.

Hereupon the governor wrote an account of his proceedings to the emperor, who was at this time very busy in establishing the worship of Cybele, the fictitious mother of the fabulous deities. Julian, upon receiving the letter, sent Pagosus and Elpidius, two apostates, to Ancyra, the city where Basil was confined, to employ both promises and threats to engage him to renounce his faith, and in case of their failure, to give him up totally to the power of the governor; for it was the policy of Julian to appear all moderation and clemency, and to suffer others, as much as possible, to seem the ostensible persons in acts of cruelty. In this affair, however, a future circumstance made the emperor forego his usual policy, and sacrifice his affected mercy to his resentment and rage.

In vain the emperor's agents tampered with Basil by means of promises, threats, and racks; he was firm in the faith, and remained in prison to undergo some other sufferings when the emperor came to Ancyra by mere accident.

As soon as the people knew of Julian's approach, they met him in grand procession, and presented to him their idol, the goddess Hecate. The two agents then gave the emperor an account of what Basil had suffered, and how firm he had been. Julian, on this, determined to examine Basil himself, when that holy man being brought before him, the emperor did every thing



thing in his power to dissuade him from persevering in the faith. Basil not only continued as firm as ever, but with a prophetic spirit, foretold the death of the emperor, and that he should be tormented in the other world.

Provoked at what he heard, Julian lost his usual affectation of clemency, and told Basil, in great anger, that though he had an inclination to pardon him at first, yet he had now put it out of his power to save his life, by the insolence of his behaviour. He then commanded, that the body of Basil should be torn every day in seven different parts, till his skin and flesh were entirely mangled. This inhuman sentence was executed with rigour, and the martyr expired under it's severities, A. D. 362, on the 28th day of June.

About the same time, Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, and Hilarinus, a hermit, suffered for the faith; the first being beheaded, and the latter scourged to death.

One Gordian, a Roman magistrate, having a Christian before him for examination, was so charmed with the confession of his faith, that he not only discharged the prisoner, but became himself a Christian. This so enraged the Roman præfect, that he ordered him to be scourged and beheaded; which sentence was in the year 362 executed.

Two brothers, named John and Paul, of a good family, and in high offices under the emperor; on being accused of professing Christianity, were deprived of their posts, and allowed ten days to consider, whether they would renounce their faith and be promoted, or retain their faith and be martyred? Making choice of the latter alternative, they were both, A. D. 362, beheaded.

Artemius, commander in chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Christian, had two charges exhibited against him, by the Pagans, as follow:

1. That he had formerly demolished several idols in the reign of Constantine the Great.
2. That he had assisted the bishop of Alexandria in plundering the temples.

Julian, who was then at Antioch, on the exhibition of these charges, ordered the general to repair thither, in order to answer to them. On Artemius's arrival, he owned the charges, and his faith: when he was first deprived of his commission, then of his estate, and last of all beheaded.

One Cassian, a school-master of Imola, in the province of Romagna, for refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was hurried before the judge; who being apprized of his profession, and informed that many of the boys had an aversion to him on account of the strictness with which he kept them to their studies, determined that they should have permission to murder their master. He was accordingly delivered, with his hands tied behind him, to the boys, who fell upon him with rods, whips, sticks, and files, or the steel pencils which were then used in writing, and murdered him. This singular martyrdom happened A. D. 362, on the 13th of August.

Maximilian and Bonofus, two officers of the Herculean guards, upon Julian's taking away Constantine the Great's standard of the cross of Christ, threw up their commissions. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were carried before the governor of the East, who commanded them to sacrifice to the gods, and obey the emperor's orders; but they replied, that as they were no longer his soldiers, but the soldiers of Christ, they would do neither. The governor then had them separately examined, and finding them as inflexible when asunder, as when together, he ordered Bonofus to be beaten with whips that had leaden bullets at the ends of the thongs, and Maximilian to be scourged also.

When remanded back to prison, they were allowed nothing but bread and water for subsistence, and the bread was marked with the seal of the emperor, the impression of which was an idol; on which account they refused to eat it. They were soon afterwards again examined, and then beheaded according to the sentence pronounced upon them.

Bibiana was the daughter of Flavian and Dafrosa, two Christians. Flavian, her father, held a considerable post under the government, but being banished for his faith, died in exile. Dafrosa, her mother, was, for the

same reason, order to be starved; but Apronianus, governor of Rome, thinking her too long in dying, had her beheaded immediately.

Now Bibiana, and her sister Demetria, after the death of their parents, were stripped of all their effects, and being brought before the governor, were ordered to renounce their religion. Demetria suddenly dropped down dead in the governor's presence, and Bibiana resolutely refused to renounce her faith, on which account she was scourged to death, A. D. 362, on the 2d of Dec.

About the latter end of the year 363, the persecution raged dreadfully; but as many of the particulars have not been handed down to us, it is necessary to remark in general, that in Palestine many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the streets naked till they expired; some were scalded to death, many stoned, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In Alexandria innumerable were the martyrs who suffered by the sword, burning, crucifixion, and being stoned. In Arethusa, several were ripped open, and corn being put into their bellies, swine were brought to feed therein, who, in devouring the grain, likewise devoured the entrails of the martyrs; and, in Thrace, Emilianus was burnt at a stake; and Domitius murdered in a cave, whither he had fled for concealment.

Likewise, Theodorus, for his faith, and singing the praises of God, was apprehended and put to the tortures of a martyr, though not to death. After being taken from the rack, he was asked how he could so patiently endure such exquisite tortures? To which he returned this remarkable reply: "At the first I felt some pain, but afterwards there appeared to stand by me a young man, who wiped the sweat from my face, and frequently refreshed me with cold water, which so delighted me, that I regretted being let down from the rack."

Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, having destroyed a Pagan temple in that city, erected a Christian church in it's room, on which account he was accused to Julian, the emperor, as a Christian. Being apprehended, his persecutors had no respect to his venerable person, but stripping him naked, most cruelly beat him. He was then thrust into a filthy jake, or sink, till he was almost suffocated; afterwards he was goaded with sharp pointed sticks; and lastly, he was hung up in a basket in the heat of the sun, after having been smeared all over with honey, in order to be tormented to death by wasps. As soon as he was hung up, they asked him if he would rebuild their temple? To which he answered, that he would neither rebuild it nor advance a single doit towards it's being rebuilt; upon which they left him, and he fell a martyr to the dreadful stings of those troublesome and tormenting insects.

Also Maxentius and Juventius, two Christian officers, were put to death for reproving the emperor, on account of his idolatries; but the manner of their deaths is not ascertained.

Now we shall enter upon some detached particulars necessary to be preserved, and finish this account with the conclusion of the persecutions under Julian the apostate.

When Julian intended an expedition against the Persians, he set a large fine upon every one who refused to sacrifice to the idols, and by that means got a great sum from the Christians towards defraying his expences.

Many of the officers in collecting these fines, exacted more than their due, and some of them tortured the Christians to make them pay what they demanded, at the same time telling them in derision, "that when they were injured, they ought to take it patiently, for so their God had commanded them."

The inhabitants of Cæsarea were fined three hundred weight of gold, and several of the clergy obliged to serve in the wars, as a punishment for having overthrown the temples of Jupiter, Fortune, and Apollo.

The governor at Meris, in Phrygia, having cleansed and opened a Pagan temple, the Christians in the night broke in, and demolished the idols. Next day the governor ordered all Christians that accidentally came in the way to be seized, that he might make examples of them, and by this means was going to execute several innocent



innocent persons. But those who really perpetrated the fact, being too noble and just in their sentiments to suffer such an injustice, voluntarily delivered themselves up; when they were first of all scourged severely, and then put upon gridirons and broiled to death.

This wicked emperor, Julian the apostate, died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A. D. 363, and even while expiring, uttered the most horrid blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church.

Valentinian, after the decease of Jovian, succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command in the East.

This Valens was a great favourer of Arianism, and so censured against the Christians, that he ordered, on a certain day, all of them in Edessa to be slain, while they were at their devotions in their churches. The officers, however, being more compassionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to the Christians not to assemble on the day appointed, so that they might escape death, and themselves be excused for non-performance of duty.

Most gratefully the Christians thanked the officers for their advice, but disregarded both that and the emperor's menaces, sooner than they would neglect their duty. They accordingly repaired to church, and the troops being compelled, by the positiveness of the command, were put in motion to destroy them. As they marched along, a woman, with a child in her arms, broke through the ranks, when the officer ordered her to be brought before him, and asked her whither she was going? She replied, to church, whither others were making all the haste they could. "Have ye not heard, says the officer, of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" "I have, said she, and for that cause I make the more haste." "And whither, said the officer, do you lead that child?" "I take him, replied she, with me, that he also may be reckoned in the number of the martyrs." Upon this the humane officer returned to the emperor, and told him that all the Christians were prepared to die in defence of their faith, and represented to him how rash it would be to murder so great a multitude, and entreated the emperor to drop the design, at least for the present, with which he at length complied.

Urbanus, Menedemus, and Theodorus, with several other orthodox clergymen, to the number of fourscore, at Constantinople, petitioned the emperor, in a most humble manner, to relieve them from the oppressions, persecutions, and cruelties of the Arians. But the tyrant, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered them all to be embarked in a ship, and the ship set fire to; when this infernal and inhuman order being executed, they all perished in the flames.



*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS by the GOTHs, &c.*

SEVERAL Scythian Goths having embraced Christianity about the time of Constantine the Great, the light of the gospel spread itself considerably in Scythia, though the two kings who ruled that country, and the majority of the people, continued Pagans. Fritigern, king of the West Goths, was an ally to the Romans; but Athanarick, king of the East Goths, was at war with them. The Christians, in the dominions of the former, lived unmolested, but the latter, having been defeated by the Romans, wreaked his vengeance on his Christian people.

One Sabas, a worthy Christian, upon this occasion, was one who felt the enraged king's misplaced resentment. Sabas was humble and humane, mild and modest, yet fervent in worship, and zealous for the advancement of the church. Remarkable for his contempt of riches, and singular in shunning every sensual enjoyment; the sanctity of his life, and the purity of his manners were such, as gave the greatest force to his doctrines. He convinced the rational, and confounded the obdurate: hence he became, at once, famous for his doctrines and piety.

In the year 370, Athanarick gave orders, that all

persons in his dominions should sacrifice to the Pagan deities, and eat the meat which had been offered to the idols, or be put to death for disobedience. Some humane Pagans, who had Christian relations, endeavoured to save them by offering them meat which had not received the idolatrous consecration, while the magistrates were to be imposed on, and made to believe that all had been done according to their direction. But Sabas too well knew St. Paul's principles, to imagine that the sin lay in eating: he knew that scandalizing the weak, and giving the enemies of the faith an advantage over them, was all that made that action criminal in Christians, neither of which consequences would have been avoided by this disguise. He not only refused to comply with what was proposed to him, but publicly declared, that those who sheltered themselves under that artifice, were not true and faithful Christians.

Soon after, Sabas was apprehended on account of his faith, and carried before a magistrate, who inquired into his fortune and circumstances. Finding that what he had upon his back was the principal part of what he possessed, he was dismissed as a person of little or no consequence.

Now Sabas went to spend the ensuing Easter with Sanfala, a Christian priest of great piety: they lived in great tranquillity for three days, but on the third night they were both seized by a party of soldiers. The priest was allowed to dress himself, and to ride, but Sabas was obliged to leave his clothes behind him, and to walk; and, during the journey, they drove him through thorns and briars, beating him with great violence almost continually. This cruelty he bore without a single murmur, and in the evening they extended him between two beams, fastening his legs to the one and his arms to the other; and in that posture left him for the night, while they retired to repose. The woman of the house, however, hearing how ill he had been used, went and released him; but though he was now at liberty, and his persecutors asleep, he did not avail himself of the opportunity to make his escape.

On the next morning the persecutors began to practise on these two worthy Christians; and tampered with them to renounce their religion, and eat the meat consecrated to the idols. This, however, they jointly refused, and positively declared, that they were ready to meet the most cruel death, rather than comply with such detestable idolatry. Sanfala was at length discharged, and Sabas ordered to be drowned; which sentence was put into execution, A. D. 372, on the 12th of April.

Nicetas was of a Gothic extraction, born near the banks of the Danube, and though he had been long a Christian he never met with any molestation on that account, till the above-mentioned persecution began by Athanarick. That monarch ordered an idol to be drawn about on a chariot, through all the places where the Christians lived: the chariot stopped at the door of every one who professed the gospel, and the Christian inhabitants were ordered to pay it adoration. Upon a refusal, the house was immediately set on fire, and all within were burnt. This was the case with Nicetas, who on account of his religion, refusing to pay the respect demanded to the idol, had his house burnt, and himself consumed in it, A. D. 372, September 15.

The great Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, makes a most distinguished figure in ecclesiastical history, and was one of the most eminent champions of Christ against the Arian heresy. The Arians having advanced Miletas to the see of Antioch, thinking him of their party, the instrument of his advancement was placed in the care of Eusebius. When Miletus preached his first sermon, the Arians, to their great surprise, found they had been greatly mistaken in him, for his doctrines were orthodox and pure.

Provoked at their disappointment, they persuaded the emperor to displace him, and likewise to get the instrument out of the hands of Eusebius. Miletus was accordingly deposed, and the emperor sent to Eusebius to deliver the instrument. Eusebius's answer was that he could not give up a trust reposed in him by so great a number, without the express consent of all concerned in it. The emperor, incensed at this reply, wrote to him on that



that subject, and assured him he had commissioned the bearer of the letter to cut off his right hand, if he refused to surrender the instrument in question; which threat was artfully added only to awe him into a compliance. Eusebius, however, knew the party was capable of any cruelty to promote their cause; but, without the least emotion, offered his hands, and declared he would lose them both rather than part with so flagrant a proof of Arian injustice. The emperor could not but be surprised at his resolution, and professed a high esteem for him ever after: so true it is that virtue can sometimes force even its declared enemies to love and admire it.

From this time the Arians looked upon Eusebius as a most dangerous enemy. At the time Jovian restored peace to the church, Miletus convened a council at Antioch, which consisted of Eusebius, and twenty-five other prelates, who unanimously confirmed the doctrines of the council of Nice.

The see of Cæsarea having become vacant, Eusebius was greatly instrumental in promoting Basil to it, on which occasion Gregory the younger calls him, "The pillar of truth, the light of the world, the fortress of the church, the rule of faith, the support of the faithful, and an instrument in the hands of God for bestowing favours on his people." When the Arians were the most vigilant to propagate their heresy, Eusebius was exceedingly assiduous in taking measures to prevent their success; and his zeal was always so governed by the rules of prudence, that his attempts seldom failed of success. It was not enough for our excellent prelate to screen his own flock from the insults of the common enemy, and maintain the faith in its purity against all the endeavours of such as would corrupt the people; but knowing that several churches were, by the iniquity of the times, deprived of their pastors, he disguised himself; and thus made the tour of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine; fortified the pure against the solicitations of the heretics; ordained several priests and inferior ministers, wherever they were wanting; and, when he found any orthodox prelates in his travels, assisted them in consecrating bishops for the use of the widowed churches. It was impossible to conceal the hand that every day gave some fresh stroke to the Arian party, and sunk their interest wherever it was employed; so that the emperor, at their instigation, granted an order for banishing him into Thrace. He was at Samolatta when the messenger came with this commission; it was late in the evening; and Eusebius, who was very well beloved by his people, begged he would make no noise, but conceal his business; "for, says he, if it takes air, the people will fall on you, throw you into the river, and then I shall be charged with your death." Eusebius was calm enough to go through his usual devotions, and when the night was far advanced he left his house on foot, attended only by one trusty servant, who carried a pillow and one book after him. Thus accommodated he took a boat, and went to Zeugma, about seventy miles down the river.

However, the people next day, missing Eusebius, and hearing which way he was gone, followed in a great number of boats, and overtaking would have rescued him, at the same time entreating him with tears in their eyes not to abandon them thus.

This cordiality affected Eusebius very much, but he said he must go according to the emperor's order, putting them in mind of the authority of St. Paul, for paying a due reverence and proper submission to the civil power. Finding they could not prevail, they accommodated him with every thing that could comfort him in his journey, and then left him to pursue his way according to his inclination.

About this time Thrace was a scene of confusion, by means of the war carried on between the Goths and the emperor's forces; and in these contests, the life of Eusebius was frequently in danger. The emperor, in order to terminate the war with the greater expedition, resolved to march against the Goths in person; but first to engage the prayers of the Christians, he gave peace to the church of Christ, and allowed the orthodox prelates to return to their churches. Thus was Eusebius restored to his see, which however he did not long enjoy, for an

Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of a house, which fractured his skull, and, in the year 380, terminated his life.

There was now Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, a prelate of great merit, who was very active in attempting to suppress idolatry in his own diocese, on which account his life was in continual danger, till Cynegius, the præfect, arrived with a considerable body of troops, which kept the Pagans in awe. This officer's design was totally to abolish idolatry, to effect which he determined to destroy the temple of Jupiter; he however found this a more difficult attempt than he had imagined, for the building was so strong, the stones so unwieldy, the cement so durable, and the iron cramps so massy, that he despaired of being able to accomplish the work; when a poor labouring Christian, recommended by Marcellus, undertook to go through with what the præfect had given up, and the business was executed according to the following method.

First of all, this person examined the situation of the edifice, and finding it surrounded by a gallery, supported by stately pillars, ten yards in circumference, he judged it would be more to his purpose to weaken the foundation than pretend to attack the body of the building directly; with this view he dug at the bottom of the said pillars, and shored them with timber beams. When he had thus undermined three of the most considerable pillars, he set fire to the wood, which burning asunder, the pillars fell, and drew twelve more with them, and brought down one whole side of the building; upon which the people flocked together from all parts of the town, and praised God, who had thus triumphed over his enemies.

Now the bishop and præfect continued destroying a great number of idol temples, when being at a town called Aulo upon this business, while the troops were busy in demolishing the buildings, some Pagans privately seized upon the bishop, and burnt him, A. D. 393.

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*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the CHRISTIANS under the ARIAN VANDALS.*

THE Arian Vandals passing from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader Genferic, committed the most unheard-of cruelties. They persecuted the Christians wherever they came, and even laid waste the country as they passed, that the Christians left behind, who had escaped them, might not be able to live for want of sustenance. They plundered the churches, and murdered the bishops and ministers by a variety of tortures. In particular, they poured stinking oil and vinegar down the throats of some till they expired; suffocated others by filling their mouths with mud, and martyred many by stretching their limbs with cords till the veins burst, and sinews cracked. They also wreaked their vengeance on several of the clergy and nobility, whom they loaded with heavy burdens; and obliged them to carry their baggage; and if they did not travel fast enough, they pricked them on with sharp goads, insomuch that several died under their burdens. Reverend grey hairs found no instances of mercy, and guiltless infants felt the rage of their barbarity. Stately buildings were burned or levelled with the earth; and the chief churches in Carthage employed in their own heretical worship, or put to profane uses; and where any castles held out against them, they brought great numbers of Christians, and slew them, leaving their dead bodies lying under the walls, that the besieged might be forced to surrender on account of the offensive stench thereof.

When they had seized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the bishop, and all the clergy, into a leaky ship, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they must all perish of course; but the vessel arrived safe at Naples through the Divine Providence.

Several orthodox Christians were beaten, scourged, and banished to Capsur, where it pleased God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to Christianity;



Christianity; but this coming to the ears of Genferic, he sent orders, that they and their new converts should be tied by the feet to chariots, and dragged about till they were dashed in piecemeal.

Pampinian, the bishop of Mansuetes, was tortured to death with plates of hot iron; the bishop of Urice was burnt; the bishop of Habenfa was banished, for refusing to deliver up the sacred books which were in his possession; and a whole congregation, who were assembled in a church at their devotions, together with the clergyman who was preaching to them, were murdered by these barbarians breaking in upon them, and exercising the most indiscriminate cruelties.

Genferic, the Vandalian tyrant, having made an expedition into Italy, and plundered the city of Rome, returned to Africa, flushed with the success of his arms. The Arians took this occasion to persuade him to persecute the orthodox Christians, as they assured him that they were stable friends to the people of Rome.

Likewise, Armogastus felt the rage of this persecution; Victor, the learned bishop of Vita, who was personally acquainted with Armogastus, and who likewise wrote the history of this persecution, informs us, that "his legs were tied, and his forehead bound with cords several times; which, though applied with no gentle hand, made not the least impression on his flesh, nor left any mark on his skin. After this, he was hung up by one foot; but in that posture seemed as much at his ease as if reposed on a soft bed. Theodoric, one of the king's sons, finding all attempts on his life had hitherto proved unsuccessful, ordered his head to be struck off. But Jecundus, an Arian priest, dissuaded him from that resolution, by telling him it would be much better to destroy him by slow and imperceptible means, and wear him out by degrees; whereas a violent death would procure him the reputation of a martyr among those of his own opinion, which could be of no service to the opposite cause. The prince sent him to the mines, and some time after removed him to a place near Carthage, where he was employed in looking after cattle. While Armogastus was thus engaged, he grew exceeding ill, and imagining that the end of his labours was near, he communicated his thoughts to Felix, a virtuous Christian, employed in that prince's service. From him he received some consolation; but his disorder increasing daily soon deprived him of life, and he was buried by Felix according to his own desire."

There was a devout Christian, Archinimus, upon whom all manner of artifices were employed in vain, to make him renounce his faith. At length Genferic himself undertook to persuade him, but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he passed sentence upon him to be beheaded. He, however, privately ordered the executioner to really perform his office, if the prisoner seemed intimidated and afraid; "for then (said he) the crown of martyrdom will be lost to him; but if he seems courageous, and willing to die (continued the king) strike not the stroke, for I do not intend that he shall have the honour of being deemed a martyr." The executioner, when they came to the place appointed, finding Archinimus resolved, and happy in the thought of dying for the sake of Christ, brought him back again unhurt. He was soon after this banished, and never heard of more, though it is conjectured that he was murdered privately by the king's order, as he thought the glory of dying publicly for the faith too great an honour.

Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, was eminent for his learning and piety, which brought upon him the hatred of the Arians in general, who took great pains to set the king Huneric against him and the orthodox Christians. In this infamous desire they succeeded but too well, for he banished above five thousand into a dreadful desert, where many perished through hunger, or the inclemency of the weather. Being bent on persecuting the whole body of the orthodox Christians, he sent an edict to Eugenius, which he commanded that he should read in the cathedral on Ascension-Day, A. D. 483.

By this edict it was ordered that all the orthodox bishops should meet at Carthage on the first of the ensuing February, for the purpose of disputing with the Arian prelates; the king's stratagem evidently appeared to Eugenius, and several other bishops, particularly to Victor, bishop of Vita, the learned author of the original account of this persecution; for they well knew that he artfully meant to establish Arianism under the appearance of justice and candour.

They determined, after a considerable deliberation, to send a petition to the king; which was written by Eugenius accordingly, and presented by a person who had great interest at court. The substance of this petition was, that the African prelates did not decline the proposed conference out of a sense of the weakness of their cause, or a distrust of their own abilities to maintain the orthodox faith; but as the whole church was concerned in the dispute, they were of opinion that they could not engage in it without the bishops of Europe and Asia. To this Huneric replied, that what they desired was impossible, unless the whole world was in his hands. Upon which Eugenius desired his majesty would be pleased to write to Odoacer, king of Italy, and other princes in his interest; and allow him to send to the bishops, that the common faith might be thus authentically published.

But the king, disregarding this remonstrance, insisted upon being obeyed, and then, previous to the time appointed, very artfully took an occasion to banish several of the most able and learned orthodox prelates, on various pretences; that the cause of truth might be weakened, and the Arians have the greater advantage.

At the appointed time for the conference, the orthodox clergy chose ten of their number to act in the name of the rest. Cyrilla, an Arian, took the style of patriarch upon the occasion, and was seated on a magnificent throne. The Arian prelates were allowed to sit near him, but the orthodox bishops were obliged to stand. They complained of this partial mode of behaviour, as an evident infringement of their liberty; on which the Arians took occasion to abuse them in a most illiberal manner. Eugenius, perceiving that they did not intend to come to any candid decision, proposed to adjourn to some future day; but instead of complying with this, each orthodox prelate, by the king's order, as Cyrilla asserted, received an hundred blows with a stick. Eugenius protested against such violence, but in vain; the prelates were turned out of the place unheard, their churches were shut up, and the revenues of their bishoprics were seized.

Immediately after they were compelled to quit Carthage, when they lay without the walls of that city, exposed to all the inclemencies of the open air. The king passing out of one of the gates, the orthodox clergy presented themselves before him, and modestly complained of the treatment they had met with.

Instead of redressing their grievances, Huneric ordered his guards to fall on them, and chastise them for their insolence, as he termed it. The soldiers complied with the tyrant's request, and treated them as unmercifully as he could wish. The king ordered them to appear on a certain day at a place which he then fixed.

Accordingly, at the time appointed, they assembled on the spot, when one of the king's officers shewed them a folded paper, and informed them that the king was inclined to forget what was past, and to restore them to their livings, provided they would swear to the truth of what that paper contained. The prelates, surprised at this unreasonable proposal, declared that they could not in conscience think of swearing to the truth of that to which they were total strangers. But if they were suffered to read the writing, and approved of the contents, they would take the oath with readiness.

But the officer replied, that was unnecessary; for he would tell them the contents, which were not of a religious but of a political nature, and only required them to swear that they were willing prince Hilderic should succeed his father in the throne. Several of the prelates innocently thinking that there could be no harm



in swearing they were willing a son should succeed his father, as that was but a piece of natural justice, offered to comply. But the rest, with greater precaution, and well knowing the Arian wiles, refused to take the oath, as they justly judged so simple a proposal would never have been made them, unless some deep artifice was underneath concealed.

As they were disagreeing upon this head, the officer took an advantage of their discord, and committed them to separate prisons, those who were willing to swear to one, and those who were unwilling to another. They had not been long in confinement before the mystery was unravelled, and the whole artifice explained by an order from the king for the banishment of both parties. Those who had been willing to swear were banished, under the pretence of offering to break an established precept of the Scripture, viz. "Swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. And those who had refused to swear, were banished as enemies to the legal succession. Thus did the crafty Arians accomplish the ruin of the prelates, by wresting a text of the gospel to a wrong sense, and putting a piece of political sophistry to an improper use. The former were obliged to work as slaves in distant colonies, and the latter were sent to the island of Corsica to cut timber. Tripoli was the place to which Eugenius was banished; where Anthony, a violent Arian bishop, threw him into a loathsome dungeon, and made him suffer every hardship that cruelty could devise, in order to destroy him by a lingering death. The dampness of the place gave Eugenius the palsy, which Anthony hearing of went to the gaol, and finding him in a very weak condition laying on the floor, he poured some strong vinegar down his throat, with a design to have choked him. It had, however, a contrary effect; for instead of suffocating, it promoted an immediate and copious perspiration, which was essentially serviceable in curing his palsy, and restoring him to perfect health.

Upon the decease of Huneric, his successor recalled Eugenius, and the rest of the orthodox clergy; the Arians taking the alarm, persuaded him to banish them again, which he complied with, when Eugenius, being exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardships he underwent, on the 6th of September, in the year 505.

A lady of fortune, and a widow, named Dionysia, being apprehended as an orthodox Christian, was stripped naked, and exposed in a most indecent manner, and severely scourged. Her son, a young lad, being seized at the same time, seemed afraid of the torture, and looked pitifully at his mother, who ordered him not to fear any torments that could be inflicted on him, but to be constant to the faith in which she had brought him up. When he was upon the rack, she again comforted him with words to the following effect.

"Remember, O my child, that we were baptized in the name of the ever sacred Trinity, let us not lose the benefit thereof, lest it should be hereafter said, cast them into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth: for that pain which never endeth is indeed to be dreaded, and that life which endureth to eternity to be desired." Whereupon the youth patiently persevered, and from the force of his torments resigned his soul to him that made it.

With pious satisfaction the mother saw the death of her son, and soon after herself received the crown of martyrdom.

Cyrilla, the Arian bishop of Carthage, was a most furious heretic, and a very great enemy to those Christians who professed the faith in its purity. Having gained the ear of the king, he persuaded him that he could never expect prosperity in his undertakings, or hope to enjoy his kingdom in peace, while he suffered any of the orthodox Christians to remain.

Hereupon this weak monarch, believing all that Cyrilla told him, sent for several of the most eminent Christians, who were particularly obnoxious to that prelate. He, at first, attempted to draw them from their faith by flattery, and to bribe them from the hopes of future salvation, by the promise of immediate worldly rewards. Being firm and constant in their faith, they were proof

against the former, and despised the latter; declaring resolutely against Arianism, and saying, we acknowledge but one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; you may therefore do whatever you please with our bodies, for it is better that we should suffer a few temporary pains, than to endure everlasting misery.

The king was greatly exasperated at this freedom, sent them to a filthy dark dungeon, and ordered them to be put into irons. The keeper, however, not being of the savage disposition too common to such as are intrusted with the care of gaols, suffered their friends to have access to them; by which they received great consolation, and became daily more and more confirmed in their resolution of dying for the sake of their Redeemer.

But the king having heard of the indulgence given them by their keeper, was exceedingly angry, and sent orders that they should be more closely confined, and loaded with still heavier fetters. He then began to ruminate in his mind by what means he should put them to death, and after revolving over and over all the modes of cruelty that he could recollect, at length determined to imitate the monstrous barbarity of the emperor Valens, who, as we have already related, caused fourscore clergymen to be burnt together in a ship. Fixing upon this infernal precedent, he ordered these Christians to be put on board a ship filled with combustible materials, and the vessel being set fire to, they received the crown of martyrdom. The names of seven of the principal of these Christians were, Rusticus, Severus, Liberatus, Rogatus, Servus, Septimus, and Boniface.

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*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS from about the Middle of the Fifth, to the Conclusion of the Seventh Century.*

**P**ROTERIUS was made a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who was well acquainted with his virtues before he appointed him to preach. On the death of Cyril, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an inveterate enemy both to the memory and family of his predecessor. Dioscorus, however, knowing the reputation of Proterius, and his great interest, did the utmost in his power to gain his confidence and favour; as he thought he might be of singular service to him in carrying on his evil intentions.

However, Proterius was not to be corrupted, the welfare of the church sat next his heart, and no prospect of worldly preferment could bribe him to forego his duty and honest designs.

Now Dioscorus being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the vacant see, and approved of by the emperor. This occasioned a dangerous insurrection, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions; the one to espouse the cause of the old, and the other of the new prelate. A great deal of mischief was done on both sides, and Proterius was in the most imminent personal danger, from a set of schismatics who would neither obey the decisions of a council nor the emperor's commands.

These disorders becoming serious, the governor of Thebais marched at the head of a body of troops, in order to quell the sedition. The people, however, had worked up their imaginations to a kind of phrenzy; when they heard of the approach of the governor, they armed themselves, marched out of Alexandria, gave him battle, and defeated him. The intelligence of this affair so exasperated the emperor, that he sent a detachment of two thousand men against them; the appearance of whom, and the prudence of the governor of Alexandria, whose name was Florus, soon restored the city to peace and tranquillity.

However, the discontented party still beheld Proterius with an eye of resentment; so that he was obliged to have a guard out of respect to his personal safety, and at length, though naturally of a sweet and mild temper, was compelled to excommunicate some of them, and obtain their banishment from Alexandria. Ecclesiastical history, however, informs us, that, "When the emperor

Marcian's



Marcian's death, which happened two years after, gave a new turn to affairs, the exiles returned to Alexandria, engaged in their usual cabals against Proterius, and seemed resolved to be revenged on him for what they had suffered in the last reign. Timothy, a priest, who was at the head of all the designs that had been formed against Proterius, employed every art to ruin his credit, drawing the people from his communion, and raising himself to that see. At last, taking the advantage of the absence of Dionysius, who commanded the forces of that province, and was then in the Upper Egypt, he seized on the great church, and was uncanonically and sacrilegiously consecrated by two bishops of his faction, that had been deposed for heresy. The usurper went on in the exercise of all the episcopal functions, and used the whole rigour of his pretended authority to oppress the orthodox, till the commander's return, who, upon hearing the disorders that had been committed, and that Timothy was the chief author of them, drove that incendiary out of the town."

Now this affair so enraged the Eutychians, that they determined to wreak their vengeance on Proterius, who fled to the church for sanctuary: but on Good-Friday, A. D. 457, a large body of them rushed into the church, and barbarously murdered the prelate; after which they dragged the body through the streets, insulted it, cut it to pieces, burnt it, and scattered the ashes all about.

A Carthaginian lady, named Julia, was taken prisoner when the Vandals sacked that city. After being sold and resold as a slave, she became the property of a Syrian Pagan, named Eusebius. Her master could not but admire a religion which inspired such resignation and patience in vassalage, and the most painful employments: thus it is plain, that the humility and purity prescribed by Christianity will attract even the admiration of heathens and idolaters.

Julia's master frequently took her with him upon his voyages: in one of these they touched upon the island of Corsica, where Eusebius joined in an idolatrous festival; but Julia kept at a distance from it.

Of this conduct the heathens complained, as disrespectful to their gods, and informed the governor Felix of it, who sent for Eusebius, and demanded what young woman it was that had refused to join in worship to the gods with the rest?

To this Eusebius replied, that the young woman was a Christian, and that all his authority over her had proved too weak to prevail with her to renounce her religion; but that, as she was a very diligent and faithful servant, he could not think of a separation.

But Felix pressed him to exert himself on this occasion, and either to oblige her to assist at the Pagan worship, or to part with her; and offered to give him his own price, or four of his best female slaves in exchange for her, which Eusebius absolutely refused, saying, that he would not part from her on any consideration.

When Felix found the master inflexible, he determined to get her into his power by artifice. To effect this, he invited Eusebius to an entertainment, and having intoxicated him, he sent for Julia in the name of her master.

Julia, the innocent slave, not suspecting the trap laid for her, came immediately, when the governor told her that he would procure her liberty, if she would sacrifice to the heathen gods. To which Julia replied, that while she was permitted to enjoy her religion, she was as free as her heart could wish.

Now Felix, not being able to prevail, ordered her to be severely beaten, which she bore with the utmost patience. Finding her still resolute, he commanded, that the hair of her head should be pulled up by the roots. This barbarity having no greater effect than the former, he sentenced her to be hanged, which sentence was put into execution immediately.

Scarcely was Julia dead when Eusebius recovered from his intoxication. As soon as he understood what had passed, he was greatly afflicted, and in the first transports of his resentment had thoughts of complaining to the emperor, who being a Christian, would have punished the perfidy of the governor. But reflecting again, that

Felix had only acted with a zeal for the deities he himself adored, he determined to put up with the loss, and retire from a place which was become now so truly disagreeable.

Hermenigildus was a Gothic prince, being the eldest son of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife Ingonda. When the king heard that his son had changed his religious sentiments, he stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the faith he had embraced so lately.

In order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces, the prince began to put himself into a posture of defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared for him. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized by his troops; and thus a very severe persecution commenced: he likewise marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army. The prince, knowing that he was unable to oppose the formidable force that his father was bringing against him, implored the assistance of the Roman troops that were left to garrison those parts of Spain, which the emperor still possessed. The Roman commander engaged to assist Hermenigildus, but being bribed by the king he broke his promise. Leovigildus then made it his business, as much as possible, to detach the orthodox Christians from the interest of his son; and in this he had great success, for it was effected in 581, by convening the Arian prelates at Toledo, who abolished the practice of re-baptizing those that came over to their sect, and drew up a captious profession of faith, which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the interest of Hermenigildus.

Thus forsaken by numbers of those whom he most confided in, the prince was obliged to retreat towards Seville, in which city he soon after shut himself up, and sent to Constantinople for assistance from the emperor. The death of that monarch, however, prevented him from receiving any relief; for Maurice, who succeeded him, found his own hands too full to afford any succour to Hermenigildus. The king, who had information of every step which his son took, proceeded to Seville, and laid siege to it. The prince defended the place with great bravery, and even held out for the space of twelve months; but finding that the city must soon be taken, he privately made his escape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection. Being informed that they intended to give him up, he precipitately retired to Corduba, and from thence went to Asseto, which he fortified and prepared for his defence.

Upon the escape of the prince from Seville that city surrendered, and the king having properly garrisoned it, pursued his son, laid siege to Asseto, and soon obliged it to surrender. The unfortunate prince being driven to this distress, flew to a church for sanctuary. The king having too much respect for the sanctity of the place to force him from it, sent an officer, named Reccaredus, to assure him of his pardon, upon his submitting to ask it. The prince believing his father to be sincere, immediately went to him, and threw himself most submissively at his feet. The king, however, instead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavoured to make him renounce the orthodox faith both by promises and menaces.

But the prince remained constant to the truth; and at the feast of Easter, when the king sent an Arian bishop to him to administer the eucharist, Hermenigildus absolutely refused to receive it, which so enraged the king, that before he gave himself time to reflect, he ordered some of his guards to go and cut the prince to pieces, which they punctually performed, A. D. 586, on the 13th of April.

Anastasius, a Persian, was brought up a Pagan, and bore arms as a soldier under Cosroes, king of Persia, at the time that monarch plundered Jerusalem; and, among other things, carried off the very cross on which Christ was crucified. Anastasius could not imagine why the



the Christians had such a veneration for a person who had died so mean a death as that of being crucified; for that mode of death was, by the Persians, held in the greatest contempt, and none but the very lowest and most despicable malefactors were executed in that manner. Applying to some Christian captives, he was instructed in the whole Christian mystery, and being charmed with the purity of a faith which inspired such fortitude, he left the army, and retired to Syria: here he learned the trade of a goldsmith, and then going to Jerusalem, he supported himself by that business; was baptized by Modestus, vicar-general of Jerusalem; and staid a week with his godfather Elias.

As soon as that time was over, and he was now to quit the white clothes which he wore at his baptism, according to the then practice of the church, he desired the priest would put him in a way of renouncing the world entirely, and fulfilling the obligations of his profession without interruption. Elias recommended him to Justin, abbot of a seminary four miles from Jerusalem, who employed a proper person to instruct him in the Greek tongue, and teach him the Psalms; and then admitted him into his religious community. Anastasius passed seven years in that house, where he divided his time between the most humble domestic employments, and the truly Christian entertainments of the word of God, the lives of the fathers, and the acts of the martyrs. He was most sensibly affected with those monuments of Pagan barbarity, and Christian courage; and conceived a strong desire to lay down his life for his blessed Redeemer.

Having gone to Cæsarea, which was then in the hands of the Persians, he was taken up for a spy, and brought before Marzabanes, governor of that city, to whom he owned that he was a Christian, and was on that account sent to prison. When he had lain there some time, Marzabanes sent for him, and gave him fresh assurances of favour and promotion, if he would but renounce his religion: but he despised and rejected every mark of friendship and respect, that would endeavour to divorce him from his God; and the governor ordered him to be beaten till he should agree to his proposals. He then remanded him to prison, where he spent his time in prayer, and such labours as were imposed on him as part of his punishment. Justin being apprized of his sufferings, recommended him to the prayers of the whole community, and sent two of his people to encourage him to perseverance and fortitude.

The governor at length wrote to the king concerning Anastasius, and on receiving an answer, told the prisoner, that he would give him his liberty if he would renounce the Christian religion, only before him and two witnesses, and that his renunciation should not be known. Anastasius heard this proposal with horror, and rejected it with disdain; when the governor sent him bound in chains to Persia, there to be dealt with as the king should command.

Now the king did all in his power to engage him to renounce his religion, but finding his endeavours in vain, he ordered him to be executed, which was performed in this manner: he was laid upon his back, with a piece of wood across his legs, pressed down with the whole weight of two lusty men: he was then severely beaten, hung up by one hand, with a weight fastened to his foot; and after being strangled, his head was cut off, and sent to the king.

Martin, bishop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents bestowed on him an admirable education. He had every liberal endowment that the sciences could bestow, and all the worthiness that a mortal could derive from the saving grace of the gospel. He took orders, and on the death of Theodore, bishop of Rome, was advanced to that important see, by an unanimous election, in which all parties gave him the fullest praises, and admitted, that he well merited a trust of such great consequence. An eminent writer has thus drawn the character of this great man.

"His compassion for the poor appeared in large contributions for their relief, and the offices of hospitality,

which he performed in favour of strangers. His fasts were rigorous and frequent, and prayer employed a very considerable part of his time. He was always ready to receive returning sinners; took no small pains to lead such through the paths of repentance, as testified their sorrow by tears; and comforted them by letting them see what reason they had to confide in God's infinite goodness. He loved his clergy with a brotherly tenderness, and honoured the episcopal character wherever he met with it."

The first vexation he received in his episcopal capacity, was from a set of heretics, called Monothelites; who not daring, after the express decisions of the council of Chalcedon, to maintain the unity of nature in Christ, asserted artfully, that he had but one will and operation of mind. This sect was patronized by the emperor Heraclius; and the first who attempted to stop the progress of these errors, was Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem.

Now Martin, who perfectly coincided in sentiments with the bishop of Jerusalem, called a council, which consisted of 105 bishops, and they unanimously condemned the errors in question.

Provoked at these proceedings, the emperor ordered Olympius, his lieutenant in Italy, to repair to Rome, and seize the bishop, provided it could be done without causing an insurrection. The lieutenant performed the journey; but on his arrival at Rome, he found the people too unanimous in their opinions, and the prelate too much beloved, to attempt any thing by open violence. Hence he had recourse to treachery, and suborned a ruffian to assassinate the bishop at the altar; but the fellow, after promising to execute the bloody deed, was seized with such horrors of mind, that he had not the power to perform his promise. Olympius, finding it would be very difficult to perform any thing against Martin, withdrew from Rome, and putting himself at the head of his troops, marched against the Saracens, who had made some inroads into Italy, but during this expedition he died.

He was succeeded by Calliopas, who received express orders to seize the person of Martin, which, with the assistance of a considerable body of soldiers, he performed; at the same time shewing the clergy the imperial mandate, which commanded him to dispossess Martin of his bishopric, and carry him as a prisoner to Constantinople.

Having endured innumerable hardships, through a very tedious voyage, he reached the imperial city of Constantinople; and was immediately thrown into prison. While in confinement, he wrote two epistles to the emperor to refute the calumnies forged against him with respect to his faith and loyalty. The substance of which was, that for a proof of the soundness of the former, he appeals to the testimony of the whole clergy, and his own solemn protestation to defend the truth as long as he lived. In answer to such objections as had been made against the latter, he declared he never sent either money, letters, or advice to the Saracens, but only remitted a sum for the relief of poor Christians among those people: he concludes with saying, that nothing could be more false than what the heretics had alleged against him concerning the blessed Virgin, whom he firmly believed to be the mother of God, and worthy of all honour after her divine Son. In his second letter he gives a particular account of his being seized at Rome, as already related, and his indisposition and ill usage since he was dragged from that city: and ends with wishing and hoping his persecutors would repent of their conduct, when the object of their hatred was removed from this world.

So many were the fatigues that Martin had undergone, and his infirmities so great, that on the day appointed for his trial, he was forced to be brought out of prison in a chair, as he was unable to walk. When he was before the court, the judge ordered him to stand, which not being able to do, two men were ordered to hold him up. Twenty witnesses were produced against him, who swore as they were directed, and charged him with pretended crimes that had been invented for the purpose.

Martin



Martin began his defence, but as soon as he entered upon an investigation of the errors which he had combated, one of the senators stopped him, and said, that he was only examined respecting civil affairs, and consequently that ecclesiastical matters had nothing to do in his defence. The judge then prevented him from going on, and having broke up the court, went and reported the progress of the proceedings to the emperor.

Now Martin was ordered to be exposed in the most public places of the town, to the ridicule of the people; to be divested of all episcopal marks of distinction, and to be treated with the greatest scorn and severity. All these rigours he bore with a Christian-like patience, and an amazing degree of fortitude.

Martin, after laying some months in prison, was sent to an island at some distance, and there cut to pieces, A. D. 655.

John, bishop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, was a learned man, and a good Christian. He did his utmost endeavours to clear the church from the errors of Arianism, and joining in this holy work with John, bishop of Milan, he was very successful against the heretics. Grimoald, however, an Arian, having usurped the throne of Lombardy, the orthodox Christians feared that heresy would gain footing, once more, in Lombardy; but the bishop of Bergamo used such persuasive arguments with Grimoald, that he brought him from the errors of Arianism to profess the orthodox faith.

On the death of Grimoald, and his son who succeeded him, Pantharit came to the crown and again introduced those errors which had been combated with such spirit by the orthodox clergy. The bishop of Bergamo exerted himself strenuously to prevent the heresy from spreading, on which account he was assassinated A. D. 683, on the 11th of July.

Kilien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a pious and Christian education. His favourite study was theology, and he took great delight in perusing the holy scriptures. Hence an ardent affection for the glory of God glowed within him, and he was very assiduous in bringing many to the light of the gospel.

The narrow limits of his native island seeming too small for his unbounded zeal, he crossed the sea, together with eleven other persons, in order to make converts on the continent. On landing, they directed their course to what is now called the Circle of Franconia, in Germany. Coming to the city of Wurtzbourg, they found the people in general, and their governor Gozbert, to be Pagans; but from their good dispositions, conceived great hopes of converting them from idolatry and superstition to the gospel faith. Previous to making this attempt, however, he deemed it necessary to go to Rome, in order to obtain his mission from the pontiff. He accordingly went thither, attended by one Coloman a priest, and Totman a deacon, two of those who had accompanied him from Ireland, and found Conon in Peter's chair. He gave them a favourable reception, and being informed of Kilien's business at Rome, after some questions about his faith and doctrine, consecrated him bishop, with full permission to preach to the infidels, wherever he found them. Thus authorized, Kilien returned to Wurtzbourg, where he opened his mission. He had not been long employed in those evangelical labours, when Gozbert sent for him, and desired to know the nature and tendency of this new religion, which he recommended so vigorously, and proposed so boldly. Our holy bishop had several conferences with the governor on that subject, and God gave such a blessing to his endeavours, that Gozbert received the faith, was baptized, and gave him free leave to preach wherever he had any power. As the example of great men seldom fails of influencing those of an inferior rank, that of Gozbert went very far in commanding the attention of his Pagan subjects to what our prelate had to offer; and much the greatest part of them became Christians in less than two years.

It is remarkable that Gozbert had married his brother's widow, for which Kilien, though he knew the sinfulness of the thing, did not chuse to rebuke him till he was thoroughly confirmed in his faith. When he

thought him fully instructed in the principles of Christianity, and well grounded in the purity of its precepts, he entreated the governor, as the last proof of the sincerity of his conversion, to quit that person whom he had hitherto looked upon as a wife, as he could not cohabit with her without committing sin. Gozbert, surprised at the proposal, told the bishop this was the hardest demand he had ever made upon him. "But, said he, since I have renounced my own inclinations and pleasures in so many particulars for the love of God, I will make the work complete, by complying with your advice in this too."

The wife of the governor being informed of this affair, determined to be revenged on those who had persuaded Gozbert into such a resolution. The missionaries were sensible of that wicked woman's design; and the only shield they had, consisted of prayer, patience, and resignation. She sent accordingly to the place where they usually assembled, and had them all beheaded. Kilien, and his companions, submitted without resistance, the former telling them, that they need not fear those who had no power of the soul, but could only kill the body, which in a short time, would of itself decay. This happened, A. D. 689, and the martyrs were privately buried in the night, together with their books, clothes, &c. &c.

A few writers add what follows, as the sequel of this bloody affair: "Some days after this impious tragedy was acted, Gozbert, surprised that he had not seen Kilien lately, ordered diligent search to be made for him. Geilana, to stop the inquiry, gave out, that he and his companions had left the town, without giving any account of their motions. But the instrument of her revenge, the executioner, violently racked with remorse of conscience, ran about like a mad man, and declared that Kilien burnt him. Thus disordered, he was seized, and Gozbert was considering what to do with him, when a creature of the governess, a man of great eloquence and artifice, and a pretended convert, advised him to leave the God of the Christians the task of doing himself justice on his enemies, and proposed the event as a test of his ability.

Now Gozbert was weak enough to tempt God, by putting it on that issue. The murderer, being set at liberty, went raving mad, tore his own flesh with his teeth, and died in a most miserable condition. Geilana was so perplexed in her conscience, that it tormented her till she expired; Gozbert's rashness and criminal condescension, were punished by a violent death, and in a few years his whole race was exterminated.

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*A particular Account of the several PERSECUTIONS from the early Part of the Eighth, to near the Conclusion of the Tenth Century.*

**B**ONIFACE, archbishop of Mentz, and father of the German church, was an Englishman, and is, in ecclesiastical history, looked upon as one of the brightest ornaments of this nation. Originally his name was Winfred, or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, then part of the West-Saxon kingdom. When he was only about six years of age, he began to discover a propensity to reflection, and seemed solicitous to gain information on religious subjects. Soon after, some evangelical missionaries came by chance to Kirton, and happened to fix their abode at his father's house. From these he understood, that the principal step to salvation was, to deny himself, and follow Christ. He considered seriously of what he heard, and, in process of time, determined to devote himself to a religious life. When he informed his father of his resolution, the latter would willingly have dissuaded him from it; but finding him fully resolved, he permitted him to go and reside at a monastery in the city of Exeter. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he possessed a bright genius as well as a strong inclination to study, had him removed to Nutselle, a seminary of learning, in the diocese of Winchester, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement than at Exeter.



Exeter. The abbot of Nutscelle, who was as much celebrated for his great learning as his Christian virtues, took uncommon pains with the young pupil, who, in time, became a prodigy in profound literature and divine knowledge; and was, at length, employed at Nutscelle as a principal teacher.

We are informed by the ancient Saxon historians, who speak highly in his praise, that those who studied under him had no need to remove to any other place to finish what they had begun, for he gave them lessons in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy; and explained the holy scriptures in the literal, moral, and mystical senses. But his example was as instructive as his lectures, and while he formed his scholars to learning by his dictates, he encouraged them to the practice of virtue, by the prudent conduct of his life.

The abbot of Nutscelle, seeing him thus qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order, when he was about thirty years old. From that time he began to preach, and labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures; in the progress of which he gave the first proofs of that apostolical zeal, that afterwards made such glorious conquests in a most savage and barbarous part of the world.

Now there being an important occasion to assemble a synod of bishops in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, it was judged expedient to depute one of their body to the archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of the exigency of affairs. Upon considering who was proper to be charged with such a commission, Boniface was proposed, and unanimously chosen by the synod; and the choice was by the then reigning king of the West-Saxons approved of, and confirmed.

Boniface discharged this trust with great prudence, and obtained the applause of every member of the synod; but far from being vain of the reputation he had acquired, he proposed to forsake his country, relations, and friends, in order to be of service to the faith, and extend Christianity on the continent. At first, the abbot and monks of Nutscelle would have dissuaded him from his purpose; but finding him resolute, two of their number were ordered to assist him.

Boniface accordingly left Nutscelle, and arrived in Friesland about the year 716; but found that country in the utmost disorder and confusion. It had belonged to the crown of France, but was at that time in the possession of prince Radbord, who had established Paganism in it, persecuted the Christians, and was at war with Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of Austrasia.

However, he went to Utrecht, where he found the infidel prince, and made him a tender of the gospel; but he being obdurate, Boniface perceived that the happy time of converting that nation was not yet come, and therefore returned to his monastery in England.

Boniface had not been many months there when the abbot died, and left the monks inconsolable, because they thought it would be impossible to repair their loss. Boniface too had his share in this affliction; but, arising above his passions, he undertook to comfort his brethren under that calamity, and made them several forcible exhortations to perseverance, and a conformity to the rule of their order, and the canons of the church.

Hereupon he discovered so much zeal and charity, that they desired he would supply the place of their deceased father and friend; but he either never accepted of that post, or quitted it very soon; for he obtained letters from Daniel, bishop of Winchester, his diocesan, which recommended him to the pope, and all the bishops, abbots, and princes he should find in his way to Rome, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 719.

He was received by Gregory the Second, who then sat in Peter's chair, with great friendship, and after several conferences with him, finding him full of zeal, piety, wisdom, and all the virtues that compose the character of an apostolical missionary, he dismissed him with a commission at large to preach the gospel to the Pagans, wherever he found them.

Having passed through Lombardy and Bavaria, he

came to Thuringia, which country had before received the light of the gospel; but at the time that Boniface arrived there, that light burnt very dim. The first exertions of Boniface, therefore, were to bring the corrupted Christians back to a profession of the gospel in its purity; which gave him no small trouble, as the people in those parts were irregular and vitious, and the clergy interested and illiterate.

Having completed this pious work with great assiduity, and hearing that Radbord, whom he had formerly, in vain, attempted to convert, was dead, he repaired to Utrecht, to assist Willebrod, the first bishop of that city, in his evangelical labours.

For the space of three years these worthy pastors laboured in conjunction, in extirpating idolatry, and propagating the faith; and so far succeeded, that most of the people received baptism, and many of the Pagan temples were converted into Christian churches.

Now Willebrod, being very old and infirm, thought he could not do better than to appoint Boniface to succeed him, and to resign his charge into such pious hands; but this the English missionary absolutely refused, saying, he could not sojourn so long in any place, as he had many evangelical labours to perform. Willebrod, on hearing this, consented to his departure; and Boniface repaired to Hesse, where he brought to a knowledge of the real truth two brothers, who, though they called themselves Christians, were sunk into most of the errors of Paganism. They became such sincere converts, that they gave their estate to Boniface, who did not apply its revenues to his own use, but built and endowed a religious community; after which he proceeded to Saxony, where he converted some thousands to the Christian faith.

Having laboured in this new field with prodigious success about a year, he dispatched one of his companions to Rome, with an account of what he had done; upon which Gregory II. who was still in possession of that see, sent him a letter desiring him to repair to that city; in consequence of which he set out for Rome with all possible expedition. On his arrival, the bishop treated him as his character deserved, gave him all marks of esteem and affection, and was resolved not to let him return to his labours without the episcopal character, that he might pursue them with more authority, and to greater advantage. He was accordingly consecrated on the last day of November 723; from which time he took upon himself the name of Boniface.

Thus qualified for forming his new church, he left Rome, well provided with such books as would be necessary for his flock, or those to whom he should think fit to commit their instruction.

Boniface had with him six letters from the pope; one to Charles Martel; a second to all bishops, priests, dukes, counts, &c. a third to the clergy and people under his more immediate direction; a fourth to the five princes of Thuringia, and their Christian subjects; a fifth to the Pagans in their dominions; and a sixth to the whole body of Saxons. The purport of all which was, to recommend him to the protection of the Christian powers, and exhort the Pagans to hear him, and quit their errors and superstition.

Having made many converts in different parts, he returned to his mission in Germany, and was very successful, though he met with many that would willingly have been Christians only by halves; they were ready enough to acknowledge Christ, but did not care to adhere strictly to his precepts: in fine, they liked the name, but had not resolution enough to conform to the practice; and some were so far deluded, as to fall back into their former superstition and idolatries. These were exceedingly fond of worshipping a large oak-tree, which had, time immemorial, been dedicated to Jupiter. This tree Boniface ordered to be cut down; when the Pagans, finding that Jupiter did not take any notice of those who had cut it down, began to own the weakness of such pretended deities, and desired to be baptized.

Being naturally diffident of his own abilities, Boniface had frequent recourse to such persons as he thought



thought might be of any service to him in his present difficult station. Pope Gregory and Daniel, his old diocesan, were his most considerable counsellors. But indeed he had more need of assistance than advice, and therefore, by the care of the bishop of Winchester, received from this island, large supplies of missionaries.

In the year 731, pope Gregory the Third succeeded to the chair, upon whose accession Boniface sent proper persons to Rome to acquaint him with the success of his labours, testifying his obedience, and desiring assistance in some difficulties which occurred in his mission. The pope not only answered the message by assuring him of the communion and friendship of the see of Rome, but as a mark of his respect for our missionary, sent him the Pallium, granted him the title of archbishop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics.

Now Boniface went to the utmost extent of every religious duty, and not only erected new bishoprics, but built several monasteries. He then made a third journey to Rome in 738, when pope Gregory the Third, who had as much affection for him as his predecessor, felt an extraordinary pleasure at his appearing in that city, and detained him there the greatest part of the year.

Boniface having left Rome, went directly for Bavaria, upon the invitation of Odillo, duke of that country, where his business was to reform some abuses introduced by persons who had never received holy orders, and yet exercised the functions of the priesthood, and even such as were peculiar to the episcopal character, to the no small prejudice of the poor deluded inhabitants.

At this time Bavaria had only one bishop; he therefore, pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics, one at Saltzburg, a second at Freisingen, and a third at Ratisbon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four dioceses. This regulation was soon after confirmed by the pope, who at the same time thanked God for the prodigious success of Boniface's ministry, and desired him not to confine himself to one place, but carry the divine message into such parts of Germany as wanted the light of the gospel.

He now established four bishoprics, viz. At Erford, for Thuringia; at Barabourg, for Hesse; at Wurtzburg, for Franconia; at Achstat, for Bavaria.

We should observe that the bishopric of Barabourg is at present translated to Paderborn, in Westphalia. Willebald, the original author of the life of Boniface, was by him made first bishop of Achstat.

In the year 741, Gregory the Third was succeeded in the popedom by Zachary, and the latter confirmed Boniface in his power; and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the same time archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan over thirteen bishoprics. He did not, however, lose his simplicity in grandeur, or forget his innocence in the parade of ecclesiastical dignity; but studied to preserve that humility, which is so pathetically recommended in Matt. v. 3—12.

Pepin, during the ministry of this meek prelate, was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age, and many infirmities lay so heavy on him, that with the consent of the new king, the bishops, &c. of his diocese, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz. When he had thus eased himself of his charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new bishop in very strong terms, desired he would finish the church at Fuld, and see him buried in it, for his end was approaching.

These orders being left, he took boat for the Rhine, and went to Friesland, where he converted and baptized several thousands of the barbarous natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on the ruins of those superstitious structures.

When he had appointed a day for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to assemble in an open plain near the river Bourde. Thither he repaired the day before; and pitching a tent, determined

to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready in the morning early.

Several Pagans, who were his inveterate enemies, having intelligence of this, poured down upon him, and the companions of his mission, in the night, in such a manner as sufficiently evinced their design of massacring them. The servants of Boniface were for repelling the barbarians by force of arms; but he opposed the motion, told them, and his clergy, that the moment he had long wished for was now come, and exhorted his assistants in the ministry to prepare themselves for martyrdom. While he was thus employed, the Pagans rushed in upon him, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants on June 5, A. D. 755. Thus fell the great father of the Germanic church, the honour of England, and the glory of the age in which he lived.

There were forty-two persons of Armorian, in Upper Phrygia, who were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which transaction are thus:

During the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained several considerable advantages over the Christians; and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian. The garrison bravely defended the place for a considerable time, and would, in all probability, have obliged their enemies to raise the siege, when the place was basely betrayed by a renegade. Great numbers were put to the sword; and two general officers, with some other persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdat, where they were loaded with heavy chains, and thrown into a dark dungeon.

These people continued in prison for a considerable time without seeing any persons but their gaolers, or receiving any allowance greater than what would barely subsist them; the bare ground was their bed, and hope their only consolation. During this time, however, they only considered themselves as prisoners of war; but at length they were informed, that nothing could preserve their lives but renouncing their religion and embracing Mahometanism.

In order to induce them to comply, the caliph pretended a very great zeal for their welfare; and declared, that he looked upon converts in a more glorious light than conquests; and the gaining of souls, of much greater importance than the subduing of kingdoms. Agreeable to these maxims, after they had suffered all the hardships of a dark and noisome prison, and were reduced to a state that might oblige them to accept of relief on any terms, he sent some of the most ingenious and artful of the Mahometans, with money and clothes, and the promise of other advantages they might secure to themselves by a bare abjuration of Christianity; which, according to the corrupt casuistry of those infidels, might be made without quitting their faith. But our martyrs, well instructed in the simplicity and sincerity of the gospel, rejected the proposal with horror and contempt. After this they were attacked with that fallacious and delusive argument which the Mahometans still use in favour of themselves, and their monstrous absurdities! they were desired to judge of the merits of the cause by the success of those that were engaged in it; and chuse that religion which they saw flourished most, and was best rewarded with the good things of this life, which they called the blessings of heaven. But our noble prisoners were proof against all these temptations; and argued strenuously against the authority of their false prophet. This incensed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardships upon the Christians during their confinement, which lasted seven years. At the end of that time Boidizius, the renegade that had betrayed Armorian, brought them the welcome news of their sufferings being to conclude in martyrdom the next day. To which he added his advice to them to save their lives by dissimulation, a fault very excusable, he said, in their circumstances. But they knew what curse was denounced by Christ against such as deny him before men; and were therefore prepared to meet death in any shape, rather than commit that horrid offence.

When they were brought from their dungeon, they were again solicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomet; but



but neither threats nor promises, the denunciations of malice, nor allurements of rewards, could induce them to forsake the true faith, or prevail on them to espouse the doctrines of an impostor.

Perceiving their resolution, and that their faith could not by any means be shaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received priest's orders, and officiated as a clergyman; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raised himself by the sword to some considerable posts, which he enjoyed at the time of his being taken prisoner. The officer who attended the execution, being apprized of these circumstances, said to Theodore, "You might, indeed, pretend to be ranked amongst the Christians, while you served in their church as a priest; but the profession you have taken up, which naturally engages you in bloodshed, is so contrary to your former employment, that you should not now think of passing upon us, for one of that religion. When you quitted the altar for the camp, you renounced Jesus Christ. Why then will you dissemble any longer with the world? Would you not act more conformable to your own principles, and make your conduct all of a piece, if you came to a resolution of saving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Now Theodore covered with a religious confusion at this strong reproach, but still full of courage, and unshaken in his faith, made the following answer: "It is true, says he, I did in some measure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and scarce deserve the name of a Christian. But the Almighty has given me the grace to see myself in a true light, and made me sensible of my fault; and I hope he will be pleased to accept my life, as the only sacrifice I can now offer to expiate my guilt. His mercies are infinite, and therefore I have room to hope my blood may be allowed to wash away my crimes. And in this I appeal to your own sentiments. If, in the same case, any one that had left your service, and rambled negligent of his duty for some time, should at last return and offer to lay down his life for you, would not you be inclined to forget all that was past, and receive him into your family again?"

This manly and pious answer confounded the officer, who only answered, that he should presently have an opportunity of giving that proof of his zeal for, and fidelity to, his master. Upon which, Theodore and the rest, to the number of forty-two, were beheaded.

Mary and Flora, two ladies of distinction, suffered martyrdom at the same time. Flora was the daughter of an eminent Mahometan, at Seville, in Spain; from whence he removed to Corduba, where the Saracen king resided, and kept his court. Her father dying while she was young, Flora was left to the care of her mother, who, being a Christian, brought her up in the true faith, and inspired her with sentiments of virtue and religion. A priest of Corduba, who personally knew both her and her mother, and who wrote the account of her martyrdom, hath given us the following portrait of her character: "Flora, says he, was a great proficient in the spiritual life, at an age when little is thought of but the world and its vanities; her whole thoughts seemed turned to Jesus Christ; her whole discourse was inflamed with the divine love; God was her sole care; her fasts were rigorous; her devotion full of fervour; her concern for the poor most surprising and edifying; and the precepts of the gospel were her constant study." Her brother being a professed enemy to Christianity, with the addition of a barbarous and savage temper, Flora was for some time obliged to use no small caution in the practice of such virtues, as must have exposed her to a domestic persecution at least. She was too zealous to bear this restraint long; for which reason she left Corduba, in company with her sister.

Flora's departure soon alarmed her brother, who guessed her motives, and, in revenge, informed against several Christians of Corduba; for as he did not know whither his sister was gone, he determined to wreak his vengeance on such Christians as were present.

When Flora was informed of these proceedings, she considered herself as the cause of what the Christians

had suffered at Corduba, and having an interior conviction that God called her to fight for her faith, she returned to that city, and made her way directly to the persecutors, among whom she found her brother. "If, said our glorious martyr, I am the object of your inquiry, if the servants of God are tormented on my account, I now freely offer myself to your disposal. I declare, I believe in Jesus Christ, glory in his cross, and profess the doctrine which he taught. This now is my confession; and I hope through the divine mercy that nothing you can do to me will be able to make me retract or alter it." None of the company seemed so much enraged at this declaration as her brother, who after some threats, struck her; this violent proceeding was followed by attempts of a softer nature; for he endeavoured to gain her by expressions of concern, and pretended kindness. Finding her equally insensible to all he could say, he then informed against her, and undertook to prove her a Christian before the judge. He insinuated, that Flora had been educated in the religion of Mahomet, but had renounced it at the suggestion of some Christians, who inspired her with the utmost contempt for the great prophet. When she was called on to answer to the charge, she declared she had never owned Mahomet, but sucked the Christian religion in with her milk, and was entirely devoted to the Redeemer of mankind. The magistrate, finding her resolution, delivered her to her brother, and gave him orders to use his utmost endeavours to make her a Mahometan. She, however, soon found an opportunity of escaping over a wall in the night, and of secreting herself in the house of a Christian. At length, she withdrew to Tucci, a village of Andalusia, where she met with her sister, and they never separated again till her martyrdom.

Mary, who was martyred at the same time, was the daughter of a Christian tradesman at Estremadura, who afterwards removed to a town near Corduba.

As soon as the persecution began under Abderrama, king of the Saracens, in Spain, Mary's brother was one who fell a victim to the rage of the infidels on that occasion. Mary, hearing of his martyrdom, and full of a generous confusion at being left behind by one so much younger than herself, gave a free loose to her grief, which proceeded not so much from the loss of her brother, as her not being allowed to enjoy the happiness then in his possession.

She went full of these thoughts to Corduba, where, going into a church, she found Flora, who had left her retreat on the same motive, and was there recommending herself to the author and rewarder of such victories as Christians then gained over infidels. Upon conversing together, and finding they acted upon the same heroic principles, and proposed the same glorious end of their labours, they agreed to go together, and declare their faith before the judge. Accordingly, without further hesitation, they proceeded to the magistrate, when Flora boldly told him, she looked on Mahomet as no better than a false prophet, an adulterer, and a magician.

Hereupon Mary told the magistrate, that she professed the same faith, and entertained the same sentiments as Flora, and that she was sister to Walabonzus, who had already suffered for being a Christian. This behaviour so much enraged the magistrate, that he ordered them to be committed to close confinement for some time, and then to be beheaded: which sentence was executed A. D. 850, on the 4th of November.

Perfectus was born at Corduba, in Spain, and brought up in the Christian faith. Having a quick genius, he made himself master of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and, at the same time, was not more celebrated for his abilities, than admired for his piety. At length he took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great assiduity and punctuality.

One day walking in the streets of Corduba, some Arabians entered into conversation with him, and, among other questions, asked him his opinion both of Jesus Christ, and of Mahomet.

Perfectus gave them a very exact account of the Christian



tian faith, respecting the divinity of Christ, and the redemption of mankind; but begged to be excused from delivering his sentiments concerning Mahomet. The Arabians pressed him to speak freely; but he declined it, saying, that what he should utter would not be agreeable to their ideas, and consequently that it would be disgusting to their ears; he therefore thought best to be silent, as he wished not to offend any one. Dissatisfied with this answer, they still entreated him to speak his thoughts, declaring at the same time, that they would not be offended at any thing he should say.

Believing them sincere, and hoping this might be the favourable time allotted by God for their conversion, Perfectus let them know the Christians looked on Mahomet as one of the false prophets foretold in the gospel, who were to seduce and deceive great numbers, to their eternal ruin. To illustrate this assertion, he placed before them some of the actions of that grand impostor; endeavoured to shew them the impious doctrines, and abominable absurdities of the Alcoran; and ended with exhorting them, in very strong terms, to quit the miserable state in which they then were, and which would certainly be followed by eternal misery.

It may easily be imagined, that the infidels could not hear a discourse like this without feeling some warmth, and conceiving an indignation against the speaker. They thought proper, however, to disguise their resentments at that time, but were resolved not to let him escape without punishment. At first, indeed, they were unwilling to use any violence to him, because they had given him a solemn assurance he should come to no harm, for the liberty he took at their request; but zeal for their law, and its author, soon eased them of that scruple. They watched a favourable opportunity, seized on him, hurried him away to one of their chief magistrates, and accused him of blaspheming their great prophet and legislator.

The whole allegation having been heard, the judge ordered him to be put in chains, and closely confined in prison, till the feast of their Ramadan, or Lent, when he should be made a victim to Mahomet. He heard the determination of the judge with joy, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency.

When the time arrived, he was led to the place of execution, where he again made a confession of his faith, declared Mahomet an impostor, and insisted, that the Alcoran was filled with absurdities and blasphemies. In consequence of this he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was accordingly executed, A. D. 850; after which his body was honourably interred by the Christians.

Wincefflaus, duke of Bohemia, was brought up in the faith of Christ, for his father Wrattislaus, the preceding duke, was a valiant prince, and a good Christian; but Drahomira, his mother, was a Pagan, whose morals were as bad as her sentiments of religion: she consented, however, to intrust her mother, Ludmilla, with the education of her eldest son. That holy woman had resided at Prague ever since the death of Borivor her husband, the first duke of Bohemia, who embraced the faith of Christ; and Wincefflaus was sent to that city, to be brought up as she pleased. Ludmilla undertook to form his heart to devotion and the love of God, and was assisted in that work by Paul her chaplain, a man of great sanctity and prudence, who likewise endeavoured to cultivate his mind with the first rudiments of learning. The mind of the young prince corresponded with their endeavours; and the grace of God, who had prepared him for their instructions, made the task very easy. At a convenient age he was sent to a college at Budweis, about sixty miles from Prague, where several young persons of the first rank were placed for their improvement in virtue and learning, and studied under the direction of an excellent master, a native of Neisse, in the duchy of Sillesia.

At the death of Wrattislaus, his son Wincefflaus was very young; on which account Drahomira, his mother, declared herself regent during his minority. This princess, not having any one now to control her, gave a free vent to her rage against Christianity; and began her administration with an order for shutting up

the churches. She repealed the laws in favour of the Christians, and removed all magistrates of that denomination, supplying their places with Pagans.

Finding themselves thus encouraged, the Pagans, upon any frivolous pretence, would murder the Christians with impunity; and if a Christian in his own defence killed a Pagan, his life, and that of nine other Christians, were to be the forfeit.

The venerable Ludmilla was sensibly touched at these proceedings, and could not, without affliction, behold a religion trampled on which she professed, and which her consort had established with so much difficulty.

Ludmilla could not think of any expedient to prevent the total extirpation of Christianity in Bohemia, but persuaded Wincefflaus, young as he was, to assume the reins of government. Wincefflaus at first declined engaging in this task, till maturer years had rendered him better qualified; but upon his grandmother's promising to assist him with her advice, and direct him in his conduct, he complied with her request; and, to prevent all future disputes, divided the country between himself and his younger brother Bolislaw, whose name a town in, and a considerable district of, that country still retains.

On this change of affairs Drahomira attached herself to Bolislaw, who, like herself, was a Pagan, and followed implicitly her maxims. With respect to the behaviour of Wincefflaus after his assuming the sovereignty, and the fate of the aged and worthy Ludmilla, the annals of Bohemia furnish us with these particulars: "Wincefflaus, pursuant to the impressions of virtue which he had received from his grandmother, and others employed in his education, was more careful than ever to preserve the innocence of his morals, and acquired some new degree of perfection every day. He was as humble, sober, and chaste, when master of his own motions, and in full possession of sovereign authority, as when under the government of those on whom he was taught to look as his superiors. He spent great part of the night in prayer, and the whole day in acts of piety; directing all his views to the establishment of peace, justice, and religion, in his dominions. He was assisted in these charitable and truly christian labours by able ministers; and nothing of consequence was done without the advice of Ludmilla. That excellent princess being informed that Drahomira, transported with rage at the success of her directions, had formed a design against her life, and that it would hardly be in her power to avoid the blow, was so far from being disturbed at the apprehensions of death, or desisting from what had made her odious to that wicked woman, that she exerted herself more vigorously than ever for the maintenance of religion, and confirming the prince in his resolutions. Being now assured that her death was near, and that several persons were actually employed to dispatch her the first convenient opportunity, she called all her servants together, acknowledged their fidelity in her service with a liberal hand, and distributed her goods and money among the poor. Thus divested of all she possessed in the world, she went to her chapel, received the holy eucharist, and then employed herself in prayer, recommended her soul to God, and expected his will with the utmost tranquillity and resignation. This was her situation, when two ruffians entered the chapel, seized on her, and strangled her with her own veil."

The young duke felt severely for the loss of his grandmother; and the more so, as he did not choose to punish the offenders, well knowing that they had been instigated to what they did by his mother. He therefore addressed himself to God only, entreated the throne of grace for his mother's pardon and conversion, and patiently submitted to the dispensations of Providence.

As many factions were stirred up in his dominions by means of his mother and brother, and as Wincefflaus himself seemed of an unwarlike disposition, a neighbouring prince determined to invade that part of Bohemia which belonged to him. This was Radislaus, prince of Gurima, who entered Bohemia at the head of a considerable army, and immediately commenced hostilities.



hostilities. Winceslaus hearing of these proceedings, sent a message to the invader, to know what offence he had given him, and what terms he required to quit his dominions; and leave him at his repose.

Radislaus mistaking the temper of Winceslaus, looked upon this message to proceed from timidity; he therefore answered in a very haughty manner, made some frivolous excuses for having commenced the quarrel, and concluded, by insisting that Winceslaus should surrender to him all his dominions.

This unjust and insolent demand obliged Winceslaus to appear in arms in defence of himself and his people. He accordingly raised a considerable body of forces, and marched to oppose the enemy. When the two armies were drawn up, and ready to engage, Winceslaus desired a conference with Radislaus, which being complied with, he observed, that as it would be unreasonable and unjust to hazard the lives of so many innocent men, the most eligible method of putting an end to the dispute would be by single combat between themselves.

Radislaus heard this proposal with pleasure, and accepted it with joy, thinking that he was much more expert in the use of arms than his antagonist. They accordingly engaged in fight of the two armies, and the victory seemed doubtful for some time, till, at length, it declared in favour of Winceslaus; when his antagonist was obliged, according to previous agreement, to relinquish his pretended claim, and retire into his own country.

Being thus freed from the fears of a foreign enemy, Winceslaus had leisure to turn his thoughts to domestic reformation. He removed corrupt judges and venal magistrates, and filled their places with persons of integrity: he put an end to oppression in all its branches, and punished such nobles as tyrannized over their vassals. These regulations, though they relieved the poor and helpless, gave great offence to the great and rich, as they abridged their power of using those who depended on them ill, and, in some degree, took from them that self-importance, and assumed consequence, which is the pride of little minds. Hence many became factious, and ripe for mischief. The malecontents gave an odious turn to all his best actions; spoke slightly, and even contemptibly, of his application to prayer, fasting, and other acts of religion, which they endeavoured to insinuate were low employments for a prince, and incompatible with the courage and policy necessary for the government of a state. His mother and brother were still the most inveterate of his enemies, who could not bear to see this growing prosperity of the patron of religion, and enemy of idolatry; and therefore resolved to take him off at any rate. Drahomira and Bolislaw were concerting measures for executing their black design, when they understood that Winceslaus had desired the pope to send some priests into his dominions, with whom he proposed to spend the remainder of his days in a religious retreat. This news suspended the execution of their conspiracy against him for some time; but, perceiving this affair did not come to a conclusion so soon as was necessary for satisfying their ambitious views, they re-assumed their criminal practices against him, and gained their ends in the following very black and treacherous manner:

Bolislaw having been some time married, his princess proved pregnant, and, at length, brought him forth a son. This circumstance, which should have diffused joy throughout the family, furnished Drahomira and Bolislaw with an idea of the most horrid nature, and the innocent infant was made the object for perpetrating a deed of unexampled cruelty. The scheme concerted between the bigoted Bolislaw, and his wicked mother, was to get Winceslaus into their power. The birth of the child furnished them with a fair pretence; and a polite message was dispatched to the unsuspecting duke, to partake of an entertainment given upon the occasion. Winceslaus, not having the least surmise of their barbarous intent, repaired to the court of Bolislaw, where he was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality. He partook of the entertainment, and wore the face of festivity till it grew rather late at night,

when he thought proper to retire before the rest of the company, as he was not fond of late hours, and as he never neglected his devotions to the Almighty, previous to his laying down to sleep.

As soon as he was withdrawn, Drahomira urged Bolislaw not to trust their revenge to another hand, but to follow his brother instantly, and murder him. The bloody prince took his mother's sanguinary advice, and repairing to his brother's chamber, he found him kneeling, and in fervent prayer to the Almighty; when, unmoved by that pious appearance, he rushed upon him, and plunged a dagger to his heart. Thus, in A. D. 929, fell Winceslaus, the third duke of Bohemia, by as infernal an act of treachery as ever was recorded in the annals of any nation.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were persons of rank, but more distinguished for their virtue and piety than for their opulence or lineage. They were happy in a son, whose dawning perfections gave them a pleasing hope, that he would one day become a shining ornament to his family. That he might fulfil their expectations, they gave him a complete education; but their joy was in some measure damped, by his falling into a dropsy, from which he was with difficulty recovered.

When he was effectually cured, they sent him to Magdaburg, and committed him to the care of the archbishop of that city, who completed his education, and confirmed him in piety and virtue. The rapid progress which Adalbert made in human and divine learning, made him dear to the prelate, who, to the authority of a teacher, joined all the tenderness of a parent for his amiable pupil.

Having spent nine years at Magdaburg, he retired to his own country upon the death of the archbishop, and entered himself among the clergy at Prague. Dithmar, bishop of Prague, died soon after the return of Adalbert to that city; and, in his expiring moments, expressed such contrition for having been ambitious and solicitous of worldly honours and riches, as surprised every one who heard it. Adalbert, who was among the number present, was so sensibly affected at the bishop's dying sentiments, that he received them as an admonition to the strict practice of virtue, which he afterwards exercised with the greatest attention, spending his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with a cheerful liberality.

A few days after the decease of Dithmar, an assembly was held for the choice of a successor, which consisted of the clergy of Prague, and the chief quality of Bohemia. Adalbert's character for every virtue that important post required, soon determined them to raise him to the vacant see, which they did on the 19th of February 983. Messengers were immediately dispatched to Verona, to desire Otho II. would confirm the election. The emperor granted the request, ordered Adalbert to repair to court for investiture, gave him the ring and crozier, and then sent him to the archbishop of Mentz for consecration. That ceremony was performed on the 29th of June the same year; and he was received at Prague with all possible demonstrations of public joy. He divided the revenue of his see into four parts, according to the direction of the canons extant in the fifth century. The first was employed in the fabric, and ornaments of the church; the second went to the maintenance of the clergy; the third was laid out for the relief of the poor; and the fourth reserved for the support of himself and family; which was always made to include twelve indigent persons, to whom he allowed daily subsistence.

He now performed his duty with the utmost assiduity, and spent a great portion of his time in preaching to and exhorting the people. His conduct was discreet and humane; and his manner neither too severe nor too indulgent; so that his flock were not terrified into despair, or flattered into presumption. But some things which he could not remedy gave him great uneasiness, particularly the having a plurality of wives, and selling the Christians to the Jews, for trivial offences. Hence he determined to consult the pope, and made a journey to



to Rome. Accordingly, John, who then sat in the papal chair, received him with great cordiality, and having heard his grievance, advised him to give up his bishopric, rather than be the witness of enormities which he could not remedy. He determined to take the pope's advice, and to devote the remainder of his days to mortification, poverty, and silence; which design he began by giving all his treasures to the poor. He was, however, before he entirely secluded himself from mankind, desirous of seeing the Holy Land, and set off accordingly, with three persons in his company.

In their way they arrived at Mount Cassino, where the heads of the monastery of that place received them in a very friendly manner, and entertained them as well as the rules of their order would admit. Being apprized of the cause of their journey, when they were about to depart, the superior of the monastery addressed himself to Adalbert, and observed to him, that the journey he had undertaken would give him more trouble and uneasiness than he was aware of; that the frequent desire of changing place and travelling, often proceeded more from a restless disposition, and eager curiosity, than real religion, or solid devotion. "Therefore, said he, if you will listen to my advice, leave the world at once with sincerity, and settle in some religious community, without desiring to see more than you have already seen." Adalbert listened attentively, and came readily into the sentiments of the superior, which soon determined him to take up his residence in that monastery, where he then thought he might live entirely recluse, and, being unknown, might pass unhonoured to the grave. But in the latter particular he was mistaken; for the priests, by accident, coming to a knowledge of the rank and former dignity of their colleague, began to treat him with great deference and respect, which occasioned him to leave the place. Nilus, a Grecian, was then at the head of a community not far from Mount Cassino; Adalbert made his way to him, and begged to be received into his monastery. He assured him he would willingly comply with his request, if he thought the rule and practice of his religious family would be agreeable to a stranger; besides which, he told him that the house in which he and his people lived was given to them by those of Mount Cassino; and therefore it might not be safe for him to receive one that had left that community. When Nilus had thus excused himself, he advised him to return to Rome, and apply himself to Leo, an abbot of his acquaintance there, to whom he gave a letter of recommendation. Adalbert went to Rome, where he found Leo, who, before he would admit him, put his virtue and courage to proper trials, by speaking roughly to him, and giving him a terrible account of the labours and severities of the state in which he desired to engage. But, finding his resolution was not moved or weakened by the prospect of the most austere mortifications, he conducted him to the pope, and, with the consent of that pontiff and the whole college of cardinals, gave him the habit on Holy Thursday in the year 990. We have already said, that he had been attended only by three select persons ever since he had the pope's advice for resigning his bishopric; two of them left him now; but the third, who was his own brother Gaudentius, followed his example, and engaged in the same community. Adalbert, full of the most profound humility, took a particular pleasure in the lowest employments of the house, and lived here an excellent pattern of christian simplicity and obedience.

The archbishop of Mentz, as metropolitan, was exceedingly afflicted at the disorders in the church of Prague, and wished for the return of the bishop, with whose retreat he was not, for some time acquainted. At length, after five years absence, he heard that Adalbert was at Rome, when he sent a deputation to the pope to press his return to his diocese. The pope summoned a council to consider of the deputation, and after a warm dispute between the monks and deputies, the latter carried their point, and Adalbert was ordered to return to his diocese; but, at the same time, had permission to quit his charge again, if he found his flock as incorrigible as before. The inhabitants of

Prague met him, on his arrival, with great joy, and promised obedience to his directions; but they soon forgot their promises, and relapsed into their former vices, which obliged him, a second time, to leave them, and return to his monastery.

The archbishop of Mentz sent another deputation to Rome, and desired that his suffragan might be again ordered back to his diocese. Gregory V. who was then pope, commanded him to return to Prague; and he obeyed, though with great reluctance.

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the censor of their faults, and the enemy to their pleasures, and threatened him with death upon his arrival; but not having him yet in their power, contented themselves with falling on his relations, several of whom they murdered, plundered their estates, and set fire to their houses. Adalbert had intelligence of these outrageous proceedings, and could not judge it prudent to proceed on his journey. He therefore went to the duke of Poland, who had a particular respect for him, and engaged that prince to sound the Bohemians in regard to his return; but could get no better answer from that wretched people, than "that they were sinners, hardened in iniquity; and Adalbert a saint, and consequently not fit to live among them; for which reason he was not to hope for a tolerable reception at Prague." The bishop thought this message discharged him from any further concern for that church, and began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of infidels; to which end he repaired to Dantzick, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the pagan priests, that they fell upon him, and dispatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.

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#### *An Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the ELEVENTH CENTURY.*

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**A**LPHAGE, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from a considerable family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his illustrious birth. His parents were worthy Christians, and Alphage seemed to inherit all their virtues. He was prudent and humble, pious and chaste: he made a rapid progress both in polite literature and scripture learning, and was, at once, the admired scholar, and devout Christian: he strove to make the arts useful to the purposes of life, and to render philosophy subservient to the cause of religion. In order to be more at leisure to contemplate the divine perfections, he determined to renounce his fortune, quit home, and become a recluse. He accordingly retired to a monastery of Benedictines, at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, and soon after took the habit.

Considering that the principal business of a Christian was to subdue his passions, and mortify his appetites, he lived with the utmost temperance, and spent the greatest part of his time in prayer. But not thinking the austerities he underwent in this monastery sufficiently severe, he retired to a lonely cell near Bath, and lived in a manner still more rigid and mortifying. Here he thought to remain unknown, but some devout persons finding out his retreat, his austere life soon became the subject of conversation in the neighbouring villages, where many flocked to him, and begged to be taken under his pastoral care. He yielded to their importunities, raised a monastery near his cell, by the contributions of several well-disposed persons; formed his new pupils into a community, and placed a prior over them. Having prescribed rules for their regulation, he again retired to his beloved cell, fervently wishing to pass the remainder of his days in religious security; when the following affair once more drew him from his retreat.

The see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, it was no easy matter to agree upon the choice of a successor to that bishopric. The clergy had been driven out of the cathedral for their scandalous lives, but were admitted again by King Ethelred, upon certain



certain terms of reformation. The monks, who had been introduced upon their expulsion, looked upon themselves as the chapter of that church; and hence arose a violent contest between them, and the clergy who had been re-admitted, about the election of a bishop; while both parties were hot, and vigorously set upon promoting each their own man. This dispute at last ran so high, that Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of all England, was obliged to interpose in the affair, who consecrated Alphege to the vacant bishopric, to the general satisfaction of all concerned in the election, or interested in the affair.

Alphege's behaviour was a sufficient proof of his being equal to the dignity of his vocation. Piety flourished in his diocese; unity was established among his clergy and people; and the church of Winchester recovered its lustre in such a manner, as made the bishop the admiration of the whole kingdom.

Dunstan had an extraordinary veneration for Alphege, and when at the point of death, made it his ardent request to God, that he might succeed him in the see of Canterbury; which accordingly happened, though not till about eighteen years after Dunstan's death. In the course of that period the metropolitan church was governed by three successive prelates; the last of whom was Alfrick; upon whose decease, in 1006, Alphege was raised to the see of Canterbury.

The people belonging to the diocese of Winchester were the only persons who did not sincerely rejoice at his promotion; for they were too sensible of the loss they sustained by his translation, not to regret his removal to Canterbury.

Soon after his being made archbishop, he went to Rome, and received the pall from pope John XVIII. and after his return to England, laboured assiduously to introduce the best regulations into the church.

After Alphege had governed the see of Canterbury about four years, with great reputation to himself, and benefit to his people, the Danes made an incursion into England. Ethelred, who then reigned, was a prince of a very weak understanding, and pusillanimous disposition. Too fearful to face the enemy himself, and too irresolute to furnish others with the means of acting in his stead, he suffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greatest depredations to be committed at the option of his enemies.

The archbishop Alphege, upon this trying occasion, acted with great resolution and humanity: he went boldly to the Danes, purchased the freedom of several whom they had made captives; found means to send a sufficient quantity of food to others, whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of some of the Danes: but the latter circumstance made the Danes, who still continued Pagans, greater enemies to him than they would otherwise have been, and determined them to be revenged on him for occasioning a change in the sentiments of their companions. Edric, an English malecontent, and an infamous traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and even assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking this city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphege to follow their example. But he, like a good pastor, would not listen to such a proposal; he assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock, at a time when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence, at this calamitous juncture. While he was employed in assisting and encouraging his people, Canterbury was taken by storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way, by fire and sword. The monks did what they could to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them and run into the midst of the danger. He had the courage to address the enemy, and offer himself to their swords, as more worthy their rage than the people: he begged they might be saved, and that they would discharge their whole fury on him. They accordingly seized him, tied his hands, insulted, and abused him

in a rude and barbarous manner; and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt, and the monks massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics, and laymen, leaving only every tenth person alive: so that they put 7236 persons to death, and left only four monks, and 800 laymen alive: after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him close prisoner for several months.

During his confinement, they proposed to him to redeem his liberty with the sum of 3000*l.* and to persuade the king to purchase their departure out of the kingdom, with a further sum of 10,000*l.* Alphege's circumstances would not allow him to satisfy the exorbitant demand: they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasure of his church; upon which they assured him of his life and liberty. The prelate knew, that what they insisted on was the inheritance of the poor, not to be thrown away upon the barbarous enemies of the christian religion; and therefore persisted in refusing to give them any account of it. They remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to a trial there. He still remained inflexible with respect to the church treasures; but exhorted them to forsake their idolatry, and embrace Christianity. This so greatly incensed the Danes, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphege bore this usage patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers, who had been converted and baptized by him, was greatly afflicted, that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on: he, therefore, with the fury of a desperate zeal, and a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom, on April 19, A. D. 1012. This transaction happened on the very spot where the church at Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After his death his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, by the bishops of London and Lincoln; from whence it was, in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury by Æthelmoth, the archbishop of that province.

Gerard, a Venetian, devoted himself to the service of God from his tender years; entered into a religious house for some time, and then determined to visit the Holy Land. Going into Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who, at once, acted the parts of prince and preacher, and not only regulated his subjects by wholesome laws, but taught them religious duties. Finding Gerard every way qualified to instruct his people, he tried, by every means, to detain him in his kingdom; and, at length, founding several churches, he made Gerard bishop of that of Chonad.

Gerard had a very difficult task to perform; the people of his diocese were fond of, and accustomed to idolatry; and their perverseness was equal to their immorality. The new bishop, however, assiduous in his charge, and full of zeal for the salvation of his flock, laboured diligently to bring them to a sense of their duty. He soon had the pleasure to find that his endeavours were not unsuccessful, for his sweetness of disposition won upon the people so much, that they could not help believing one whom they loved, or of placing a confidence in the doctrines of a man they had such great reason to reverence.

His conquests over idolatry were not confined to his own diocese, but extended to the adjacent country, where his doctrines successfully spread, and many became converts to the pure faith of Christ. Wherever the faith made its way by his ministry, he took care to establish ecclesiastical discipline for the preservation of religion, and made several useful regulations in the public service of the church. His exemplary conduct was at least as instructive as his sermons and exhortations, and went a great way in convincing his converts of the truth and dignity of their new profession: for who could doubt of the excellency of a religion, that raised him above the weaknesses and passions of human nature; and

appeared



appeared divine, by placing him at a distance from all that flatters or delights the senses? He visited his diocese, and was remarkable for an uncommon tenderness for the poor, especially such as had the misfortune of sickness, or were incapable of following their accustomed employments.

During the life of Stephen, Gerard received every kind of assistance which that excellent monarch could afford him; but on the demise of Stephen, his nephew Peter, who succeeded him, was of so different a temper, that Gerard was greatly perplexed during his government.

At length, the tyranny of Peter exasperated his subjects so much against him, that they deposed him, and placed Ouvo on the throne. They, however, soon found that they had changed from bad to worse; for Ouvo proved a greater monster of cruelty than his predecessor. At Easter, Ouvo repaired to Chonad, in order to receive the crown from the hands of Gerard. When he arrived at the place, the other prelates of the kingdom, who were assembled on that solemn occasion, assured the prince of their affections for his person, and promised to concur in his coronation; but Gerard absolutely refused to pay that compliment to a public and malicious enemy; and took the liberty of letting the intruder know, that he could not look on Peter's exclusion as regular, and consequently should not proceed to do any thing to the prejudice of his title: he then told him, that if he persisted in his usurpation, the Divine Providence would soon put an end to his life and reign. Ouvo, growing more insupportable than his predecessor, was brought to the scaffold in the year 1044; upon which Peter was recalled, and placed on the throne a second time; but his deposition and retirement had made no alteration in his temper, so that he was again deprived of the royal dignity after two years possession.

Andrew, son of Ladislaus, cousin-german to Stephen, had then a tender of the crown made him, upon condition that he would employ his authority in extirpating the christian religion out of Hungary. The ambitious prince came into the proposal, and promised to do his utmost in re-establishing the idolatrous worship of his deluded ancestors. Gerard, being informed of this impious bargain, thought his duty obliged him to remonstrate against the enormity of Andrew's crime, and persuade him to withdraw his promise. In this view he undertook to go to that prince, attended by three other prelates, full of a like zeal for religion. The new king was at Alba Regalis, but as the four bishops were going to cross the Danube, they were stopped by a party of soldiers posted there by order of a man of quality in the neighbourhood, remarkable for his aversion to the christian religion, and to Stephen's memory. They bore an attack with a shower of stones patiently, when the soldiers proceeding to greater outrages, beat them unmercifully, and at length dispatched them with lances. Their martyrdoms happened in the year 1045.

Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was descended from an illustrious Polish family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence, and the latter they rendered subservient to all the purposes of charity and benevolence. Stanislaus was their only child, and consequently the sole object of their parental affection. When he was of a proper age, they employed masters in several branches of learning to instruct him, and were happy to find, that his rapid improvement fully answered their most sanguine expectations. He had a penetrating genius, retentive memory, and solid understanding; hence study became his amusement, learning his delight, and books his beloved companions. Nor was his disposition inferior to his abilities; he was modest, mild, candid, and grave, temperate in his meals, and moderate in his sleep; he voluntarily gave himself, in the dawn of youth, to such austerities, as might have given reputation to a professed hermit. Having pursued his studies at home for some years, he was sent to a seminary of learning in Poland, and afterwards to the university of Paris, that his education might be completed in that celebrated seat of literature. After continuing seven years at Paris, he returned to his own country, and

on the demise of his parents became possessed of a plentiful fortune. Sensible that riches constituted no part of a Christian's happiness, any further than as they enabled him to assist the needy; he devoted most of his property to charitable uses, retaining only a small portion for his own sustenance.

His views were now solely directed to the ministry; but he remained for some time undetermined, whether he should embrace a monastic life, or engage among the secular clergy. He was at length persuaded to the latter by Lambert Zula, bishop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a most pious and exemplary manner, and performed the duties of his function with unremitting assiduity and fervent devotion. Lambert could not help being charmed with the many virtues which so particularly distinguished Stanislaus, and would fain have resigned his bishopric to him. The reason he alleged for such resignation was his great age, but Stanislaus absolutely refused to accept of the see, for the contrary reason, viz. his want of years; for being then only thirty-six years old, he deemed that too early a time of life for a man to undertake the important care of a diocese. Lambert, however, made him his substitute upon various occasions, by which he became thoroughly acquainted with all that related to the bishopric. Lambert died on November 25, A. D. 1071, when all concerned in the choice of a successor declared for Stanislaus. But his former objection remained, and on account of his age, he declined the acceptance of the prelacy.

Determined however to conquer his scruples, the king, clergy, and nobility unanimously joined in writing to pope Alexander II. who at their entreaty sent an express order that Stanislaus should accept the bishopric. Thus commanded, he obeyed, and exerted himself to the utmost in the improvement of his flock. He was equally careful with respect both to clergy and laity; and exhorted the former to shew a good example as much as he did the latter to imitate it. He kept a list of all the poor in his diocese, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and administering remedies to the sick, he proved himself not only the godly pastor, but the bodily physician, and generous benefactor.

Bolisslaus, the second king of Poland, had, by nature, many good qualities, but giving way too much to his passions he ran into many enormities. He daily grew worse and worse, and from being deemed a good king, at length had the appellation of CRUEL bestowed on him. The nobility were shocked at his conduct, but did not care to speak to him concerning it, and the clergy saw his proceedings with grief, but were afraid to reprehend him. Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults, when taking a private opportunity he freely displayed to him the enormity of his crimes.

The king was greatly exasperated at this freedom, but awed by the virtues of the bishop, dissimulated his resentment, and appearing to be convinced of his errors, promised to reform his conduct. So far however from designing to perform his promise, he complained to some of his sycophants of the freedom that Stanislaus had taken with him; and they, to flatter his folly, condemned the boldness of the bishop. The king, soon after, attempted the chastity of a married lady, who rejected his offers with disdain; which piqued his pride so much, that he seized her by force, and violated her by compulsion. This greatly alarmed all the nobility: none knew how long his own wife, daughter, or sister might be safe; and each dreaded for the peace of his family. They, at length, assembled together, and calling the clergy to their assistance, entreated Peter, archbishop of Gnesne, to remonstrate to the king on the impropriety and vitiousness of his conduct; adding, that it was more particularly his business so to do, as primate of Poland.

The archbishop, however, declined the dangerous task; for though a man of some virtue, he was of a disposition uncommonly timid. Several other prelates sheltered themselves behind his refusal, and gave their fear the name of modesty, which would not permit them



to undertake what their metropolitan had thought too great for his abilities. Stanislaus alone was, as before, the only one who had courage and zeal sufficient to perform what he looked upon as a most important and indispensable duty. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a select number of ecclesiastics, noblemen, and gentlemen; and, proceeding to court, addressed the king in a solemn and serious manner, and fully represented the heinousness of his crimes, and what would be the fatal consequences of his debaucheries.

The king had scarce patience to hear him out; and, as soon as he had done speaking flew into a violent passion, at once complaining of the want of respect to his royal dignity, and vowing revenge for what he called an insult to his person. Stanislaus, however, not in the least intimidated by his menaces, visited him twice more, and remonstrated with him in a similar manner, which so much exasperated the king, that he knew not how to contain himself.

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the bishop had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose between them. The nobility entreated the bishop to refrain from any more exasperating a monarch of so ferocious and untractable a temper; and the clergy endeavoured to persuade the king not to be offended with Stanislaus for his charitable remonstrances. Neither, however, succeeded, for the king remained as obstinate, and the bishop as zealous, as ever. The haughty sovereign, at length, determined, at any rate, to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was so extremely troublesome. Hearing one day that the bishop was by himself, in the chapel of St. Michael, at a small distance from the town, he dispatched some soldiers to murder him. The soldiers readily undertook the bloody task; but when they came into the presence of Stanislaus, the venerable aspect of the prelate struck them with such awe, that they could not perform what they had promised. On their return, the king, finding they had not obeyed his orders, stormed at them violently, snatched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiously to the chapel, where, finding Stanislaus at the altar, he plunged the weapon to his heart. The prelate immediately expired, on the 8th of May, A. D. 1079, receiving a crown of martyrdom, as a reward for his zeal.

#### *An Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the WALDENSES, in FRANCE.*

**P**OPERY having brought various innovations into the church, and overspread the christian world with darkness and superstition, some few, who plainly perceived the pernicious tendency of such errors, determined to shew the light of the gospel in it's real purity, and to disperse those clouds which artful priests had raised about it, in order to blind the people, and obscure it's real brightness.

The principal among these was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached gospel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, assented to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. To Berengarius succeeded Peter Bruis, who preached at Thoulouse, under the protection of an earl, named Hildephonus; and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reasons of their separation from the church of Rome, were published in a book written by Bruis under the title of *ANTICHRIST*.

By the year of Christ 1140, the number of the reformed was very great, and the probability of their increasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them their dominions, and employed many learned men to write against their doctrines.

A. D. 1147, Henry, of Thoulouse, being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called *Henricians*; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion, but what could be deduced from the scriptures themselves, the popish party gave them the name of *Apostolics*. At length, Peter Waldo, or Val-

do, a native of Lyons, became a strenuous opposer of Popery: and from him the reformed, at that time, received the appellation of *Waldenses*, or *Waldoys*.

Peter Waldo was a man eminent for his learning, piety, and benevolence; so that his doctrines were admired by great numbers, and he was followed by multitudes. The bishop of Lyons taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romish clergy, sent to admonish him to refrain, in future, from such discourses. To which message Waldo returned this reply: "That he could not be silent in a cause of such importance as the salvation of men's souls; wherein he must obey God rather than man."

Waldo's principal accusations against the pope and Popery were, that the Roman-Catholics affirm the church of Rome to be the only infallible church of Christ upon earth; and that the pope is it's head, and the vicar of Christ: that they hold the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, insisting, that the bread and wine given in the sacrament is the very identical body and blood of Christ which was nailed to the cross: that they believe there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of persons, after this life, are purged from the sins of mortality; and that the pains and penalties here inflicted may be abated according to the masses said by, and the money paid to the priests: that they teach, the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, is sufficient for the lay-people, though the clergy must be indulged with both bread and wine: that they pray to the Virgin Mary and saints, though their prayers ought to be immediately to God: that they pray for souls departed, though God decides the fate immediately on the decease of the person: that they will not perform the service of the church in a language understood by the people in general: that they place their devotion in the number of prayers, and not in the intent of the heart: that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it; and that they use many things in baptism, though Christ used only water.

Pope Alexander the Third being informed of these transactions, excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop of Lyons to exterminate them, if possible, from the face of the earth; and hence began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses.

Before we describe the sufferings and martyrdom of the Waldenses, it is necessary to shew their tenets, which will explain how, and for what reason, they differed from the church of Rome:

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.
2. That prayers used over things inanimate are superstitious.
3. Flesh may be eaten in Lent; the clergy may marry; and auricular confession is unnecessary.
4. Confirmation is no sacrament; we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope; ministers should live upon tithes; no dignity sets one clergyman above another, for their superiority can only be drawn from real worth.
5. Images in churches are absurd; image-worship is idolatry; the pope's indulgences ridiculous; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.
6. Fornication and public stews ought not to be allowed; purgatory is a fiction; and deceased persons, called saints, ought not to be prayed to.
7. Extreme unction is not a sacrament; and masses, indulgences, and prayers are of no service to the dead.
8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

Waldo himself remained three years undiscovered in Lyons, though the utmost diligence was used to apprehend him. However, being greatly beloved, he was not betrayed; but at length found an opportunity of escaping from the place of his concealment to the mountains of Dauphiny. Waldo soon after found means to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Picardy, which so exasperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, as the most obnoxious of the two, under military execution; destroying above 300 gentlemen's seats, crasing some walled towns, burning many of



of the reformed, and driving others into Flanders and Germany.

Notwithstanding these persecutions, the reformed religion seemed to flourish; and the Waldenses, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. Hence the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks with immorality; the first asserting that they had fallen into many errors, and the latter that they committed many bad practices. These flanders they, however, refuted in a modest publication, which at once defended the purity of their doctrines, and the piety of their lives.

The pope, incensed at their increase, used all manner of arts for their extirpation; such as excommunications, anathemas, canons, constitutions, decrees, &c. by which they were rendered incapable of holding places of trust, honour, or profit; their lands were seized, their goods confiscated, and they were not permitted to be buried in consecrated ground.

Some of the Waldenses having taken refuge in Spain, Aldephonsus, king of Arragon, at the instigation of the pope, published an edict, strictly ordering all Roman-Catholics to persecute them wherever they could be found; and decreeing that all who gave them the least assistance should be deemed traitors, and punished accordingly.

The year after this edict Aldephonsus was severely punished by the hand of Providence: for his son was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men slain, by which a considerable portion of his kingdom fell into the hands of the Moors.

Notwithstanding all the cruelties of the Papists, the reformed ministers preached boldly against the Romish church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, asserted,

1. That the pope was antichrist.
2. Mass was an abomination.
3. The host was an idol.
4. Purgatory was a fable.

These proceedings of Waldo, and the reformed, occasioned the first rise of inquisitors; for pope Innocent III. authorized certain monks inquisitors to inquire for, and deliver over, the reformed to the secular power. The monks greatly abused this authority; for, upon the least surmise or information, they delivered over the reformed to the magistrate, and the magistrate delivered them to the executioner; for the process was short, as an accusation was deemed adequate to guilt, and a candid trial was never granted to the accused.

The pope finding that these cruel means had not the intended effect, determined to try others of a more rational and mild nature. To this end he sent several learned monks to preach among the Waldenses, and to endeavour to argue them out of their opinions. Among these monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cause of Popery. This Dominic instituted an order, which, from him, was called the order of Dominican friars; and the members of this order have ever since been the principal inquisitors in the various inquisitions in the world. The power of the inquisitors was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased without any consideration of age, sex, or rank. Let the accusers be ever so infamous, the accusation was deemed valid; and even anonymous informations sent by letter were thought sufficient evidence. To be rich was a crime equal to heresy; therefore many who had money were accused of heresy, or of being favourers of heretics, that they might be obliged to pay for their opinions. The dearest friends or nearest kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion. To convey to those who were confined, a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring of the heretics, and they were persecuted accordingly. No lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or notary register any thing in favour of the reformed; the malice of the Papists, indeed, went beyond the grave, and the bones of many Waldenses, who had been long dead, were dug up in order to be burnt, as examples to the living. If a man on his death-bed was accused of being a follower of Wal-

do, his estates were confiscated, and the heir to them defrauded of his inheritance; and some were even obliged to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and properties, and when the owners returned would often pretend not to know them.

Enraudus, a knight, being accused of embracing the opinions of Waldo, was delivered to the secular power, and burnt at Paris, A. D. 1201. About the year 1228 such numbers of the reformed were apprehended, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, took compassion on them, and thus expressed themselves to the inquisitors. "We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food and confinement, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them."

In the year 1380, a monk inquisitor, named Francis Boralli, had a commission granted him by pope Clement the seventh, to search for and punish the Waldenses in Aix, Ambrune, Geneva, Savoy, Orange, Arles, Vienne, Ambone, Venice, and Avignon.

Boralli opened his commission at Ambrune, and summoned all the inhabitants to appear before him. Those who appeared, and were found to be of the reformed religion, were immediately delivered over to the secular power, and burnt; and those who did not appear were excommunicated for contumacy, and had their effects confiscated. In the distribution of the effects, however, they provided well for the sons of the church; for the clergy had two thirds of every man's property who was condemned, and the secular power only one third. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places, named in the commission of this ecclesiastic, were equal sufferers; for devastations marked his journey, and his footsteps might be traced in blood.

In the year 1400, the Waldenses, who resided in the valley of Pragela, were, at the instigation of some priests, suddenly attacked by a body of troops, who plundered their houses, murdered many, and drove others into the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, it being in the depth of winter.

A. D. 1460, a prosecution was carried on in Dauphiny against the Waldenses, by the archbishop of Ambrune, who employed a monk, named John Vayleti; and this monk proceeded with such violence, that not only the Waldenses but even many Papists were sufferers. For if any Papists expressed compassion or pity for the inoffensive people, who were so cruelly treated, they were sure to be accused of favouring the Waldenses, and to be punished for commiserating the miseries of their fellow-creatures. At length Vayleti's proceedings became so intolerable, that a great number of the Papists themselves wrote a petition against him to Lewis the eleventh, king of France. The monarch, on receiving this petition, granted the request of the petitioners, and sent an express order to the governor of Dauphiny to stop the persecution.

Vayleti, however, by the order of the archbishop, still continued the persecution; for taking advantage of the last clause of the edict, he pretended that he did nothing contrary to the king's precept, who had ordered punishment to such as affirmed any thing against the holy catholic faith. This persecution at length concluded with the death of the archbishop, which happened A. D. 1487.

Pope Innocent the eighth, A. D. 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent one Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France. When Albert arrived in Dauphiny, he craved the assistance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenses from the valley of Loyse. The lieutenant very readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place. When they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caves, caverns, &c. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and catching many, they cast them headlong from precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired



retired to the further parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies better than the troops, they were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On the caves being afterwards searched, 400 infants were found smothered, either in their cradles or their mother's arms; and, upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this persecution.

Having completed this tragical work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops to Pragelo and Frassaniere, in order to persecute the Waldenses in those parts. But these having heard of the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyle, thought proper to arm themselves; and by fortifying the different passes, and bravely disputing the passages through them, they so harassed the troops, that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpose.

In 1594, Anthony Fabri, and Christopher de Salicence, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of others, and confiscated the goods and chattels of many; but Lewis the twelfth coming to the crown in 1598, on the decease of his predecessor, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their properties. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and to this end sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope, to make the proper inquiries. The witness against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of those poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner in particular declared, "That he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrune, having the greatest quantity of these poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others, by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, to the surprise of the people in general, and to the affliction of the Waldenses in particular, declared, that he would not restore any of the property alluded to, for they were incorporated with, and became part of his archbishopric itself. He, however, with an affectation of some small degree of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided, at the same time, the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from those poor people. This the lords absolutely refused, for they were as fond of keeping their ill-got plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses finding, by these mean subterfuges, and unjust proceedings, that they were not likely to recover any of their property, without something further being done, again appealed to the king. The monarch having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied, "That at the commencement of the persecution the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were distrained; therefore, till the sentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized, they could not be restored with propriety, or consistent with the respect due to the pontiff." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence of excommunication; for the archbishop, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at the court of Rome, to prevent such application from succeeding. Thus were the poor Waldenses robbed of their property, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the will of their inhuman persecutors.

The Waldenses having spread from Dauphiny into several other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their first arrival, Provence was almost a desert, but by their great industry it soon abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruit, &c.

The pope, by being often near them at his seat at Avignon, heard occasionally many things concerning

their differing from the church of Rome. His intelligence greatly exasperated him, and he determined to have them persecuted on account of their religious tenets. Proceeding to some extremities, under the sanction of his ecclesiastical authority, only without consulting the king of France, the latter became alarmed, and sent his master of requests, and his confessor, to examine into the affair. On their return they reported that the Waldenses were not such dangerous or bad people as they had been represented; that they lived with perfect honesty, were friendly to all, hurt none, caused their children to be baptized, had them taught the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments; expounded the scriptures with purity, kept the Lord's-day sacred, feared God, honoured the king, and wished well to the state. Then, said the king, they are much better Christians than myself or my catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be persecuted: the king was as good as his word, and sent orders to stop the persecution accordingly.

Some time after, the inhabitants of Merindol received a summons, that the heads of the families of that town should appear before the ecclesiastical court. When they appeared, and confessed themselves Waldenses, they were ordered to be burnt, their families outlawed, their habitations laid waste, and the woods that surrounded the town to be cut down, two hundred paces each way; so that the whole should be rendered desolate. The king however, being informed of this barbarous decree, sent to countermand the execution of it: but his order was suppressed by cardinal Tournon, and the greatest cruelties were consequently exercised.

The president of Opede sent several companies of soldiers to burn some villages that were occupied by Protestants, which they performed; and, without the least respect to sex or age, murdered the men immediately, ravished the women, cut off the breasts of mothers, and then suffered the infants to famish, &c. &c. The president likewise proclaimed, that none should give any manner of assistance, or sustenance, to the Waldenses.

Going to another small town, the president found there only a boy, who had surrendered himself to a soldier, for the other inhabitants had deserted the place. The boy he ordered to be shot by the soldier to whom he had surrendered, and then destroyed every house in the place.

After this the president marched against Cabrières, and began to cannonade it. At this time there were not above sixty poor peasants, with their families, in the town; and they sent him word, that he need not expend powder and shot upon the place, as they were willing to open the gates, and surrender, provided they might be permitted to retire, with their families, to Geneva, or Germany. This was promised them; but the gates were no sooner opened, than the president ordered all the men to be cut to pieces; which cruel command was executed with the utmost barbarity. Several women and children were crammed into a large barn, which was set fire to, and every one perished in the flames. Other women and children having taken refuge in a church, the president ordered one of his officers to go in and kill them all: the captain, at first, refused, saying, "Such unnecessary cruelty is unbecoming a military man." The president, being displeased at this reply, said, "I charge you, on pain of being accused of mutiny, immediately to obey my orders:" when the captain, afraid of the consequences of such a reply, thought proper to comply, and make a sacrifice of humanity to the fear of military punishment.

The president then sent a detachment of his troops to ravage the town of Costa, which design was accomplished with the greatest barbarity, and cruelties were exercised, shocking both to modesty and nature.

At length, the judgment of God overtook this monster of cruelty, the president; for he was, at once, afflicted with a dreadful bloody-flux, and a painful strangury. In this extremity he sent for a surgeon from Arles, who, on examining his disorders, told him they were of a singular nature, and much worse than he had ever seen them





A BOOKSELLER Burnt at AVIGNON in FRANCE,  
*for selling Bibles in the French Tongue,*  
*with some of them tied round his Neck.*



them on any other person. He then took an occasion to reprehend him for his cruelties, and told him, that unless he repented, he might expect that the hand of heaven would fall still heavier upon him. On hearing these words, the president flew into a violent passion, and ordered his attendants to seize upon the surgeon as an heretic.

The surgeon was seized, but found means to escape, and soon after the president's disorder increased to a most terrible degree. As he before found some little ease from the surgeon, he again sent to him, for he had been informed of the place of his retirement. His message was accompanied with an apology for his former behaviour, and a promise of personal security. The surgeon forgiving what was past, went to him, but too late to be of any service; for he found the president raving like a madman, and crying out, that he had a fire within him. After storming and blaspheming for some time, he expired in the most dreadful agonies; and his body in a few hours, became so offensive, that hardly any one could endure the stench.

John de Roma, a monk, having a commission from the pope to search for heretics, he executed it with great severity in Provence. The king of France hearing of his proceedings, sent an order to the parliament of Provence to apprehend him; but the monk made his escape to Avignon, and thought to live luxuriously upon what he had plundered from the Waldenses. But in this he was mistaken, for some robbers soon after plundered him of the greatest part of his ill-got wealth; and his grief on this account brought on a violent disorder, which, by turning him, even while living, into a mere mass of putrefaction, soon put a period to his existence.

The bishop of Aix, with some priests, being at Avignon together, were one day walking along the streets with some courtizans. Seeing a man who sold obscene pictures, they purchased several, and presented them to the women. Close by was a bookseller, who had a great number of Bibles in the French language for sale. The bishop stepping up to him, said, "How darest thou be so bold as to sell French merchandize in this town?" The bookseller replied, with a kind of sneer, "My lord, do you not think that Bibles are as good as those pictures which you have bought for the ladies?" Enraged at the sarcasm, the bishop exclaimed, "I'll renounce my place in paradise if this fellow is not one of the Waldenses. Take him away, take him away, take him away to prison." These expressions occasioned him to be terribly used by the rabble; and the next day he was brought before the judge, who, at the instigation of the bishop, condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly burnt, with two Bibles hanging from his neck, the one before and the other behind.

#### *An Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the ALBIGENSES.*

THE Albigenes were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on the score of religion, in the council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander the Third. Nevertheless they increased so prodigiously, that many cities were inhabited by persons only of their persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Thoulouse, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. The pope, at length, pretended that he wished to draw them to the Romish faith by sound argument and clear reasoning, and for this end ordered a general disputation, in which, however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whose reasons were so strong, that they were compelled to confess their force.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Thoulouse, the pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. To effect this, he sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against

the Albigenes, and promised paradise to all that would come to this war, which he termed a Holy War, and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgences were likewise held out to all who entered themselves for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land.

The pope then sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c. to excommunicate the earl of Thoulouse every sabbath and festival; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him, &c. &c.

The earl of Thoulouse hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a very candid manner, desiring not to be condemned unheard, and assuring him that he had not the least hand in Peter's death: for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who immediately after the murder fled out of his territories, or otherwise he would have punished him as the crime deserved.

But arguments were in vain: for the pope, being determined on his destruction, was resolved not to hear reason. A formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began their march against the Albigenes. The earl had only the alternative, to oppose force by force, or submit. As he despaired of success in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and said, "He was surprised that such a number of armed men should be sent against him; before the least proof of his guilt had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of the friar."

To this reasonable proposal the legate replied, that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily surrendered; but, with respect to the proposal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unless he would consent to deliver up seven of his best fortified castles, as securities for his future behaviour.

This demand made the earl perceive his error in submitting, but it was too late; he knew himself to be a prisoner, and therefore sent an order for the delivery of the castles. The pope's legate had no sooner garrisoned these places, than he ordered the respective governors to appear before him. When they came, he said; "That the earl of Thoulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must therefore act conformable to their new allegiance."

The governors were greatly astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled into a new allegiance, so much against their inclinations and consciences. But what afflicted them still more, was the affronts afterwards put upon the earl; for he was stripped naked, except his drawers, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before all orders of people. Not contented with this, they obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life; conform to the church of Rome; and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenes. The legate even went further than this; and ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope, and relate all the ill usage he had received. The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was likewise governor of that city, thinking it impossible to defend the place, came out, and presenting himself before the pope's legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants; intimating at the same time, that there were as many Roman-Catholics as Albigenes in the city. The legate replied, that all excuses availed nothing; that the place must be delivered



delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences should ensue.

The earl of Beziers returning into the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Albigenes would abjure their religion, and conform to the worship of the church of Rome. The Roman-Catholics pressed the Albigenes to comply with this request; but the Albigenes nobly answered, that they would not forsake their religion for the base price of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleased, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake. That they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could cast both body and soul into hell.

The popish parties finding their importunities ineffectual, sent their bishop to the pope's legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the Albigenes; and representing, that the best means to win the latter over to the Roman-Catholic persuasion was by gentle means, and not by rigour. The legate, upon hearing this, flew into a violent passion with the bishop, and declared, that "If all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should taste of one curse without distinction of religion, sex, or age."

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was given, and the place taken by storm; when it is impossible for the imagination to paint a more horrid scene than now ensued. Every cruelty that barbarous superstition could devise was practised; nothing was to be heard but the groans of men who lay weltering in their blood; the lamentations of mothers who were doubly wounded, wounded in the body by the spears of the soldiers, and to the soul, by having their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The complaints of violated maidens and ravished matrons, the cries of helpless infants, and the execrations of the barbarians who committed these cruelties, added to the sounds of horror. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood; here lofty buildings appeared in clouds of smoke, and there large ranges of houses were seen in flames. Those who hid themselves in the recesses of their dwellings, had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings, seemed to enjoy the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all, kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman-Catholics as well as Albigenes, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons of different ages, and both sexes, were murdered upon the occasion.

The earl of Beziers and a few others made their escape, and went to Carcasson, which they put into the best posture of defence they could. The legate, not to lose an opportunity of spilling blood during the forty days which the troops were to serve, led them immediately against Carcasson. As soon as the place was invested, a furious assault was given, but the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter; and upon this occasion the earl of Beziers gave the most distinguished proofs of his courage, saying, to encourage the besieged, "We had better die fighting than fall into the hands of such bigoted and bloody enemies."

It is to be observed, that two miles from the city of Carcasson there was a small town of the same name, which the Albigenes had likewise fortified. The legate, being enraged at the repulse he had received from the city of Carcasson, determined to wreak his vengeance upon the town. The next morning he made a general assault; and, though the place was bravely defended, the legate took it by storm, put all within it to the sword, and then burnt the town.

During these transactions the king of Arragon arrived at the camp, and after paying his obedience to the legate, told him, he understood the earl of Beziers, his kinsman, was in the city of Carcasson, and that, if he

would grant him permission, he would go thither, and endeavour to make him sensible of the duty he owed both to the pope and church. The legate readily acquiescing, the king immediately repaired to the earl, and, among other questions, asked him from what motives he shut himself up in that city, and against so great an army? The earl answered, it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects; that he knew the pope, under pretence of religion, resolved to destroy his uncle, the earl of Thoulouse, and himself; that he saw the cruelty which they had used at Beziers, even against the priests; adding also what they had done to the town of Carcasson, and that they must look for no mercy from the legate or his army; he, therefore, rather chose to die, defending himself with his subjects, than fall into the hands of so inexorable an enemy as the legate: that though he had in his city some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had not wronged any, were come to his succour in his greatest extremity, and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them; that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed; and that he would assist them against those ill-advised men, who forsook their own houses to burn, sack, and kill other men without reason, judgment, or mercy.

The king reported to the legate what the earl had said: the legate, after considering for some time, replied, "For your sake, sir, I will receive the earl of Beziers to mercy, and with him twelve others shall be safe, and be permitted to retire with their property: but as for the rest, I am determined to have them at my discretion."

This answer displeased the king; and when the earl heard it, he absolutely refused to comply with such terms. The legate then commanded another assault, but his troops were again repulsed with great slaughter, and the dead bodies occasioned a stench that was exceedingly offensive both to the besieged and besiegers.

The legate, being shagrin'd at this second disappointment, determined to act by stratagem. He therefore sent a gentleman, who was well skilled in dissimulation and artifice, to the earl of Beziers, with a seeming friendly message. The design was, by any means, to induce the earl to leave the city, in order to have an interview with the legate; and to this end the gentleman was to promise, or swear, whatever he thought proper; for, says the legate, "Swear to what falsehoods you will in such a cause, as I will give you absolution."

Unfortunately, this infamous plot succeeded: for the earl, believing the promises made him of personal security, and crediting the solemn oaths that the perjured agent swore upon the occasion, left the city and went with him. The legate no sooner saw him, than he told him "He was a prisoner, and must remain so till Carcasson was surrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope."

The earl on hearing this, cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed against the treachery of the legate, and perjury of the person he had employed. His complaints, however, availed him nothing, for he was ordered into close confinement, and the place summoned to surrender immediately.

The people, on receiving the summons, and hearing of the captivity of the earl, were thrown into the utmost consternation, when one of the citizens begging to be heard, informed the rest, "That he had been formerly told by some old men, that there was a very capacious subterraneous passage, which led from thence to the castle of Cameret, at three leagues distance. If (continued he) we can find this passage, we may all escape before the legate can be apprized of our flight."

This information was joyfully received; all were employed to search for the passage, and at length, it was happily found. In the beginning of the evening the inhabitants began their flight, taking with them their wives, children, a few days provisions, and such moveables as were most valuable and portable. They reached the castle by the morning, and escaped to Arragon, Catalonia, and such other places as they thought would secure them from the power of the bloody legate.



In the morning the troops were strangely astonished, not hearing any noise, nor seeing any man stirring in the city; yet they approached the walls with much fear, lest it should be but a stratagem to endanger them; but finding no opposition they mounted the walls, crying out, that the Albigenes were fled; and thus was the city, with all the spoils, taken, and the earl of Beziers committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of Carcasson, where he soon after died.

The legate being now in possession of the city, called all the prelates, and great lords of his army together, telling them, that though it was requisite there should be always a legate in the army, yet it was likewise necessary that there should be a secular general, wise and valiant, to command in all their affairs, &c. This charge was first offered to the duke of Burgongue, then to the earl of Ennevers, and thirdly, to the earl of St. Paul; but they all refused it. At length, it was offered to Simon, earl of Montfort, who, after some excuses, accepted of it.

Four thousand men were left to garrison Carcasson, and the deceased earl of Beziers was succeeded in title and dignity by earl Simon, a bigoted Roman-Catholic, who threatened vengeance on the Albigenes, unless they conformed to the worship of the church of Rome.

The king of Arragon, however, who was in his heart of the reformed persuasion, secretly encouraged the Albigenes; and gave them hopes, that if they acted with prudence, they might cast off the yoke of the tyrannical earl Simon. They took his advice, and while Simon was gone to Montpellier, they surprised some of his fortresses, and were successful in several expeditions against his officers.

These proceedings so enraged earl Simon, that returning from Montpellier, he collected together some forces, marched against the Albigenes, and ordered every prisoner he took to be immediately burnt. Failing, however, in some of his enterprizes, he grew disheartened, and wrote to every Roman-Catholic power in Europe, to send him some assistance, otherwise he should not be able to hold out against the Albigenes.

Having received some succours, he attacked the castle of Beron, and making himself master of it, ordered the eyes to be put out, and the noses to be cut off, of all the garrison, one person alone excepted, and he was deprived of one eye only, that he might conduct the rest to Cabaret.

Being joined by some additional forces, earl Simon undertook the siege of Menerbe, which, on account of the want of water, was obliged to yield to him. The lord of Termes, the governor, was put in prison, where he died; his wife, sister, and daughter, were burnt; and one hundred and eighty others were committed to the flames. Many other castles surrendered to the forces of earl Simon, and the inhabitants were butchered in a manner equally inhuman.

It is now necessary to take some notice of the earl of Thoulouse, who by means of letters of recommendation from the king of France, after many difficulties, was reconciled to the pope: at least the pope pretended to give him remission for the death of friar Peter, and to absolve him from all other crimes he had committed.

The legate, however, by the connivance of the pope, did all he could to ruin the earl of Thoulouse. Some altercations having passed between them, the legate excommunicated the earl; and the Roman-Catholic bishop of Thoulouse, upon this encouragement, thought proper to send this imprudent message to the earl, "That as he was an excommunicated person, he commanded him to depart the city; for an ecclesiastic could not say mass with propriety, while a person of such a description was so near him."

The earl was greatly exasperated at the bishop's insolence, and sent him an order immediately to depart from the place on pain of death. This order was all the prelate wanted, and was what he wished for, as it would give him some shadow of a reason to complain of that nobleman.

The bishop with the canons of the cathedral church marched out of the city in solemn procession, barefooted and bareheaded, taking with them the cross, banner, host, &c. and proceeded in that manner to the legate's army. Here they were received with great respect as persecuted martyrs, and the legate thought this a sufficient excuse to proceed against the earl of Thoulouse, for having as he termed it, relapsed from the truth. The legate attempted to get him into his power by stratagem, but the earl being apprized of the design, escaped the snare.

Enraged at his disappointment, the legate laid siege to the castle of Montferrand, which belonged to the earl, and was governed by Baldwin his brother. On the first summons, Baldwin not only surrendered, but abjured his religion, and turned Papist. This stroke, which severely afflicted the earl of Thoulouse, was followed by another that gave him still greater mortification; for his old friend the king of Arragon forsook his interest; and it was stipulated, that the king of Arragon's daughter should be married to earl Simon's eldest son. The legate's troops were then joined by the forces of Arragon and those belonging to earl Simon, when they jointly laid siege to Thoulouse.

The earl of Thoulouse determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. In the first of these he met with a severe repulse; but in the second he took earl Simon's son prisoner, and in the third he unhorsed earl Simon himself. After several furious assaults given by the popish army, and some other successful sallies of the Albigenes, the earl of Thoulouse compelled his enemies to raise the siege. In their retreat they did much mischief in the countries through which they passed, and put many defenceless Albigenes to death.

The earl of Thoulouse now did all he could to recover the friendship of the king of Arragon, and as the marriage ceremony between that monarch's daughter, and earl Simon's son, had not been performed, he entreated him to break off that preposterous match, and proposed another more proper, viz. that his own eldest son and heir to the earldom of Thoulouse should wed the princess of Arragon, and that by this match their friendship should be again united and more firmly cemented.

The king of Arragon was easily persuaded, not only to come into this proposal, but to form a league with the principal Albigenes, and to put himself as captain general at the head of their united forces, consisting of his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Thoulouse, Foix, and Comminges. The Papists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings; earl Simon sent all over Christendom to engage the assistance of the Roman-Catholic powers, and the pope's legate began hostilities by entering the dominions of the earl of Foix, and committing the most cruel depredations.

The army of the Albigenes being ready to take the field, the king of Arragon began his operations by laying siege to Murat, a town near Thoulouse, belonging to the Roman-Catholics, strongly fortified, and pleasantly situated upon the river Garonne. Earl Simon, by forced marches, came to the assistance of the place; and unfortunately the king of Arragon, who kept up very little discipline in his army, was feasting and revelling, at a time when all his attention was requisite. Earl Simon suddenly attacked the Albigenes, while they were in confusion, when the united forces of the reformed were defeated, and the king of Arragon himself was slain. The loss of this battle was imputed to the negligence of the king of Arragon, who kept up no manner of order in his army, and was as fond of entertainment in a camp, as if he had been securely at peace in a palace.

Flushed with this victory, the popish commanders declared they would entirely root out and extirpate the whole race of the Albigenes; and earl Simon sent an insolent message to the earls of Thoulouse, Foix, and Comminges, to deliver to him all the castles and fortresses of which they were possessed. Those noblemen did not think proper to return an answer to the demand, but retired to their respective territories, in order to put them into the best posture of defence.

Earl



Earl Simon marched towards the city of Thoulouse, when the earl of Thoulouse, who had retired to Montalban, sent word to the citizens of the former place, to make the best terms they could with the Roman-Catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a siege; but at the same time recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Thoulouse, upon receiving this intimation, sent deputies to earl Simon, with offers of immediate surrender, provided the city itself, and the persons and properties of its inhabitants, should be perfectly safe, and protected from devastations or injury.

These conditions were agreed to immediately, and earl Simon, in order to ingratiate himself at court, wrote a letter to prince Lewis, the son of Philip, king of France, informing him that the city of Thoulouse had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honour of receiving the keys, and taking the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose.

Prince Lewis, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Thoulouse surrendered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people of Thoulouse, and insisted, that though the prince might take upon him the sovereignty of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the holy pilgrims (for so the popish soldiers employed in these expeditions were called); and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be dismantled.

In vain did the prince and earl Simon, remonstrate against such harsh proceedings, so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender of the place: the legate was peremptory, when earl Simon, and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point, and suffered him to do as he pleased. The legate immediately sent his holy pilgrims, as he termed them, to work, when they presently dismantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants: thus the poor people were stripped of all their property, at a time they thought themselves perfectly secured, by the articles of the treaty of surrender.

The pope's legate finding that among the Albigenes were many lucrative places, which would of course fall to the disposal of the prince, he determined, by an artifice, to deprive him of any advantage which might accrue from thence; for he thought the Romish church ought to engross and monopolize every thing that was valuable. To this end he gave absolution to the Albigenes, which, though they had not in the least changed their religious opinions, he cunningly called reconciling them to the church. The prince, not apprized of this stratagem, was going to put such of his officers as he thought merited encouragement, into the possession of some places of profit; when, to his great astonishment, the legate informed him, that he had no power to dispose of those places. The prince demanded an explanation of his meaning. "My meaning (replied the legate) is, that the people have received absolution, and being reconciled to, are consequently under the protection of, the church; therefore, all places among, or connected with them, are in the disposal of the church only."

The prince, though offended at this curious mode of reasoning, and highly displeased at the meanness of the subterfuge, thought proper, at that time, to dissemble his resentment. Determined, however, to quit the legate, he put the troops that were under his command in motion, and marched to attack some other fortresses; but he found, wherever he came, that the legate had played the same trick, and plainly perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unsuccessful, he should bear all the blame, and when successful, the legate would run away with all the profit. These considerations convinced him of the folly of remaining longer in the army; he therefore left it in disgust, and returned to court.

Earl Simon now, with his own forces, those the

prince had just quitted, and some other auxiliaries, undertook the siege of Foix, being provoked to it by two reasons, viz. the death of his brother, who was slain by the earl of Foix, who was of the reformed persuasion. He lay before the castle of Foix for the space of ten days, during which time he frequently assaulted it, but was as often repulsed. Hearing that an army of Arragonians were in full march towards him, in order to revenge the death of their king, he raised the siege of Foix, and went to meet them. The earl of Foix immediately sallied out and harassed his rear, and the Arragonians attacking his front, gave him a total defeat, which compelled him to shut himself up in Carcasson.

The pope's legate called a council at Montpellier, for renewing the military operations against the Albigenes, and for doing proper honour to earl Simon, who was present; for the Arragonians not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcasson, by which omission earl Simon had the liberty to repair to Montpellier.

At the council the legate, in the pope's name, paid many compliments to earl Simon, and declared, that he should be prince of all the countries that might in future be taken from the Albigenes: at the same time, by order of the pontiff, he styled him, The active and dextrous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith. But just as the earl was going to return thanks for these great honours, and fine encomiums, a messenger brought word, that the people having heard earl Simon was in the council, had taken up arms, and were coming thither to destroy him as a common disturber.

This threw the whole council into great confusion; and earl Simon, though a minute before styled an Invincible Defender of the Faith, was glad to jump out of a window, and steal away from the city by the most private passages.

The affair becoming serious, according to the opinions of the Papists, the pope himself soon after called a council, to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman-Catholic inquisitors, and many Albigenes were immediately put to death. This council of Lateran likewise confirmed to earl Simon all the honours intended him by the council of Montpellier, and empowered him to raise another army against the Albigenes.

Earl Simon immediately repaired to court, received his investiture from the French king, and began to levy forces. Having raised a considerable number of troops, he determined if possible, to exterminate the Albigenes, when he received advice, that his countess was besieged in Narbonne, by the earl of Thoulouse. Earl Simon proceeded to the relief of his wife, when the Albigenes met him, gave him battle, and defeated him. He, however, found means to escape from the fight, and get into the castle of Narbonne.

During earl Simon's misfortunes, Thoulouse was recovered by the Albigenes; but the pope still espousing earl Simon's cause, raised forces on his account, and enabled him, once more, to undertake the siege of that city. The earl assaulted the place furiously, but being repulsed with great loss, he seemed sunk in affliction: when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack; let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you shall immediately pass into paradise." One of earl Simon's principal officers, on hearing this, said with a sneer, "Monsieur Cardinal, you talk with great assurance; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence."

Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault, and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance at the head of a formidable body of forces, and attacking the already dispirited army of earl Simon, easily put them to the rout; when the earl himself narrowly escaped being drowned in the Garonne, into which



which he had hastily plunged, in order to avoid being apprehended.

Now this misfortune almost broke earl Simon's heart; but the pope's legate had him yet be of good cheer, for he would raise him another army; which promise, with some difficulty, and three years delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was, once more, enabled to take the field. He bent his whole force against Thoulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when in one of the sallies made by the besieged, his horse was wounded. The animal being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, when an archer taking aim, shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him instantly. Upon the death of the earl, the siege was raised; but the legate, greatly enraged to be disappointed of his wished-for vengeance on the inhabitants of that devoted city, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted Thoulouse, but meeting with a severe repulse, he grew sick of the enterprize, and abandoned Thoulouse to besiege Miromand. This place he soon took by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5000 men, women, and children.

Bertrand (for that was the legate's name) being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his passion for blood-spilling still remained, as appears by his epistle to the pope, in which he begs to be recalled, on account of his age and infirmities; but entreats the pontiff to appoint a successor, who might continue the wars, as he had done, with spirit and perseverance.

Accordingly, the pope recalled Bertrand, and appointed Conrad, bishop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The new legate determined to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and to persecute the Albigenes with the greatest severity. Guido, earl of Monfort, the son and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Thoulouse, before the walls of which he was slain. His brother Almerick succeeded to the command; but he was soon obliged to raise the siege by the spirited conduct of the besieged.

Thereupon the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Thoulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church those obstinate heretics, as he thought proper to call the brave Albigenes. Hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, the earl of Thoulouse sent the women, children, cattle, &c. into secret and secure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land, that the king's forces should not obtain any forage, and did all that a skilful general could perform to save his country, and distress the enemy. By these wise regulations the French army, soon after entering the earldom of Thoulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcases of horses, on dead dogs, cats, &c. which unwholesome food produced the plague. This complicated distress broke the king's heart; nevertheless, his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war, but was defeated in three several engagements by the earl of Thoulouse.

However, the king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops, raised another formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Thoulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear bare-footed and bare-headed before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe to the unreasonable and ignominious conditions which follow:

1. That he should abjure the faith he had hitherto defended.
2. That he should be subject to the church of Rome.
3. That he should give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the brothers of the king of France.
4. That he should maintain in Thoulouse six popish professors of the liberal arts, and two grammarians.

5. That he should take upon him the cross, and serve five years against the Saracens in the Holy Land.

6. That he should level the walls of Thoulouse with the ground.

7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should direct.

8. That he should remain prisoner in the Louvre at Paris, till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners.

These cruel conditions were followed by a severe persecution against the Albigenes (many of whom suffered for the faith) and express orders, that the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred writings.

The persecution against the Albigenes was very great in the year 1620. At a town called Tell, while the minister was preaching to a congregation of the reformed, the Papists attacked and murdered many of the people. A lady of considerable eminence, being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for the sake of the infant she held in her arms, the lady, with an undaunted courage, said, "I did not quit Italy, my native country, nor forsake the estate I had there, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to renounce him here. With respect to my infant, why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his Son to die for us?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popish nurse to bring up, and then cut to pieces the poor mother.

A youth of sixteen, named Dominico Berto, refusing to turn Papist, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, which he was obliged to hold in his hand for a bridle. In this condition he was led to the marketplace, amidst the acclamations of the populace; after which they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, and burnt holes in several parts of his body, till he at last died.

There was an Albigenes young lady, of a noble family, seized by the Papists, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating, and smearing her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the saints; to which she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the Virgin Mary, without the merits of her Son, could not be saved." On hearing this, the multitude fell upon her, and soon put an end to her existence.

*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in FRANCE, previous to, and during the Civil Wars of that Nation.*

A Learned man, named Almericus, and six of his disciples, were in the third century ordered to be burnt at Paris; for holding these tenets:

1. That God was no otherwise present in the sacramental bread, than in any other bread.
2. That it was idolatry to build altars, or shrines, to saints.
3. That it was ridiculous to offer incense to saints.
4. That it was absurd to kiss the relics of saints.

However, the martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils did not prevent many from acknowledging the justness of his notions, and seeing the purity of the reformed religion; so that the faith of Christ continually increased, and in time not only spread itself over many parts of France, but diffused the light of the gospel over various other nations.

About the year 1524, at a town in France, called Melden, one John Clark set up a bill on the church door, wherein he called the pope Antichrist. For this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead: his mother, who stood by at the time, cried with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome these marks for his sake." Going afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, he demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breast torn by sharp pincers. He sustained these cruelties with amazing fortitude, and was even sufficiently cool to sing the 115th psalm, which expressly forbids superstition.



Having sung this psalm with admirable patience, he was thrown into the fire, and burnt to ashes.

Several persons of the reformed persuasion were, about this time, beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death, in several parts of France; but more particularly at Paris, Malda, and Limosin.

There was a native of Malda burnt in a slow fire for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limosin, John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt.

On his degradation, a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion; when opening the New Testament he pitched upon this text, in the first epistle of St. Paul the apostle, to Timothy, chap. iv. ver. 1. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verse in favour of the Roman-Catholic persuasion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Cadurco called to him, and begged, that before he proceeded in his sermon, he would read the two verses which followed that he had chosen for his text. The friar again opened the Testament, but on casting his eye on the passage, he stood mute and confounded. John de Cadurco then desired that the book might be handed to him; this request being complied with, he read thus, "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The Roman-Catholics plainly saw, but had not candour sufficient to own their error; but instead of thanking the person who pointed out their being wrong, they condemned him to the flames, and he was accordingly burned.

Alexander Kanus, a reformed clergyman, was burnt at Paris in a slow fire; four men were committed to the flames for distributing about papers that ridiculed the saying mass. One had his tongue bored through for speaking ill of the Romish superstitions. Peter Gauder, a Genoese, was burnt by the desire of his own uncle, a bigoted Roman-Catholic; and John Pointer, a surgeon, had his tongue cut out, and was then committed to the fire.

Many were martyred at Arras, Foutanis, and Ruitiers, for being of the reformed religion; in particular, at the latter place, one Stephen Brune was condemned to be burnt for refusing to attend mass. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a brisk gale of wind: this occasioned the executioner to heap more faggots round him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames into a contrary direction, when the executioner absurdly grew angry with Stephen Brune, and in his passion struck him on the head. Brune very calmly said in return, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me with a staff like a dog." This expression so greatly enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the body when lifeless.

One Aymond de Lavoy, a minister of Bourdeaux, had a complaint lodged against him by the Romish clergy of that city. On hearing this, his friends advised him to abscond; but he absolutely refused so to do, and told them: "That should he be absent himself, the people might well imagine what he had preached consisted only of dreams and fables, and was not extracted from the pure word of God; but to prevent them from entertaining such a notion, he determined to seal his testimony of the truth with his blood." When he was seized upon, the people would have rescued him, but he desired them to forbear, saying, "Since it is the will of God that I should suffer for him, I will not resist his will." He remained nine months in prison on the information only, and patiently suffered all the inclemencies of a gaol. Being brought to trial, he was ordered to be racked; when in the extremity of the torture he comforted himself with this expression; "This body must once die, but the soul shall live; for the kingdom of

God endureth for ever." At length he swooned away; but on recovering, prayed for his persecutors. The question was then put to him, "Whether he would embrace the Roman-Catholic persuasion; which positively refusing, he was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me; tarry not; despise not the work of thy hands." And perceiving some who used to attend his sermons, he addressed them thus, "My friends, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel; for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power over the soul." The executioner then strangled him, and burnt his body afterwards.

An apothecary of Blois, of the name of Hufson, went from that city to Rouen, and there privately distributed and scattered about several small pamphlets, explaining the tenets of the reformed church, and exposing the Romish superstitions. These books gave a general alarm, and a council being called, an order was issued for diligent search to be made for the author and distributor. With some difficulty it was at length discovered that Hufson had brought them to Rouen, and that he was gone towards Dieppe. Orders for a pursuit were given, and Hufson being apprehended, was brought back to Rouen, where he confessed that he was both author and distributor of the books in question. This confession occasioned his condemnation, when he was executed in the following manner. His tongue being cut out, his hands and feet were tied behind, and he was drawn up by a pulley to a gibbet, and then let down into a fire kindled beneath; in which situation he called upon the Lord, and soon breathed his last.

One Francis Brihard, secretary to cardinal de Bellay, for speaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt, A. D. 1554. James Cobard, a school-master in the city of St. Michael, was burnt, A. D. 1545, for saying "That mass was useless and absurd;" and about the same time, fourteen men were burnt at Malda, their wives being compelled to stand by and behold the execution.

Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there in the year 1546, for which being apprehended, he was condemned to be burnt; which sentence was executed a few days after it passed. Soon after a cripple of Meaux, a school-master of Fera, named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John English, were burned for the truth.

The choice being offered to Michael Michelot, either to recant and be beheaded, or to persevere and be burned; he chose the latter, making use, at the same time, of these words: "God, who has given me grace not to deny the truth, will give me strength to endure the fire." Many, about the same time were burnt at Paris, Bar, &c. and at Langres, five men and two women were, by the Roman-Catholics, committed to the flames for being of the reformed religion: when the youngest woman encouraged the other, saying, "This day shall we be married to Jesus Christ, and be with him for ever."

A rich jeweller, named Monsieur Blondel, was, A. D. 1548, apprehended at Lyons, and sent to Paris: where he was burnt for the faith, by order of the high court. A. D. 1549. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, at the same time.

There was a lady, named Ann Audebert, who designed, on account of her faith, to retire to Geneva, seized and sent to Paris. Being condemned, she was led to execution by a rope placed round her waist. This rope she called her wedding girdle; and as it was on a Saturday, she said, "I was once married to a man on a Saturday, and now I shall be married to God on the same day of the week." She was at length fastened to the stake, and burnt, meeting her fate with the most exemplary fortitude and resignation.

Many singular circumstances happened immediately after the coronation of Henry the Second, king of France, which we shall relate. A taylor was apprehended for working on a saint's day; being asked why



why he gave such offence to religion, his reply was, "I am a poor man, and have nothing but my labour to depend upon; necessity requires that I should be industrious, and my conscience tells me there is no day but the sabbath which I ought to keep sacred from labour." Having expressed himself thus, he was committed to prison, and the affair being soon after rumoured at court, some of the nobles persuaded the king to be present at the trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a superb chair of state, and the bishop of Mafcon was ordered to interrogate the prisoner. The taylor, on perceiving the king, paid his obedience to him in the most respectful manner, saying, "I thank God for honouring me thus, and for permitting me to vindicate the light of his gospel before so great a prince." The prelate then questioned him concerning the tenets of his faith, when the clearness and spirit of his answers amazed all that heard him. The king was much affected and seemed to muse, when the bishop exclaimed, "He is an obstinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back again to prison, from thence conveyed to the place of execution, and there burnt to death." As the king did not oppose what the bishop said, the officers proceeded to do as they were ordered; and, in the mean time, lest what the taylor had uttered might alarm the conscience of the king, the bishop artfully insinuated, "That the heretics (as he called the reformed) had many specious arguments in their mouths, which, at the first hearing, appeared conclusive, but on serious examination, they were found to be false and deceitful. He then used his utmost endeavours in persuading the king to be present at the execution, who at length consented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place where persons under condemnation were usually put to death. When the taylor saw the king, he fixed his eyes stedfastly upon him, and even while the flames were consuming him, he kept gazing in such a manner, as threw the monarch into visible confusion, and obliged him to retire before the martyr gave up the ghost. The king was so shocked upon this occasion, that he could not recover his spirits for some time; and what added to his disquiet was, his continually dreaming, for many successive nights, that he saw the taylor with his eyes fixed upon him, in the same manner as he had done during the execution.

One Claudius, a pious man, was burnt at Orleans; a Genoese youth, called Thomas, having rebuked a Roman-Catholic for profanely swearing, was informed against as an heretic, and committed to the flames at Paris: and three men at Lyons, being condemned for their religion, were conducted to the place of execution; two of them with ropes about their necks; but the third, having been an officer in the king's service, was exempted from that disgrace. He, however, told the officer, that he begged to be treated in the same manner as his companions, and desired they would indulge him with one of those precious collars about his neck, in honour of the Lord. His request was complied with; and after having sung a psalm with great fervency, they were all three committed to the flames.

Simon Laloe, a citizen of Geneva; Matthew Dimonet, a converted libertine; and Nicholas Naile, a bookseller of Paris, were martyred by fire, for professing the reformed religion.

Peter Serre was originally a priest, but reflecting on the errors of Popery, he, at length, embraced the reformed religion, and learned the trade of a shoe-maker, that by honest industry he might obtain a subsistence. Having a brother at Thoulouse, who was a bigoted Roman-Catholic, Serre, out of fraternal love, made a journey to that city, in order to dissuade him from his superstitions. The brother's wife not approving of his design, lodged a complaint against him. He was soon apprehended, and very candidly made a full declaration of his faith. The judge then asked him concerning his occupation: to which he replied, "I have of late practised the trade of a shoe-maker." Of late, said the judge, and what did you practise formerly? That I am almost ashamed to tell you, exclaimed Serre, because it was the vilest and most wicked occupation imaginable.

The judge and all who were present, from these words supposed he had been a murderer, or thief, and that what he spoke was through contrition for his past crimes. The judge, however, to put the matter beyond doubt, ordered him to explain precisely what he meant; when Serre, with tears in his eyes, cried, "O! I was formerly that abominable thing—A POPISH PRIEST." This reply surprised all who heard it, and so much exasperated the judge, that he condemned Serre to be first degraded, then to have his tongue cut, and afterwards to be publicly burnt; which sentence was punctually executed.

Two men of the reformed religion, with the son and daughter of one of them, were, in the year 1554, apprehended and committed to the castle of Niverne. On examination, they confessed their faith, and were ordered for execution: being smeared with grease, brimstone, and gunpowder, they cried, "Salt on, salt on this sinful and rotten flesh." Their tongues were then cut out, and they were afterwards committed to the flames, which soon consumed them, by means of the combustible matter with which they were belined all over.

A priest of the name of Philip Hamlin, was apprehended for having renounced the errors of Popery, and embraced the reformed religion. Being condemned to the stake, the faggots were piled about him, when he began earnestly to exhort the people to quit the errors of the church of Rome. The officer who presided at the execution, on hearing this, ordered the faggots to be immediately lighted, and that one should blow a trumpet while Hamlin was burning, that the people should not hear his voice, or be induced to change their opinions from what he might say to them.

#### *A full and particular Account of the MARTYRDOM of JOHN CALAS.*

SEEING that we are now treating of the persecutions in the kingdom of France, it may not be improper to look a little forward to modern times, wherein we may see the same persecuting spirit of Popery, that raged formerly, most strikingly exhibited in the martyrdom of John Calas.

Without doubt, this is one of the most singular affairs that ever happened, and by being transacted in a polished age, shews that neither experience, or improvement, can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman-Catholics; or render them less cruel, or inexorable, to the Protestants.

This John Calas was a merchant of the city of Thoulouse, where he had been settled, and lived in good repute, and had married an English woman of French extraction.

Both Calas and his wife were Protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman-Catholic, having been converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practise, on account of his being a Protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a dissipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could constitute the character of a libertine. On which account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that seemed to oppress him.

Mr. Gobe La Vaiffe, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of La Vaiffe, a celebrated advocate of Thoulouse, having been some time at Bourdeaux, came back to Thoulouse to see his father on the 13th of October 1761; but finding that he was gone to



his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be hired; and, about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas the father, and the eldest son Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaiffe consented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas's house together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quitted that day, La Vaiffe went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her, he was to sup with her by her husband's invitation, at which she expressed her satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid. When that was done, she went to look for her son Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive: she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, as he was a better judge of the quality of cheese than any other person in the family. She then returned to her guest La Vaiffe, who very soon after went again to the livery-stable, to see if any horse was come in, that he might secure it for the next morning.

Anthony in a short time returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaiffe also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, in a room up one pair of stairs; the whole company consisting of Calas the father and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas the sons, and La Vaiffe the guest, no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant, who has been mentioned already.

Now it was about seven o'clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expression, "when they came to the desert," Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the same floor, as he was accustomed to do. The maid asked him if he was cold? He answered, "Quite the contrary, I burn;" and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room they had supped in, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and La Vaiffe sat down together on a sofa; the younger son Peter in an elbow chair; and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaiffe took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

There was on the ground floor of Calas's house a shop and a warehouse; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaiffe came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope that suspended him was fastened, slipped off from the folding-door of the warehouse, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his second son and La Vaiffe, who had not had presence of mind enough to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaiffe, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry

an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene, that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, Mr. Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffata, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

A crowd of people by this time were gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, were come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, before they knew what was the matter; and having by some means heard that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as the family were Protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the street increased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to become Catholics. Others who had found out that La Vaiffe was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaiffe was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's house to hang his son.

Now the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice to prevent his being torn to pieces by the multitude, who supposed that he had murdered his son. This was accordingly done: a messenger was dispatched to the capitoul, one David, the first magistrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The capitoul was already set out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder before the messenger sent from Calas's got to his house. He entered Calas's house with forty soldiers, took the father, Peter the son, the mother, La Vaiffe, and the maid, all into custody, and set a guard over them. He sent for M. de la Tour, a physician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck: they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder: his clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either unbuttoned or torn.

The capitoul, notwithstanding these appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaiffe, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaiffe had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

On account of these notions the capitoul ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaiffe, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal process was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the







the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's house to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England: witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, which is the same there as the verdict of the coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were, the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death.

Seeing that no proof of the supposed fact could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This recites, that La Vaiffe was commissioned by the Protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion: it recites also, that when the Protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him: it recites likewise, that Anthony died a Roman-Catholic, and requires evidence of his Catholicism.

Now these ridiculous opinions being adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

However, before this monitory was published, the mob had got a notion, that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul immediately adopted this opinion also, without the least examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was accordingly done, forty priests, and all the White Penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

Some short time after the interment of the deceased, the White Penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raised in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "Abjuration of heresy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him the next day; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange folly of their magistrates and priests.

Still the capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were guilty, in his monitory, without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Casing was enlarged upon proof that he was not in Calas's house till after Anthony was dead.

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but the prosecution still continued.

As soon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas's house, and shewn the folding-doors and the bar, deposed, that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself as was pretended. Another witness swore, that he looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman named Maundrill had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared, she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city.

Agreeable to this evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouse.

There was among those who presided at the trial one La Borde, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had laid two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain upon the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is, however, certain, that if they had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that they could not justly condemn him, for they were all in the house together when Anthony died. All concurred in declaring he hanged himself, that the persons accused could have had no motive to do such an act, nor could they have hanged him by violence, without the knowledge of the rest.

However, poor Calas, an old man of 68, was condemned to this dreadful punishment alone. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that saw him.

Father Bourges and father Coldagues, the two Dominicans, who attended him in his last moments, wished their latter end might be like his; and declared, that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but one single shriek, and that not very violent, when he received the first stroke; after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he expressed himself with an humble hope of an happy immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the capitoul, the author of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." Mr. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, and the youngest son of the unfortunate victim, was apprentice to a merchant at Nismes, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven unfortunately prejudiced judges of Thoulouse, had put his worthy father to death.

So violent was the popular outcry against this family in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. Even the attorney-general expected it. So weak, it is said, had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes, and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels.

Young Donat Calas was made to dread sharing the fate of the rest of his family, and was advised to fly into Switzerland: he went and found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against the father, mother, and brothers.

Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only banished,



banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took every possible precaution to be assured of the innocence of the family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Thoulouse, and to have the proceedings revised by the king's counsel. This revision lasted three years, and it is well known what honour Messrs. de Grosne and Bacquancourt acquired by reporting this memorable cause. Fifty masters of the Court of Requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The duke de Choiseul, who never let slip an opportunity of signaling the greatness of his character, not only assisted this unfortunate family with money, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arret which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was signed on the 9th of March 1765. The 9th of March 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed down their cheeks.

Now have we traced, through all its circumstances, one of the most singular affairs that ever the annals of superstition, or the history of bigotry produced; and lament, that a worthy and innocent man fell a sacrifice to that narrowness, which a popish education bestows, and which settled prejudices always convert to cruelty. Hence we may perceive, to what a depraved state the human mind may be reduced, when left to the guidance of the passions, or suffered to be the slave of enthusiasm. A sect, which would propagate its doctrines in blood, cannot be the favourer of truth: that persuasion alone can merit the sacred name of religion, which wishes to reform mankind.

The purity of the gospel will equally shun superstition and cruelty, as the mildness of Christ's tenets teaches only to comfort in this world, and procure salvation in the next. To persecute for being of a different opinion, is as absurd as to persecute for having a different countenance: if we honour God, keep sacred the pure doctrines of Christ, put a full confidence in the promises contained in the holy scriptures, and obey the political laws of the state in which we reside, we have an undoubted right to protection instead of persecution, and to serve heaven, as our consciences may direct, when regulated by the gospel precepts.

## C H A P. IV.

*Including an HISTORICAL SURVEY of the PERSECUTIONS in SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ITALY, &c. &c.*

*A full and particular Account of the RISE, PROGRESS, &c. of the INQUISITION.*

AS soon as the reformed religion began to diffuse the gospel light throughout Europe, pope Innocent the Third entertained great fear for the Romish church. Unwilling that the spirit of free inquiry should gain ground, or that the people should attain more knowledge than the priests were willing to admit, he determined to impede, as much as possible, the progress of reformation. He accordingly instituted a number of inquisitors, or persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish heretics, as the reformed were called by the Papists.

One Dominic was at the head of these inquisitors, who had been canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more respectable. Dominic, and the other inquisitors, spread themselves into various Roman-Catholic countries, and treated the Protestants with the utmost severity. In process of time, the pope, not finding these roving inquisitors so useful as he had imagined, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition. After the order for these regular courts, the first office of inquisition was established in the city of Thoulouse, and Dominic became the first regular inquisitor, as he had before been the first roving inquisitor.

Now courts of inquisition were erected in several countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreadful of any. Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread the power of the lords of the inquisition; and the horrid cruelties they exercised, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Roman-Catholics, carefully to conceal their sentiments.

The Dominicans and Franciscans were the most zealous of all the popish monks, and those who most implicitly obeyed the church of Rome: these, therefore, the pope thought proper to invest with an exclusive right

of presiding over, and managing the different courts of inquisition. The friars of those two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with punctilios of honour: they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austere lives, which rendered their manners unsocial and brutish, and, of course, the better qualified them for the employment of inquisitors.

Now the pope thought proper to give the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the most slight information of heresy. They were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces.

In the year 1244, their power was further increased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two very cruel edicts as follows:

1. That all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burnt.
2. That all heretics, who repented should be imprisoned for life.

This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman-Catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to renounce Christianity, and turn Mahometan; the emperor therefore attempted, by the height of bigotry, to contradict the report, and by cruelty to shew his attachment to Popery.

The officers of the inquisition are, three inquisitors, or judges, a fiscal proctor, two secretaries, a magistrate, a messenger, a receiver, a gaoler, an agent of confiscated possessions; several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and visitors, who are all sworn to profound secrecy.

The chief accusation against those who are subject to



to this tribunal, is heresy, which comprises all that is spoken, or written, against any of the articles of the creed, or the traditions of the Romish church. The other articles of accusation are, renouncing the Roman-Catholic persuasion, and believing that persons of any other religion may be saved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but Papists are, in the least, reasonable or proper. We shall mention two other things which incur the most severe punishments, and shew the inquisitors, at once, in an absurd and a tyrannical light, viz. To disapprove of any action done by the inquisition, or disbelieve any thing said by an inquisitor.

This grand article, heresy, comprises many subdivisions; and, upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended: advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance such; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church; letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast-days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by an heretic; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of, contracting a friendship with, or making a present to an heretic; assisting an heretic to escape from confinement, or visiting one in confinement, are all matters of suspicion, and prosecuted accordingly. Nay, all Roman-Catholics were commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judged them to be what was called heretics, or any ways inclining to heresy.

All who give the least countenance or assistance to Protestants, are called fautors, or abettors of heresy, and the accusations against these usually turn upon some of the following points; comforting such as the inquisition have begun to prosecute; assisting, or not informing against such, if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing heretics with money; visiting, or writing to, or sending them subsistence; secreting, or burning books and papers, which might serve to convict them.

In like manner the inquisition takes cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, witches, blasphemers, soothsayers, wizards, common swearers; and of such who read, or even possess the Bible in the common language, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

The inquisitors upon all occasions carry on their processes with the utmost severity, and punish those who offend them with the most unparalleled cruelty. A Protestant has seldom any mercy shewn him; and a Jew, who turns Christian, is far from being secure; for if he is known to keep company with another new-converted Jew, a suspicion immediately arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies; if he keeps company with a person who was lately a Protestant, but now professes Popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associates with a Roman-Catholic, an accusation is often laid against him for only pretending to be a Papist, and the consequence is, a confiscation of his effects as a punishment for his insincerity, and the loss of his life if he complains of ill usage.

In the inquisition a defence is of little use to the prisoner, for a suspicion only, is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. The principal part of the inquisitors' cruelties is owing to their rapacity: they destroy the life to possess the property; and, under the pretence of zeal, plunder each obnoxious individual.

Any prisoner to the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken, by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself, and by that means corroborate their evidence. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition is not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquisition being to strike terror, and awe those who

are the objects of its power, into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, great dignity, or eminent employments, are no protection from its severities; and the lowest officers of the inquisition can make the highest characters dread them.

Such are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition, and the modes of beginning the process are four in number, viz.

1. To proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report.

2. To proceed by the information of any indifferent person who chuses to impeach another.

3. To found the prosecution on the information of those spies who are regularly retained by the inquisition.

4. To prosecute on the confession of the prisoner himself.

As soon as a person is summoned to appear before the inquisition, the best method (unless he is sure of escaping by flight) is immediately to obey the summons; for though really innocent, the least delay increases his criminality in the eye of the inquisitors, as one of their maxims is, that backwardness to appear always indicates guilt in the person summoned; and if he escapes, it is the same as perpetual banishment, for should such ever return, the most cruel death would be the certain consequence thereof.

Now the inquisitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions, or most liberal presents, obtain a pardon: they carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and would have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is retaken, he ought seriously to prepare himself for martyrdom, and arm his soul against the fear of death. Every person, in such a situation, ought to be composed for the awful occasion, without expectation of remedy.

If a positive accusation is given, the inquisitors direct an order under their hands to the executioner; who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. The calamity of a man under such circumstances can scarce be described, he being probably seized when surrounded by his family, or in company with his friends. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, wife, must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak; either would subject them to the punishment of the devoted victim. No respite is allowed to settle the most important affairs, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away to meet his fate.

From this we may judge how critically dangerous must be the situation of persons who reside in countries where there is an inquisitorial tribunal; and how carefully cautious all states ought to be who are not cursed with such an arbitrary court, to prevent its introduction. In speaking of this subject, an elegant author pathetically says, "How horrid a scene of perfidy and inhumanity? What kind of community must that be whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance with regard to human frailties are banished! What must that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to commence their accusers, and consequently to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal, which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect, due to those who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover to a set of merciless inquisitors, the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which they are exposed by human frailty. In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal stamp. What disorder and confusion must such conduct give rise to, in a tenderly affectionate family?"



family? An expression innocent in itself, and perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; shall ruin it's peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of it's members to be the unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father, who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will not they rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal, founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife, have an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the persecution in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him, or her, up to the rigours of the inquisition."

As soon as the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate condemnation; false oaths and testimonies, founded on perjury, are directed by the virulence of prejudice to find the accused guilty; and all laws, divine and human, all institutions, moral and political, are sacrificed to bigoted revenge.

If a person accused be taken and imprisoned, his treatment is deplorable indeed. The gaolers first begin by searching him for books or papers which might tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder, or breaking from the place of confinement. But it is to be observed, that the obvious articles of the search are not the only things taken from a prisoner; for the conscientious gaolers make free with money, rings, buckles, apparel, &c. under various pretences, such as, that money or rings may be swallowed, to the great detriment of the prisoner's health, the prongs of buckles may be used to take away life, by means of a neckcloth or a pair of garters a prisoner may hang himself, &c. &c. Thus he is robbed under the plausible pretext of humanity, and used ill through pretended affection.

When the prisoner has been searched under the name of care, and robbed beneath the mask of justice, he is committed to prison by way of security. "Here, says an authentic writer, he is conveyed to a dungeon, the sight of which must fill him with horror, torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed access, or even to send him one consolatory letter, or take the least step in his favour in order to prove his innocence. He sees himself instantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to melancholy and despair, and even often to his most inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence on such an occasion is a weak reed, nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person."

The usual portion of a prisoner is death, the mildest sentence being imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The gaoler first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well, and among other hints, falsely kind, tells him to petition for an audit.

Now this is the worst thing a prisoner can do, for the mere petition is deemed a supposition of guilt, and he is persuaded to it only with a view to entrap him. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, What is your request?

To this the prisoner very naturally answers that he would have a hearing.

Hereupon one of the inquisitors replies, your hearing is this—confess the truth—conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy.

Then if the prisoner makes a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it: if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water till he overcomes his obstinacy as they call it; and if he declares he is innocent, they torment him, till he either dies with the torment, or confesses himself guilty.

On the re-examinations of such as confess, they continually say, "You have not been sincere, you tell not

all—you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who stood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak, or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test, they must either swear they are Roman-Catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not Roman-Catholics, they are proceeded against as heretics. If they acknowledge they are Roman-Catholics, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore, no time being given even to put their answers into proper method.

When they have verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which it is required shall in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and the written answer differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication; if one contains more than the other, with wishing to conceal certain circumstances; if they both agree, they are accused with premeditated artifice.

After the person impeached is condemned, he is either severely whipped, violently tortured, sent to the galleys, or sentenced to death; and in either case the effects are confiscated. After judgment a procession is performed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called, an *Auto de Fe*, or Act of Faith.

The following is an exact account of an *Auto de Fe*, performed at Madrid in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution.

Now there had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph.

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared dressed as splendid as their respective circumstances would admit. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

Twenty men and women out of these prisoners, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys: these last wore large paste-board caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

On this solemn occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the sheriffs officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding them when fast bound with thick cords: the rest of the criminals were conducted by the familiars of the inquisition.

There was among those who were to suffer, a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, and but seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die, for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared an heretic by the inquisition.

Mass now began, in the midst of which the priest came



came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose.

Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and support, with all their power, the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition.

On the approach of the inquisitor, and his presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up, bare-headed, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors: after which the king continued standing till the inquisitor was returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered a like oath to the counsellors and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other.

Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls had not been more enlightened.

The near situation of the king to the criminals rendered their dying groans very audible to him; he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

Another Auto de Fe is thus described by the reverend Doctor Gedde:

"At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them. The stakes of the Protestants, or, as the inquisitors call them, the professed, are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon the prisoner is seated within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend them the whole day of execution. When they come even with the fore-mentioned board, they turn about to the people, and the priest spends near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the see of Rome. On their refusing, the priests come down, and the executioner ascending, turns the professed from off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stakes, and leaves them.

"Then the priests go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them at parting, 'That they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies.'

"A general shout is then raised, and when the priests get off the ladder, the universal cry is, 'Let the dogs' heads be made' (which implies, singe their heads); this is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes thrust against their faces with long poles.

"This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are consumed."

Innumerable are the martyrs who have borne these rigours with the most exemplary fortitude: and we hope that every Protestant, whose fate may expose him to the merciless tyranny of Papists, will act consistent with the duty of a Christian, when they consider the great rewards that await them.

These remarks may be applied to inquisitions in general, as well as to that of Spain in particular. The inquisition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted much about

the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other; we shall therefore introduce an account of it in this place. The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about three hundred dungeons, or cells.

These dungeons on the ground floor are allotted to the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second story to persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of freestone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high, which greatly increases the gloom, and darkens them exceedingly.

So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious, and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court to stand and observe the executions during an Auto de Fe.

Respecting the dungeons where the prisoners are confined, they are not only gloomy in themselves, but as miserably furnished as can be imagined; the only accommodations being a frame of wood by way of bedstead, and a straw bed, mattress, blankets, sheets, an urinal, wash-hand basin, two pitchers, one for clean, the other for foul water, a lamp, and a plate.

A testoon, which is seven-pence halfpenny English money, is allowed every prisoner daily; and the principal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, monthly visits every prisoner, to inquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the gaoler usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily, viz. a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef, a small piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheese.

All these articles are charged to the prisoner at the rate of seventeen testoons in the month; four are allowed for brandy, or wine; two for fruit, making in the whole twenty-three; and the rest of the money, to make up the number of testoons for the month, are scandalously sunk in the articles of sugar and soap.

Many, who find their allowance too little, petition the lords inquisitors for a greater portion, when the petition is frequently granted; and in this particular the only mark of humanity hath been casually shewn; in all other circumstances they are inhuman, cruel, and severe. They not only exclude the prisoners from every intercourse with their relations or friends, make them suffer every inclemency of a gaol, or torture them in confinement, but even prohibit them from making the least noise by speaking loud, singing psalms or hymns, exclaiming, or even uttering the sighs which affliction naturally heaves from the breast.

Centinels walk about continually to listen; if the least noise is heard, they call to, and threaten the prisoner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues, as a punishment to what is deemed the offending party, and to intimidate others. As an instance of this take the following fact: a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied, that from the violence of his cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully, that he soon after died of the blows.

In this inquisition, as in that of Spain, if the prisoners plead their innocence, they are condemned as obdurate, and their effects embezzled; if they plead guilty, they are sentenced on their own confession, and their effects confiscated of course; and if they are suffered to escape with their lives (which is but seldom the case) as penitent criminals who have voluntarily accused themselves, they dare not reclaim their effects, as that would bring on them an accusation of being hypocritical and relaxed penitents, when a most cruel death would be the certain consequence.



Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea of when he is to be tried. The gaoler at length informs him, that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken bare-headed for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the gaoler knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and accommodates him with a stool.

Then the prisoner is ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?

Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answers in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation; Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office.

Now the gaolers and attendants, when apprized that the prisoner hath made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

He is brought in a few days to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. It is then demanded of him, If he has taken a serious review of his past life, and will divulge its various secrets, and the crimes and follies into which he has run at different times. If he refuses to confess any thing, many ensnaring questions are put to him, and the arts of casuistry are exhausted to draw some secret from him. But if he accuses himself of any crimes or follies, they are written down by the secretary, and a process extracted from them. The inquisitors often over-reach prisoners, by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves. The unhappy persons, who are in their power, frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity, and ill-placed confidence. Instances have been known of some, who relying on the faith of the judges, and believing their fallacious promises, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining their liberty speedily; and thus, being duped by the inquisitors, they became martyrs to their own folly, and suffered death for fictitious transgressions.

There is another artifice used by the inquisitors; if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they proceed thus: a copy of an indictment against the prisoner is given him, in which, among many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes, of which human nature is capable. This, of course, rouses his temper, and he exclaims against such falsities. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny? He naturally singles out the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being snatched out of his hand, the president says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly."

These wretches make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chuses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed; but upon these occasions, as the trial itself is a mockery of justice, so the counsellor is a mere cypher: for he is not permitted to say any thing that might offend the inquisitor, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner. Amazing profligacy, to turn that to a farce, which ought to be revered as a superior virtue.

It may be seen from what hath been said, that a prisoner to the inquisitors is reduced to the sad necessity of defending himself against accusers he does not know, and of answering to the evidence of witnesses he must not see. The only person he is permitted to have a sight of upon his trial, exclusive of the judges and secretary, is the fiscal, who acts officially as the ostensible accuser, from the collected information of others. A desire of being informed of the real accuser's name, or to see the actual witnesses, avail nothing, those things he is told are always kept secret. Thus is he continued in suspense respecting his fate, and frequently interrogated, perhaps, for years together, before his trial is finally concluded. When that fatal time comes, if he is condemned to die, death is deferred for a considerable time. To put him out of his misery immediately would be too great a favour, and prevent the inquisitors from indulging their sanguinary dispositions with other sufferings which they intend to inflict. They begin by putting him to the torture, under the pretence of making the poor wretch discover his accomplices. For this purpose the tortures are various, and the torments inflicted excruciating to the last degree. Well might a late writer, in speaking of these cruelties, exclaim, "O, that I was able to give some faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miserable victims are here forced to suffer; but no language can represent such a complicated scene of horrors. It is utterly impossible for any words to describe which of them is the most cruel and inhuman. Every one is so exquisite in its kind as to surpass all imagination. What detestable monsters then must those judges be, who are the inventors, and perpetrators of such misery? They are shaped, it is true, like other men, but surely they seem to have a different kind of souls. They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow-creatures, as the cords, chains, racks, and tortures, which are applied to their writhing limbs. The hearts of these ecclesiastical butchers are grown callous, and, like those of common butchers are so insured to the shedding of blood, and horrid sight of mangled carcases, as to have lost all the impressions of sensibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity. Perpetual scenes of horror and distress become so familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heart-strings of some men, make no more impression on theirs than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without such a fiend-like temper, it would be impossible for any man to act the part of an inquisitor."

Though the inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, yet at those three it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple, and suffers the severest pains upon every change of weather. We shall give an ample description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived the cruelties he underwent.

#### *The first Time of Torturing.*

A prisoner on refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, was immediately conveyed to the torture room, where no light appeared but what two candles gave. That the cries of the sufferers might not be heard by the other prisoners, this room is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices and deadens the sound.

Very great was the prisoner's horror on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor.

The operation they began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men on a given signal.

We



We may naturally conceive that the pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes which were of a small size, cut through the prisoner's flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places thus bound at a time. As the prisoner persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

Let it be observed, that a physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small space suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits, to sustain each ensuing torture.

During this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonizing soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature, to confess his imputed guilt, in doing which they tell him he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

While he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarously unjust as to declare, that if he died under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight he grew so exceedingly weak, by the circulation of his blood being stopped, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

#### *The second Time of Torturing.*

These inhuman wretches of the inquisition, finding that all the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplications to heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so inhuman, six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees, nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel to the other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

#### *The third Time of Torturing.*

About two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture room; and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment, which was inflicted twice without any intermission. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists.

Then the executioner stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained (though if possible attended with keener pains) with equal constancy and resolution.

This done, he was again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their *Auto de Fe*, or gaol delivery, when he was happily discharged.

It may easily be judged from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, at being so frequently put to the torture. Most of his limbs were disjointed; and so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammation caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody lords of the inquisition.

The unhappy females who fall into the hands of the inquisitors, have not the least favour shewn them on account of the softness of their sex, but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking indecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should the above-mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon, but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and, taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets.

This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned for similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequently these snares succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship, sympathy, pity, and every tender passion. In fine, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured, or harassed to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having, first of all, suffered the most dreadful cruelties. If he is found guilty, all his effects are confiscated, and he is condemned to be whipped, imprisoned for life, sent to the galleys, or put to death. These sentences are put in execution at an *Auto de Fe*, or gaol delivery, which is not held annually, or at any stated periods, but sometimes once in two, three, or even four years.

Having now mentioned the barbarities with which the persons of prisoners are treated by the inquisitors, we shall proceed to recount the severity of their proceedings against publications.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars belonging to the inquisition. These wretched critics are too ignorant to have taste, too bigoted to search for truth, and too malicious to relish beauties. They scrutinize, not for the merits, but for the defects of another, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. Hence they read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue errors with avidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning.

They misapply, misunderstand, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misinterpretations.

Any trivial charge causes the censure of a book; but



but it is to be observed, that the censure is of a three-fold nature, viz.

1. When the book is wholly condemned.
2. When the book is partly condemned, that is, when certain passages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.
3. When the book is deemed incorrect; the meaning of which is, that a few words or expressions displease the inquisitors. These, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and such alterations go under the name of corrections.

It is evident, from what has been said that the inquisitors check the progress of learning, impede the increase of arts, nip genius in the bud, destroy the national taste, and continue the cloud of ignorance over the minds of the people.

There is a catalogue of condemned books annually published under the three different heads of censures, already mentioned, and being printed on a very large sheet of paper, is hung up in the most public and conspicuous places. After which, people are obliged to destroy all such books as come under the first censure, and to keep none belonging to the other two censures, unless the exceptionable passages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either case disobedience would be of the most fatal consequence: for the possessing or reading the proscribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes.

Every publisher of such books is usually ruined in his circumstances, and sometimes obliged to pass the remainder of his life in the inquisition.

*Instances of the Barbarities exercised by the INQUISITIONS of Spain and Portugal, on various Persons, upon several Occasions, and at different Times, from the most genuine Historians and the most authenticated Records.*

**I. FRANCIS ROMANES**, a native of Spain, being of a mercantile turn of mind, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp, to transact some business for them at Breme. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a Protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to perceive the errors of Popery, he determined to search further into the matter.

Perusing the sacred scriptures attentively, and reading the writings of some Protestant divines, he plainly perceived how erroneous the principles were he had formerly embraced; and renounced the impositions of Popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all its genuine purity.

Resolving to give over-worldly thoughts, and think of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandise, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul.

Now he resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and then resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized upon, imprisoned for some time, and then condemned to be burnt as an heretic.

Romanes was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head, by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it; but he absolutely refused so to do, saying, It is not for Christians to worship wood.

Having been placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, whereupon he lifted up his head suddenly; the priests thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating the seventh psalm.

**II.** At St. Lucar in Spain resided a carver named Rochus, whose principal business was to make images of saints and other popish idols. Becoming, however, convinced of the errors of the Romish persuasion, he embraced the Protestant faith, left off carving images, and for subsistence followed the business of a seal engraver only. He had, however, retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a sign; when an inquisitor passing by, asked if he would sell it; Rochus mentioned a price; the inquisitor objected to it, and offered half the money: Rochus replied, I would rather break it to pieces than take such a trifle. "Break it to pieces!" said the inquisitor, break it to pieces if you dare!"

At this expression Rochus, being provoked, immediately snatched up a chisel, and cut off the nose of the image. This was sufficient, the inquisitor went away in a rage, and soon after sent to have him apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he defaced was his own property, and that if it was not proper to do as he would with his own goods, it was not proper for the inquisitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided: he was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed accordingly.

**III.** One Doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis, and his sister Blanch, were burnt at Valladolid, for having spoken against the inquisitors.

**IV.** A gentlewoman with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville on account of their professing the Protestant religion. They were all put to the torture: and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to sympathize with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, "If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself."

Now made confident by his oath, and intrapped by promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, "Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing further, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto de Fe.

**V.** The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and shewed them every favour in his power with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that other gaolers might be deterred from shewing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they superseded, threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with such dreadful barbarity that he lost his senses.

However, his deplorable situation, procured him no favour; for frantic as he was, they brought him from prison at an Auto de Fe to the usual place of punishment, with a sambenito (or garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus; that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive two hundred stripes, and then be condemned six years to the galleys.

This unhappy frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the ass, broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing further mischief, seized, bound more securely to the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that for the rash effects of his madness an additional four years was added to his slavery in the galleys.

**VI.** A maid servant to another gaoler belonging to the inquisition was accused of humanity, and detected in bidding





*The Manner of exercising SOME of the Cruelties in the Popish Inquisition.*



*The Male Habit worn by Penitents who by Confession escape the flames after Sentence is pronounced.*



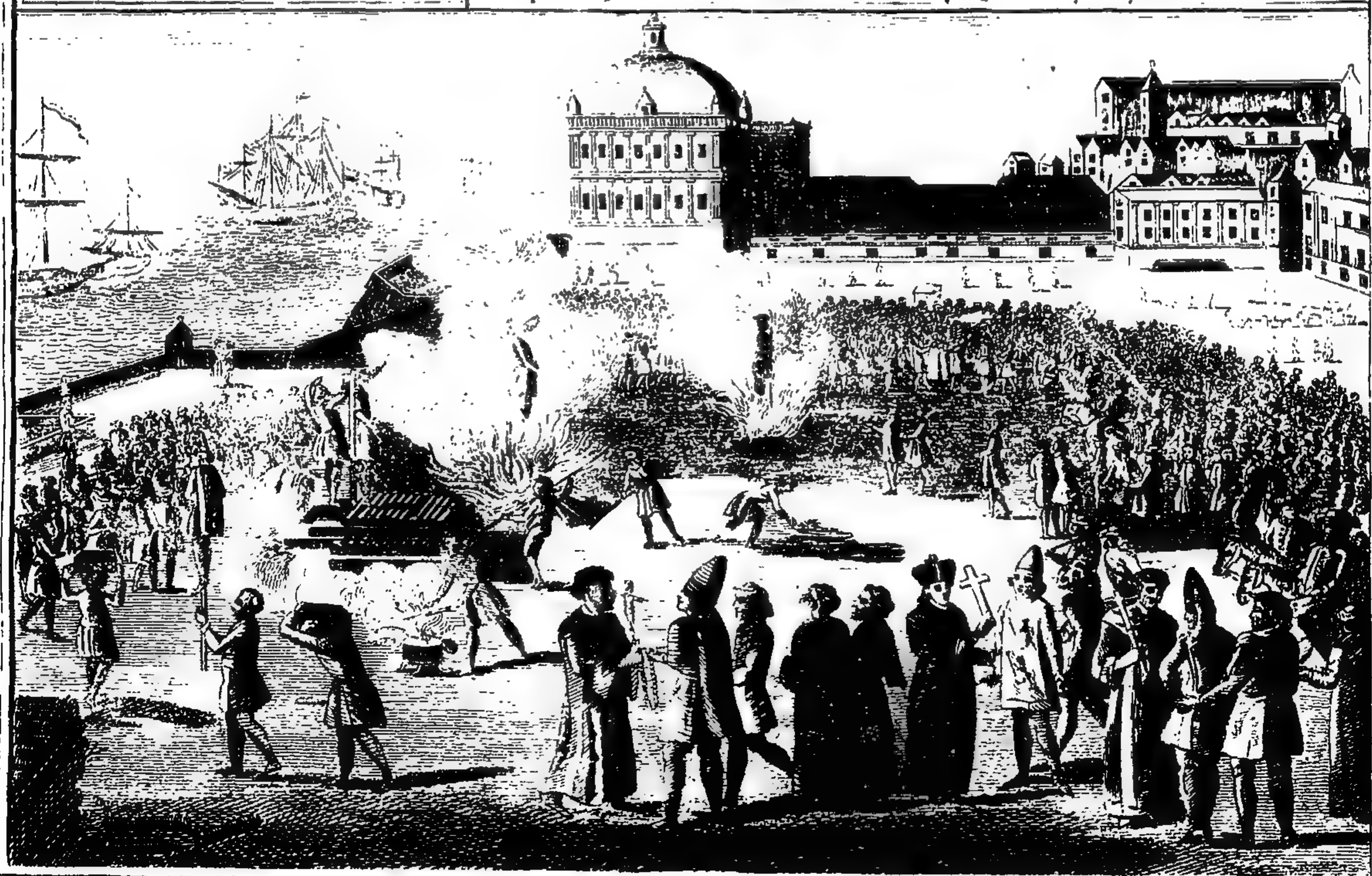
*The Habit worn by Penitents who by Confession escape the flames after Sentence is pronounced.*



*Habit of a Woman condemned by the Inquisition to be burnt alive.*



*The Male Habit of a Relapse or Impenitent acolyte to be burnt alive.*



*View of the Principal Place of the manner of Execution of Persons condemned by the Inquisition of Spain.*



bidding the prisoners keep up their spirits. For these heinous crimes, as they were called, she was publicly whipped, banished her native place for ten years, and what is worse, had her forehead branded by means of red hot irons, with these words, "A favourer and aider of heretics."

VII. One John Pontic, a Spaniard by birth, a gentleman by education, and Protestant by profession, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, when the charges exhibited against him were as follow:

1. That he had said he abhorred the idolatry of worshipping the host.
2. That he shunned going to mass.
3. That he asserted the merits of Jesus Christ alone was a full justification for a Christian.
4. That he declared there was no purgatory; and
5. That he affirmed the pope's absolution not to be of any value.

All his effects, on these charges, were confiscated to the use of the inquisitors, and his body was burnt to ashes to gratify their revenge and indignation.

VIII. Also John Gonsalvo, originally a priest, but who now embraced the reformed religion, was with his mother, brother, and two sisters, seized upon by the inquisitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution, where they sung part of the 106th psalm.

They were ordered at the place of execution to say the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, "The holy Catholic church," they were commanded to add the monosyllables "of Rome," which absolutely refusing, one of the inquisitors said, "Put an end to their lives directly;" when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them that very instant.

IX. There were four Protestant women who were seized upon at Seville, tortured, and in process of time ordered for execution. On the way thither they began to sing psalms; but the officers of the inquisition, thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on themselves, put gags into all their mouths, to make them silent. They were then burnt, and the houses where they resided ordered to be demolished.

X. A Protestant school-master of the name of Ferdinando, was apprehended by order of the inquisition, for instructing his pupils in the principles of Protestantism; and after being severely tortured, committed to the flames.

XI. There was a monk, who had abjured the errors of Popery, imprisoned at the same time as the above Ferdinando; but through the fear of death, and to procure mercy, he said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando hearing of this, got an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition. The monk, sensible of his crime, returned to, promised to continue in the Protestant faith, and declared to the inquisitors that he solemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burned at the time that Ferdinando suffered.

XII. A Spanish Roman-Catholic, named Juliano, on travelling into Germany, became a convert to the Protestant religion: and having entertained no little zeal for the faith he had embraced, he undertook a very arduous task, which was to convey from Germany into his own country, a great number of Bibles, concealed in casks, and packed up like Rhenish wine. This important commission he succeeded in so far as to distribute the books. A pretended Protestant, however, who had purchased one of the Bibles, betrayed him, and laid an account of the whole affair before the inquisition. No sooner was this discovery made than Juliano was seized upon, and all possible means being used to find out the respective purchasers of these Bibles, eight hundred persons were apprehended upon the occasion. They were all indiscriminately tortured, and then most of them were sentenced to various punishments. Juliano was burnt, twenty were roasted upon spits, several imprisoned for life, some were publicly

whipped, many sent to the galleys, and very few indeed released.

XIII. A Protestant taylor of Spain, named John Leon, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a great number of English Protestants were returning to their native country, he, and some more Spaniards, determined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors being apprized of their intentions, sent a number of familiars so expeditiously in pursuit of them, that they overtook them at a sea-port in Zealand, one of the United-Provinces (which was then under the jurisdiction of Spain) just before they had embarked. Having thus succeeded in their commission, the poor prisoners were heavily fettered, handcuffed, gagged, and had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net work. In this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dismal dungeon, almost famished with hunger, barbarously tortured, and then burnt in a cruel manner.

XIV. A young lady having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil, or turn nun. On leaving the cloister she embraced the Protestant faith, which being known to the inquisitors, she was apprehended, and every method used to draw her back again to Popery. This proving ineffectual, her inexorable judges condemned her to the flames, and she was burnt according to her sentence, persisting in her faith to the very last moment.

XV. An eminent physician, and learned philosopher of the name of Christopher Losada, became extremely obnoxious to the inquisitors, on account of exposing the errors of Popery, and professing the tenets of Protestantism. For these reasons he was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked; but those severities not bringing him to confess the Roman-Catholic church to be the only true church, he was sentenced to the fire; the flames of which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to that Creator by whom it was given.

XVI. Arias, a monk of St. Isidore's monastery at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vicious disposition. He sometimes pretended to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a Protestant, and soon after turned Roman-Catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart, and shew him the great danger of inconstancy in religious matters. He now became a true Protestant, and bewailed his former errors with contrition. The sincerity of his conversion being known, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burnt at an Auto de Fe in a cruel manner.

XVII. There was a young lady named Maria de Coceicao, who resided with her brother at Lisbon, taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The exquisite torments she felt staggered her resolution, and she fully confessed the charges against her. Hereupon the cords were immediately slackened, and she was re-conducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs, and was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession, and sign it. This she absolutely refused to do, telling them, that what she had said was forced from her by the excessive pain she underwent. Incensed at this reply, the inquisitors ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed; and she repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell till her wounds were again healed, when being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they in a stern manner ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but depend upon it, if you torture me an hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquisitors ordered her to be racked a third time; and, during this last trial, she exceeded even her own expectations; bore the torments inflicted with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the



the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy increased, the inquisitors imagined that she would deem death a glorious martyrdom, and therefore, to disappoint her expectations, they condemned her to a severe whipping through the public streets, and banishment for ten years.

XVIII. A lady of a noble family in Seville, named Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured, and burnt for professing the Protestant religion. While on the rack, through the extremity of pain, that young lady confessed that she had frequently discoursed with her sister concerning Protestantism, and upon this extorted confession was Jane Bohorquia seized and imprisoned. Being pregnant at the beginning, they let her remain tolerably quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took away the child, and put it to nurse, that it might be brought up a Roman-Catholic.

This unfortunate lady was not perfectly recovered from the weakness caused by her labour, when she was ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises she received. Upon this occasion the inquisitors affected some remorse, and, in one of the printed acts of the inquisition, which they always publish at an Auto de Fe, this young lady is thus mentioned: "Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon reviving her prosecution, the inquisitors discovered that she was innocent.—Be it therefore known, that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her, and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given to the heirs at law."

Thus have the lords of the holy office of inquisition generously restored to her innocence, reputation, and estate. Strange inconsistency! to take the property, and torture the person before conviction of guilt, and then to compliment themselves for moderation, in returning what they had no right to seize, and forgiving one, who, by their own acknowledgment, had never offended them. One sentence, however, in the above ridiculous passage, wants explanation, viz. That no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her. This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting, and burning the bones of the dead: for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as if he was living; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if sentence of guilt is passed, they are brought out at the next Auto de Fe; the sentence is read against them with as much solemnity as against a living prisoner, and they are at length committed to the flames. In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against prisoners who escape; and when their persons are far beyond the reach of the inquisitors, they are burnt in effigy.

XIX. Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a Moorish servant for stealing, was accordingly accused by him of professing Judaism. Without considering the apparent malice of the servant, the inquisitors seized the master upon the charge. He was kept three years in prison before he had the least intimation of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the six modes of torture as follow:

1. A coarse linen coat was put on him, and then drawn so tight, that the circulation of his blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After this the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing it's way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into it's channels, he suffered the most incredible pains.

2. His thumbs were tied with small cords, so hard that the blood gushed from under the nails.

3. He was seated on a bench with his back against a wall, wherein small iron pullies were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pullies, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted heap.

4. After having suffered for a considerable time the pains of the last mentioned position, the seat was snatched away, and he was left suspended against the wall in the most excruciating misery.

5. A little instrument with five knobs, and which went with springs, being placed near his face, he suddenly received five blows on the cheek, that put him to such pain as caused him to faint away.

6. The executioners fastened ropes round his wrists, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cords had penetrated to the bone.

He suffered the last torture three different times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of his sufferings, from which the foregoing particulars are chiefly extracted.

XX. A famous penman of Toledo, in Spain, and a Protestant, was fond of producing fine specimens of writings, and having them framed, to adorn the different apartments of his house. Among other curious examples of penmanship was a large piece, containing the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments, thrown into verse, and finely written. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was one day seen by a person belonging to the inquisition, who observed that the verification of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the Protestant church: for the Protestants retain the whole of the commandments as they are found in the Bible, but the Papists omit that part of the second commandment which forbids the worship of images. The inquisition soon had information of the whole, and this ingenious gentleman was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, only for ornamenting his house with a specimen of his skill and religion.

*A full Account of the Trial and Sufferings of Mr. ISAAC MARTIN.*

MR. MARTIN's case being not only singular in itself, but amply explained, and published under the immediate sanction of government, Mr. Martin being patronized by the highest characters both in church and state, we shall minutely enter into the particulars thereof.

In the year 1714, about Lent, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife, and four children. On the examination of his baggage, his Bible, and some other books were seized, and effectually lost to him.

He was accused in about three months time of being a Jew, for these curious reasons, that his own name was Isaac, and one of his sons was named Abraham.

As soon as he heard of the accusation, which was laid in the Bishop's Court, he informed the English consul of it, who said it was nothing but the malice of some of the Irish Papists, whom he advised him always carefully to shun. The clergy sent to Mr. Martin's neighbours to know their opinion concerning him: the result of which inquiry was this; We believe him not to be a Jew, but an heretic.

From this Mr. Martin was convinced that he had enemies at Malaga; but their malice did not appear formidable for some years. Being continually pestered by priests, particularly those of the Irish nation, in order to change his religion, he determined to dispose of what he had, and retire from a place which was become so disagreeable to him.

But when his resolution to leave Malaga had taken wind, at about nine o'clock at night (a late hour in that country) he heard a knocking at his door.

Mr. Martin demanded who was there? The persons without said they wanted to enter. He desired they would come again the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open; and they were as good as their word, for it flew off the hinges while they were speaking to him.

When the barrier was removed, about fifteen persons entered, consisting of a commissioner, with several priests and familiars belonging to the inquisition. Mr. Martin would fain have gone to the English consul; but they told him the consul had nothing to do in the matter, and then said, where are your beads and fire-arms?



To which he replied, I am an English Protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of beads.

When they had taken away his watch, money, and other things, they carried him to the bishop's prison, and put on him a pair of heavy fetters. His distressed family was, at the same time, turned out of doors till the house was stripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife, that she and her children might solace themselves between the bare walls.

About four days after his commitment, Mr. Martín was told he must be sent to Grenada to be tried: he earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this humble request was cruelly denied.

Now being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and set out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almost broke his back. He was three days on the journey, as it is seventy-two miles of very rugged road from Malaga to Grenada.

Mr. Martin, on his arrival at Grenada, was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquisition during day-light. At night, Mr. Martin was taken to the inquisition, shewn up one pair of stairs, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon, which the gaoler unlocked, and staid with him till the under-gaoler fetched a lamp, and the things brought from Malaga by the carrier, which consisted of an old bed, a few clothes, and a box of books.

The gaoler nailed up the latter, and said, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books.

Then the gaoler took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number of frivolous questions, he, at length, gave him these orders: "You must observe as great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry, or make a noise, you must be still, and say nothing, upon pain of 200 lashes."

Mr. Martin said he could not always be upon the bed, and asked if he might not have the liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied he might, but it must be very softly. After having given him some wine, bread, and half a dozen of walnuts, the gaoler left him till the morning.

At the time of Mr. Martin's imprisonment it was frosty weather, so that he lay extremely cold; for the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which served as a window.

On the next morning the gaoler came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or such a wheel as is usually found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side, whom you cannot see, turns your provisions round to you. He had then given him, half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raisins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three days. He had likewise delivered to him for use, two pounds of charcoal, an earthen stove, a pipkin, some plates, a pitcher, an urinal, a broom, three baskets; one for bread, meat, and greens; a second for charcoal, and the other for dirt; and a wooden spoon.

Mr. Martin in a week's time was ordered to an audience: he followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room found a man sitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was, as he afterwards learned, the secretary.

The chief lord inquisitor was the person between the two crucifixes; he seemed about sixty years of age and was very lean. As soon as he saw Mr. Martin, he ordered him to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him, when the following examination took place, which we shall mark by the signatures Q. and A. the first letter

implying the question which was asked by the inquisitor, and the last the answer thereto made by Mr. Martin.

Q. What was you brought here for?

A. My lord, I don't know.

Q. Can you speak Spanish?

A. I can speak Spanish, but not so well as English or French. If you please to send for an Irish or a French priest, I should be glad; for I am afraid I have not Spanish enough to answer your lordship in some things that you may demand of me.

Q. I find you speak Spanish enough; but what have you done? What is your name? What countryman are you? What religion are you of?

A. My lord, I don't know what I have done. My name is Isaac Martin; I am an Englishman, and a Protestant.

Q. Will you take an oath that you will answer the truth to what shall be demanded of you?

A. Yes, my lord, I will.

Q. Well, put your hand on that crucifix, and swear by the cross.

A. My lord, we swear upon scripture.

Q. It is no matter for scripture, put your hand upon the cross.

Mr. Martin then put his hand to the cross, and the other gravely began thus:

You must tell me what your father and mother's names were:—What their father and mother's names were:—What brothers and sisters they had:—What brothers and sisters you have; where they were born; and what business they followed, or do follow.

Mr. Martin answered all these questions to the best of his knowledge.

Q. You say you are an Englishman; we have great belief in them; they are generally people that speak the truth; I hope you will.

A. My lord, I don't know that I have done any thing that I should be afraid of: your lordship has given me my oath, and if you had not, I should have told the truth.

Q. Where was you born, Isaac? And in what parish?

A. My lord, I and my family were all born in London, but in different parishes.

Q. Are you a scholar? Have you studied Latin?

A. No my lord, I have had but a common education.

Q. What do you call a common education in your country? You have been at school, what did you learn there?

A. My lord, I learned to read, to write, and to cast accounts; that is what we call a common education.

Q. What sect are you of? For in England you have several religions, as you call them.

A. My lord, there are different opinions in England in matters of religion: I am of that which is called the church of England, and so was my father and mother.

Q. Was you baptized?

A. Yes, my lord, I hope I am a Christian.

Q. How are you baptized in England?

A. We are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Q. Do you take the sacrament in your religion?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. How do you take it?

A. My lord, we take bread and wine, as our Saviour gave to his apostles.

Q. Do you confess your sins to your clergy, as we do in the church of Rome?

A. No, my lord, we confess them only to God Almighty.

Q. Do you know the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Commandments?

A. Yes, my lord, and will give you an account of my religion if you please, and prove to you that I am a Christian, though I have been called a Jew and an heretic.

Q. What do you believe in your religion?

A. My lord, we believe the same creed that you have.

Q. Have you any bishops in your religion? Have you been confirmed?

A. My



A. My lord, we have archbishops and bishops, but I don't remember whether I have been confirmed.

Q. Isaac, you have been brought up in the dark; it is a pity, but you may enlighten yourself if you will.

A. My lord, I hope I have light enough to save myself if I live according to it.

Here Mr. Martin, through anxiety of mind, began to shed tears; which the inquisitor perceiving, proceeded to speak with great seeming tenderness.

Q. Don't cry, nor don't be afraid; here is nobody put to death here, nor harm done to any body. I hope your case is not so bad but it may be remedied; you are among Christians, and not among Turks.

A. My lord, I know very well that I am among Christians, and that the laws of Christians are merciful; but I have been used as if I had committed murder.

Q. Well! have patience, you shall have justice done you. You must think of what you have done or said during the time you lived at Malaga, and confess it; for that is the only way to get out of your troubles. But let us continue our examination: to be sure you was not brought here for nothing, was you?

A. My lord, I don't know what I was brought here for.

Q. You must think of that, and you must tell me how old you are; and likewise, as far as you can remember, what company you have kept, what business you have followed, what countries you have travelled in, and what languages you can speak.

A. My lord, I have been a traveller many years, and have made many trading voyages; sometimes in one country, and sometimes in another, and cannot remember how long I lived in every place, but I will tell you as well as I can.

Q. It is very well, Isaac, tell the truth.

Mr. Martin then gave a circumstantial account to the best of his memory.

Q. It is very well, Isaac, you have been a great traveller, you have been wild in your time.

A. Yes, my lord, too wild; for if I had staid at home as I ought to have done, I should not have been in this misery.

Q. In your religion do you believe in the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and in the saints? Don't you worship them?

A. My lord, we believe that the Virgin Mary is the mother of Jesus Christ carnally, and believe she and the saints are happy, but do not worship them.

Q. What! don't you worship the mother of God, and the saints, that are always praying for us?

A. No, my lord, we worship only one God in three persons, and nothing else.

Q. [*Speaking to his Secretary.*] It is a pity that he hath been brought up in heresy, he talks pretty well.

[*Addressing the prisoner.*] What a pity it is that England has left the true faith, and has embraced heresy: formerly it produced many saints, but now it produces only schisms and heretics; and your bishops and clergy are a strange sort of people to marry as they do.

A. I believe, my lord, England produces as many good men as ever it did.

Q. Hold your tongue, you know nothing of those affairs; think of what you have done during your residence at Malaga, and that you may consider of these things, retire to your dungeon: I will send for you another time.

A. My lord, I hope your lordship will consider that I have a family; I beg therefore that your lordship will dispatch me as soon as possible.

Q. I will do all I can to dispatch you; go and think upon what you have done or said. I hope your case is not very bad, and can be remedied, if you think upon what I have said to you.

And thus concluded Mr. Martin's first examination, or audience, as it is called in the inquisition.

Now Mr. Martin tried to make a friend of the gaoler as much as possible, in order to pump what he could from him; but in this he could have but little success,

for they are all sworn to secrecy. He, however, told him, that he was there for the good of his soul, and advised him, above all things, not to contradict the inquisitors.

#### THE SECOND AUDIENCE.

In about a week after, Mr. Martin being called to a second audience, the following questions and answers were the result.

Q. Well, Isaac, how do you do? Do you remember what you have done, or said, whilst you lived at Malaga? Have you reflected on what I said to you?

A. Yes, my lord, but I cannot remember every thing that has happened in four years time.

Q. Well! let us hear what you have remembered.

A. My lord, during my living at Malaga, I was attacked and insulted several times about my religion: I hope your lordship allows that an honest man ought to defend his religion?

Q. Yes, Isaac, he may defend it.

A. My lord, it is what I have done, and the same liberty have the Spaniards in my country; for if a bishop should attack them in matters of religion, they have liberty to defend themselves.

Q. How long have you been married?

A. Seven Years.

Q. Was your wife maid, or widow, when you married her?

A. A widow, my lord.

Q. What quarrels have you had with different people, and who were they?

Mr. Martin named four or five people with whom he had little contests.

Q. Do you think those people your enemies? If you do, tell me what reason you have for thinking so?

A. My lord, at my first arrival at Malaga, three Irishmen went to the bishop's court, to acquaint them that I was a Jew, though they hardly knew my name, or what religion I was of. Your lordship has heard it, I suppose. All the time that I lived at Malaga, they, upon divers occasions, shewed themselves my enemies. My friends oftentimes told me that they spoke ill of me behind my back; sometimes saying that I was a Jew, and sometimes an heretic; and that they would play me a trick one day, that I should not carry much money along with me if I left the place; and I find, my lord, that they have accomplished their design.

Q. Have you had no words about religion? Have you not blasphemed against our holy faith?

A. No, my lord, I am a better bred man than that. My religion does not permit such things: it is true, that I have had high words about religion when I have been attacked, but not to blaspheme your religion.

Q. Well! but what is the reason that you have so many enemies, can you tell?

A. I know no other reason, my lord, but that I am an English Protestant, and had better business than they had, which caused them to envy me ever since I came to Malaga.

Q. Well! but Isaac, have you no inclination to be a good Christian, and to be in the right way of salvation? You are a man of age and reason, and have a family: it is time to think of your soul.

A. My lord, I hope God will save me in the religion I have been brought up in: I have no inclination to change my religion; Jesus Christ allows of no persecution; I hope my lord, there is none here.

Q. No, Isaac, it is all voluntary; I would have you think upon it for the good of your soul, and your family. Do not you believe in the holy father the pope, that he is infallible, and that he can absolve people from their sins?

A. No, my lord, I believe that he is no more than another bishop, and can absolve no more than another clergyman.

Q. Don't you believe in purgatory?

A. No, my lord, I believe in no such thing.

Q. What, don't you believe that there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of those that die are retained to be purified before they can go to heaven?

A. No,



A. No, my lord, I believe that the blood of Christ is sufficient to cleanse us from our iniquities.

Q. Poor man, you have been brought up in heresy and ignorance from your youthful days. I am sorry for you, you will find yourself mistaken when it is too late. You have time to consider of it, and I would advise you to do it for your own good. Can you think of any thing else that you have done that they have sent you here for?

A. No, my lord; I have had some few words with people, but I believe that has not any connection with this affair.

Q. What words had you with the Spaniards at Malaga?

A. My lord, at first several desired me to speak the language for them, to help them to sell their goods to ships that came to load there; and I did, but there came so many, that I could not do business for myself, so that I desired them to excuse me and take somebody else; but they still importuned me so, that I was obliged to tell them that I would trouble myself no more about their business, and that I had business enough of my own to mind; at which they would sometimes fall into a passion, and generally reflect upon my religion, which I could not always digest.

Q. Very well, Isaac, have you any thing else to say relating to your affairs?

A. My lord, I don't know what to say.

Q. Well, go to your dungeon, and think of what you have done; for it will be a great help to your release. I will do you what service I can, but you must do what you can to serve yourself, and think upon what I have said to you.

Mr. Martin had soon after three other audiences, in all of which he was only asked the same questions as we have already inserted, which was to detect him in a falsehood, if he had told one, and to discover if he prevaricated in any part of his story.

The head gaoler told Mr. Martin one morning, that he must get his dungeon very clean, for he was to have a visit from one of the lords of the inquisition; at the same time he gave him some advice to throw into the fire when he heard him coming, in order to take away the stench. On hearing a noise on the stair-case, he did so, and the inquisitor, whose name was Don Petro Leonor, soon after made his appearance.

Now this inquisitor asked a great number of frivolous questions with much pomposity; then making a transition to England, he very liberally abused king Henry the Eighth, queen Elizabeth, and king William, the latter of whom he affirmed to have been of no religion, because he had read such an assertion in a French book. Changing from these, he attacked the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and people of England in general, and after abusing them with great liberality, he walked away with the most assumed dignity and consequence.

In a few days after, Mr. Martin was called to his sixth audience, when, after a few immaterial interrogatories, the inquisitor told him the charges against him should be read, and that he must give an immediate and prompt answer to each respective charge.

#### THE FIRST ACCUSATION.

That soon after your coming to Malaga, you went and abused the school-master for teaching your children the Christian doctrine; telling him that you would teach them your own religion, and that you sent them to school to learn to read and write, and not to learn religion.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I will confess the truth; I hope your lordship requires nothing else. I did go to the school-master, and told him, that I sent my children to learn to read and write, and not to learn prayers; that I would have them brought up in my religion, and would teach them how to pray, but I did not abuse him. I believe, my lord, I have the liberty to bring up my children in my own faith without being called to an account for it.

The inquisitor seemed displeased at this reply, and bid the secretary write him down guilty of the first accusation.

#### THE SECOND ACCUSATION.

That at divers times it was remarked, that you did not pull off your hat, nor pay homage to images, but turned you back on them.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, in my religion we pay no respect to graven images. I profess myself to be a Protestant, it is against my conscience to bow to any; and I am not obliged by the articles of peace so to do. I believe your lordship knows what the word Protestant means.

The inquisitor told him, that as he lived in a country where it was done, he ought to comply with the custom of the place in which he resided. The secretary was then ordered to record the answer.

#### THE THIRD ACCUSATION.

You once said, walking in your own apartment with an English captain, an heretic, like yourself, that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money. There was one present who could speak your language, and heard you say so.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I cannot remember every thing that I have said during four years time. It may be, that I have said such a thing; but if I did, it was not to a Roman-Catholic. If there was one in the room that heard me say so, he must be an Irishman, who was not very welcome there, for he came more as a spy than any thing else.

The inquisitor asking if he thought he knew him, Mr. Martin named the person on whom his suspicion fell. The inquisitor then having blamed him for giving his tongue such liberties in Roman-Catholic countries, demanded if he was sorry for having said so; he replied, "My lord, if I have said amiss, I beg your lordship's pardon." When the inquisitor, turning to the secretary, said, Write down that the heretic begs pardon for the third accusation.

#### THE FOURTH ACCUSATION.

That you was once walking with another person, who pulled his hat off to a crucifix. You asked him why he pulled his hat off? He replied, to the crucifix; when you said, we have no such things in our country, and passed by without pulling off your hat.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I remember the time very well; it is very true, I never pulled off my hat to a crucifix, unless it was carried in procession; and then I used to pull off my hat to it, not in respect to the image, but to cause no scandal.

Guilty of this accusation by his own confession.

#### THE FIFTH ACCUSATION.

That you have spoken several times in religious disputes against our faith; and though you have been frequently admonished to embrace the Roman-Catholic persuasion, without which no man can be saved, you would never give ear to such salutary advice.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, at my first arrival in the inquisition you allowed that a man might defend his religion: it is what I have done. As for being admonished to change it, that has happened very often; but I have no inclination to change.

Then the inquisitor asked him if he could not defend his own religion without speaking against the church of Rome? To which Mr. Martin made answer, that he really could not; "For, says he, in disputing with others, when they spoke against my religion, I naturally spoke against their's; and I brought proof of scripture for what I said."

He was recorded as guilty of this charge by his own confession.

#### THE SIXTH ACCUSATION.

That being on board an English ship, with your wife and others, a certain female admonished your wife to change her religion, when you bade her be quiet and mind her own religion. This was on a Friday, and you ate meat without regarding the day. Do you remember that, Isaac?

#### THE ANSWER.

Yes, my lord, we were very merry drinking Florence wine and punch, and that woman was always talking of religion



religion to my wife, though she hardly knew what she said, and at best knew but little of the matter. I desired her to be quiet, and told her we did not come on board to talk of religion, but to be merry. But she continuing to talk on in the same manner, made us very uneasy, so that I bade her hold her tongue, and had a trifling quarrel with her. As for eating meat on a Friday, I generally do, and so did she, though she is a Roman-Catholic.

Hereupon the inquisitor turning to the secretary, expressed himself thus: Write down what the heretic says.

#### THE SEVENTH ACCUSATION.

That being in company with some English heretic captains at church, there were several people kneeling and praying to the image of the Virgin Mary. The captains asked if they prayed to the image? You answered, Yes, they know no better, for they are brought up in ignorance.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I have been divers times walking with captains. I do not remember this particular time: it may be that some person heard me say so; but I am sure I spoke English, and I suppose it must be an Irishman that heard me say so.

The inquisitor was very severe upon this reply; but upon Mr. Martin's asking pardon, he said, "Secretary, write down that the heretic asks pardon; but (continues he, shaking his head) I wish asking pardon may do."

#### THE EIGHTH ACCUSATION.

That being walking with several merchants, the host passed by, when they took off their hats, and some kneeled; but you did not so much as take off your hat, which occasioned such great scandal, that some of the people were going to stab you.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, it is false: I have lived several years in Roman-Catholic countries, and know, that by the articles of peace, I am obliged to have my hat off on all occasions. During my residence at Malaga, I always took care not to cause any scandal; with respect to bowing or kneeling, I did not do it, nor am I obliged to do it, as it is expressly against my religion. As for people stabbing me, I have run those hazards many times on account of my religion.

The secretary was ordered to write down, that he denied the accusation.

#### THE NINTH ACCUSATION.

You have been threatened divers times with the pope's authority in these countries, and you have said that you did not value him, and that he had no authority over you.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, it is true I have said so.

This answer occasioned the following curious altercation:

Q. How came you to say so? Don't you value the holy father who is God on earth?

A. My lord, talking with some people who were very troublesome about religion, they threatened me with the authority of the pope, and being an English Protestant, I thought they had nothing to do with me.

Q. What! then you value nobody?

A. I beg your lordship's pardon; I value all mankind as being fellow-creatures; I value the pope as bishop of Rome, but not for what authority he has over me, for I believe he has not any.

Q. You are mistaken; I see who is the head of the church.

A. My lord, I see to my sorrow, that I was mistaken. Jesus Christ is the head of the church.

Q. What, then you allow no head upon earth?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Hold your tongue; you are an unbeliever; he is God upon earth.

The secretary was ordered to record Mr. Martin's several replies.

#### THE TENTH ACCUSATION.

That being walking with some captains of ships,

there was a procession going by, when you bid them retire, and not mind it, though it was their design to see it: but you hindered them out of disrespect to the procession.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, processions are very frequent in Malaga. I have oftentimes been in company with captains who were never in Roman-Catholic countries before; and they, not knowing that people went in procession for devotion, would laugh, and not take their hats off: so that I desired them to retire to avoid confusion; I hope there is no harm in that, my lord.

#### THE ELEVENTH ACCUSATION.

That the procession (mentioned in accusation the tenth) went by, and the people kneeled down and worshipped; but you stood with your hat on, and took no notice of it.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I remember nothing of the accusation, but believe it is false; or if I did not take off my hat, it was because the host was not there. But with respect to kneeling or bowing, I told your lordship I never do; your lordship tries me as a Roman-Catholic; I am a Protestant; I gave a short account of my religion to your lordship at my first coming. Was I a Roman-Catholic, I should certainly be guilty.

The answers to both the last accusations were ordered to be recorded.

#### THE TWELFTH ACCUSATION.

That being in your own house, an English captain asked you if you was a Jew; when you burst into a fit of laughter, and answered, you did not value what scandalous people said, for you was ready to give an account of your religion.

#### THE ANSWER.

It is true, my lord, I little valued what such scandalous people said, and was always ready to give an account of my faith. Nor did I think of being sent here, that it might be examined whether I was a Jew or not, when the clergy are so numerous at Malaga.

#### THE THIRTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That you refused to give any thing to such as begged alms for the souls that are in purgatory, and violently huffed them from your door.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, it is true; but do they mention the reason why I did so?

The inquisitor did not satisfy him, but bade him relate the reason, which he did, by informing him, that one person in particular, who went about begging alms for the souls in purgatory, did all he could to torment him, and the more Mr. Martin declared he would not disburse money for any such purpose, the more importunate the other became, calling him heretic, dog, and telling him that he would be damned, which at length overcame his temper, and made him, in some measure, return the fellow's abuse.

#### THE FOURTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That you have been heard to say you feared no ecclesiastical court of justice, nor even the inquisition itself, which you affirmed had nothing to do with you as an English Protestant.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I have oftentimes said so.

The twelfth and thirteenth replies were recorded as delivered; but Mr. Martin being persuaded to entreat forgiveness for the fourteenth, the secretary was ordered to insert, "The heretic begs pardon."

#### THE FIFTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That you have had Jews in your house, without giving notice to the commissioners of the inquisition, that they might be taken up and prosecuted according to the laws of the country. How durst you do such things? Do you remember these circumstances?

#### THE ANSWER.

Yes, my lord, I do very well.

On this confession of the fact, the following dialogue took place.

Q. Then let us hear what you have to say for yourself.

A. My



A. My lord, there came a ship bound for Leghorn, with a passenger who came to my house: he spoke very good Spanish, and I believe, by his looks, was a Jew. He stayed with his captain about two hours at my house; I never saw him before or since. He might be a Christian for what I know, but being bound for Leghorn, and speaking Spanish, I thought him a Jew; that is all I know of the man. God knows what religion he was of.

Q. Do you know the person that has sent this accusation against you?

A. Yes, my lord, I believe I do; his name is A. H. a man of a very indifferent character.

#### THE SIXTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That it is confirmed by several people, that the said heretic, Isaac Martin, has, at divers times, shewn himself very disaffected against the holy faith of the church of Rome, and has hindered some people from embracing it; so that had it not been for the sake of his family, he would have been murdered long ago.

Then the remainder of this accusation goes in the first person, by way of petition from the accusers, thus:

"We recommend him to your holy office, as a dangerous and pernicious man against the holy faith of the church of Rome; and a great many report he is a Jew. We desire your tribunal will examine him with a great deal of strictness, according to the custom of your holy office, and give him such chastisement as your lordship shall think fit, as well in body as chattels."

The secretary having read this accusation, the inquisitor said, "Well! what have you to say for yourself? See what a character people give you! Sure you are a very wicked man!" To which Mr. Martin made the following

#### ANSWER.

My lord, I suppose those are very good Christians that give me this character; God knows best what to do with them; there are none of them can say I ever wronged any body at Malaga. I have always professed myself to be a Protestant; and for that reason, and no other, I have been brought here. I hope God will enable me to go through these afflictions. I am very well assured that your lordship knows I am no Jew. As for what character they give me, God knows best whether I deserve it or no. I have answered the truth to your examination to the best of my remembrance; and I believe your lordship knows it to be so, and know the people that informed against me are but people of a very indifferent character, which have always envied me ever since I lived at Malaga.

Q. Most of your accusers are your countrymen; sure they would not speak against you, if the things were not so?

A. My lord, those whom you reckon my countrymen are the worst enemies I have: I deny them for countrymen; they are Irishmen: it is true that Ireland belongs to the crown of England; but these people have deserted from our army, and are enemies to my religion, king, and country, and the worst that an English Protestant can have abroad. I wonder, my lord, that there is no merchant, or man of good repute, that has declared any thing against me.

Q. Hold your tongue, do you think that I will believe all you say? To be sure you have been a very wicked man by what is mentioned here, and you deny a great many things, and are so malicious, that you give what turn you please to things. I have heard of you four years ago; you are a sly man, but we have tortures to make people speak truth.

A. My lord, you may do what you please with me; I cannot help myself, for your lordship knows that I have declared the truth.

Q. You shall have a lawyer to defend your cause, but I believe it is very bad.

Then a lawyer was called in, to whom the inquisitor made an harangue, telling him, that Mr. Martin was a strong heretic; that he had been examined, and denied many things of which he had been accused. He then ordered the lawyer to write to Malaga concerning him, and concluded by saying, his case is very bad, yet might

be remedied; but he is obstinate, and will not have it so.——The lawyer, to all his lordship said, only bowed, and answered Yes or No; but he did not speak to Mr. Martin, though it was pretended he was to plead for him.

When the lawyer was gone, the inquisitor said, "Go, you are guilty; you may repent what you have said; if you do not, take care: sign these papers, which are what you confess." Mr. Martin having signed the papers, was remanded to his dungeon.

When Mr. Martin's examination, upon the accusations against him, was resumed (which was by his own desire) the proceedings followed thus:

Q. Well, Isaac, what have you to say in your defence? You have demanded an audience.

A. My lord, I have nothing to say but what I have said already; I come to beg the favour of your lordship to dispatch me; I believe you have done examining me; I remember that it was desired I might be chastised both in body and wealth; I believe that my body has been chastised enough in suffering what I have suffered, and in being locked up in a dark dungeon by myself, where I live worse than a dog; as for what wealth God has given me, your lordship is welcome to it. If I am such a bad man as people report, fetter me, and send me, with my family, aboard any ship; let her be bound where she will, God will provide for us.

Q. Hold, Isaac, things are not done so soon as you think for; you have broken the articles of peace by your own confession.

A. My lord, I am very sorry if I have; I desire your lordship would shew them to me, that I may know in what I am guilty.

Q. I have them; you shall see them another time: there is a great deal to be said in your affair. Have you any thing else to say?

A. No, my lord, I desire to be tried by them (*the articles of peace*): you was pleased to tell me that you would quickly dispatch me.

Q. Go, go to your dungeon; and think of what you have done.

Mr. Martin, upon this occasion, says thus: "When I came to my dungeon, I was resolved to ask no more audience, and wondered that such a man, who sat upon a throne between two crucifixes, attributing to himself holiness and infallibility, should tell so many lies; and found, that there was no way of redemption, but by praying to God to give me strength to overcome the miseries that I was in, and in mercy to deliver me from their hands."

A few days after the third inquisitor, named Don Joseph Egnaraz, came, with his secretary, to see Mr. Martin, when the following conversation took place:

Q. How do you do, Isaac? Have you any thing to say in your defence? Can I serve you in any thing, tell me?

A. My lord, I have nothing to say but what I have said already: I think it is very hard to be kept here so long.

Q. Hark ye! you Englishmen think that we aim at your wealth, but you are mistaken, there is no such thing. You have confessed that you did not take your hat off to our images: you ought to do it, living in these Christian countries, whether you believe in them or no; for it shews ill-example if you do not.

A. My lord, we Protestants never do such things, it is against our religion and against our consciences so to do.

Q. You must do all in this country, and it is a thing that ought to be done. See if I can serve you in any thing?

A. If your lordship would be pleased to get me out of this misery, I should be very much obliged to you.

Q. There is time for all things. You have been brought up in heresy, you are here for the good of your soul, you must enlighten yourself in the true faith; I will do you all the service I can; have you any thing else to say?

A. My lord, I hope to be saved in the faith I am in.

Q. Well,



Q. Well, think upon what I have said to you. Good by to you.

Being again called up for the continuance of his trial, and the accusation against him, the following were the particulars.

Q. Well, Isaac, have you thought of any thing else in your affair, besides what you have already declared.

A. No, my lord, I have nothing to say, unless I repeat what I have said already, and I believe that will signify nothing.

Q. Here are several more accusations come against you that you must answer to.

A. It is very well, my lord, I will answer to them as well as I can.

The inquisitor read over the accusations, which consisted of what had already been answered, only altered, mangled, and misplaced, with some additional articles. After having done reading, he said,

Q. Well, Isaac, what have you to say now?

A. My lord, this is the same thing over again, only the accusations are altered and misplaced; I can quickly answer to them, and as for those that are added to them, they are almost all false, and the Devil has invented them.

Q. Hold, Isaac, you talk strangely.

A. My lord, I speak the truth; your lordship was pleased to tell me at my first coming that you would dispatch me very soon. I have been here above three months, and am no more likely to get out than the first day.

Q. Hold, hold; do you think that justice is done here as in your country, at random, and I don't know how. Here things are well examined, and justice is done, as it ought to be done.

A. My lord, I believe we have good justice done in England, but I beg your lordship's pardon; I do not understand this way of justice.

Q. I believe you do not, but it is no matter, remember, you are upon your oath, and answer to articles.

A. Must I answer to those that I have answered already?

Q. Yes, you must; and take care what you say.

A. Very well, my lord.

Mr. Martin then made a second answer to the accusations already exhibited against him; when the inquisitor ordered the secretary to continue the trial, with the accusations which had not yet been brought forth.

#### THE SEVENTEENTH ACCUSATION.

That you hindered your family from being brought up in the Christian faith, and if it was not for you they would be all Romans, and it is against the laws of the country to hinder them.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, it is false that my family had any inclination to be Romans; neither can any law oblige them to be so, or hinder me from bringing them up in my religion. Your lordship, five weeks ago, told me, that you would shew me the articles of peace, and that I had broke them. Pray let me see them, my lord.

Q. You shall see them another time. Answer to these articles.

A. My lord, all my family are as I am; I could never perceive that they were inclined to change their religion.

Q. What! do you deny this accusation?

A. Yes, my lord, I do; it is all false.

#### THE EIGHTEENTH ACCUSATION.

You used to shut your window shutters when the processions went by, to hinder your children from kneeling down, and would beat them if they shewed any inclinations to be Roman-Catholics.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, it is true that I have shut my shutters several times; for sometimes I had captains of ships in my house, that would not pull their hats off when they saw them. As for my children, they went to the window generally to laugh; and I oftentimes bade them not shew themselves till the procession went by, that no scandal might be given; and if I beat them, as it is said, I believe I have the liberty to do it if I please.

Q. No, you have not in some cases. How old are your children?

A. One is fifteen, another eight, and the other five years of age.

Q. They are of age to be brought up in the Christian faith.

A. I hope they are, my lord; but as for the two youngest, they can be brought up to any religion.

Q. Your daughter, and your son Abraham are of age, and you are but their father-in-law: they may be brought up in the Christian faith: you have nothing to do with them.

A. My lord, I hope that they are Christians; and I look upon them as if they were my own children.

Q. So then you would have them brought up in your religion?

A. Yes, my lord.

#### THE NINETEENTH ACCUSATION.

That your daughter being of age, hath often said in the neighbourhood, that she would be a Roman-Catholic, but was afraid you would beat her; and that you had sometimes beat her upon that account.

A. My lord, I have nothing to answer to such lies; it is as false as the Devil is false.

Q. What! have you nothing to say, Isaac, to this article?

A. No, my lord, I never knew my daughter inclinable to be a Roman, and I never did beat her upon that account. It is all false, and you may order your secretary to write down what you please.

#### THE TWENTIETH ACCUSATION.

That in Lent, and other fast days, you caused your family to eat meat, and forbade them to keep any fast days that were appointed by the church of Rome, and beat them if they did.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, those are poor accusations, and they are all false. I thank God my table afforded flesh and fish all the year round; I never troubled my head to see what the servants used to eat; and as for myself, wife, and children, we eat meat all the year, without any scruple of conscience. Your lordship knows that.

Q. You English mind nothing but eating and drinking, and living at your ease, without doing any penance.

A. My lord, I beg your pardon, we have souls to be saved as well as other nations. We are born in a plentiful country, and I believe we live as well as the people of any nation, and serve God as well.

Q. Your country was a good country formerly; it produced a great many saints, but now it produces no such thing.

A. My lord, I believe there are no saints now, but I am persuaded it produces as many good men as ever it did.

Q. Hold your tongue, you are all lost men; you are all fallen from the holy church, and there is no salvation for you if you do not return.

#### THE TWENTY-FIRST ACCUSATION.

That your children had often been at mass, and at prayers in the neighbourhood, and would have done it every day if you would have let them. But you beat them, and hindered them being Christians, and thereby endangered their souls.

#### THE ANSWER.

My lord, I never knew my children go to mass or prayers in the neighbourhood, or beat them upon that account; I hope God will save their souls in the religion to which they are brought up; though the church of Rome condemns them. The accusation is false.

Q. Why, you deny every thing almost.

A. I deny nothing but what is false, my lord.

Q. Well, but you may forget, Isaac.

A. No, my lord, I have nothing else to think of; and I do think these are very insignificant articles to allege against me, if the things were as they say. But they are false, and I believe they are scandalous people that have invented them.

Q. Hold your tongue! How durst you speak so?

A. It



A. It is very well, my lord, let your secretary write down any thing what you please; it is all false.

THE TWENTY-SECOND ACCUSATION.

That living at Lisbon you had several disputes about religion, and that you hid yourself for fear of being taken up by the inquisition as a Jew.

Come, answer; what have you to say to this article? It is of consequence.

THE ANSWER.

My lord, let your secretary write down what you please; I have nothing to answer to such scandalous reports. God knows that I am no Jew, and your lordship knows it very well. The Devil has invented this to frighten me; but God, that knows every thing, will revenge my cause.

Q. Well! but, Isaac, you see what they write against you; and all your family's names are ancient, and of the Mosaic law.

A. My lord, you have oftentimes reflected upon my name being Isaac, and my son's name being Abraham, but you don't talk of a child that I buried at Malaga, whose name was Peter; and one that I have whose name is Barnard, they are saints' names.

Q. Those are all Christian names.

A. And so are the others, my lord; we don't mind whether we give our children names out of the Old or New Testament. Besides, my lord, neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, were Jews.

Q. Yes, they were Jews; sure you're mistaken.

A. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am not mistaken.

Q. What were they then? let us hear.

A. My lord, they were Hebrews; they lived under the law of nature, as God inspired, and spoke to them; but were dead many years before God had given his laws to Moses.

Q. Hold your tongue, methinks you understand something of the Mosaic law.

A. My lord, thank God, I understand some of the old and some of the new laws; but not so much as I should. We have always the Old and the New Testament in our families, and we read in them to instruct us in our religion.

Q. Hold your tongue, you give a wrong sense to scripture; your knowing so much has brought you here; you had better known less, and believed the true faith.

A. My lord, I hope to be saved in what I believe; and if at Lisbon I was disputing of religion, it was not in defending the laws of Moses; for several Jews were burnt whilst I was there; therefore it proves, my lord, that the accusation is false, and that I would not run such hazards.

THE TWENTY-THIRD ACCUSATION.

That you bred schisms among the people, persuading them to turn heretics, and to leave the church of Rome, out of which no man can be saved.

THE ANSWER.

I wish your lordship, or any body else, would tell me whom I persuaded to change their religion. You may accuse me of any thing; hell can't invent greater lies. I can't think, my lord, who could have sent such accusations against me. When I talked of religion, it was generally with clergymen, and not with common people; for I know that they are not capable of it, as they know but little of the matter.

Q. They know enough, it is believing that saves us; and you won't believe, but deny almost every article.—Hold your tongue.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ACCUSATION.

That your name being Isaac, and your son's name Abraham, you must be a Jew, or related to Jews.

THE ANSWER.

My lord, I have sufficiently answered upon this matter; this is nothing but repetitions: the Roman-Catholics, that are in Holland and Flanders, don't much mind whether their children have names out of the Old or out of the New Testament, and I knew a man at Malaga, who is a Flanderkin, and a Roman-Catholic, whose name is Jacob. As for my parents, I never knew any of them were Jews; let your secretary write what you please.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ACCUSATION.

That you offered to dispose of your house, and to retire for fear of being taken up by the inquisition.

THE ANSWER.

My lord, it is true that I offered to dispose of my house, but not for fear of the inquisition, for I never thought it had any thing to do with English Protestants. If I had been afraid of it, I would never have come to live in the country: I had opportunities enough to go on board of English ships, and to retire if I had been afraid.

Q. What! then you thought the inquisition had nothing to do with the English Protestants? You are mistaken.

A. My lord, I see I am, to my sorrow.

Q. What did you design to do after you had disposed of your house?

A. My lord, to go to my own country; for I was tired of living abroad, especially at Malaga, where I could have no rest, but was daily affronted upon the account of my religion.

Q. You have a tongue, that you made use of to defend yourself.

A. My lord, I could not always bear their insolencies; but I find they have accomplished their design.

Q. Well, hold your tongue, you may help yourself still if you will.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH ACCUSATION.

That you took all opportunities of making game of the religion of the church of Rome. Well! what have you to say to that?

THE ANSWER.

My lord, I don't deny that; being in company with some Roman-Catholics, as they have made game of my religion, I have made game of their's; but it was in joke, and not in a profane way.

Q. Religion ought not to be mocked.

A. It is very true, my lord; but I never scandalized them as they did me, upon the account of my religion.

Q. What did they usually say to you? Let's hear.

A. My lord, you know that the church of Rome don't allow the heretics (as you call us) to be saved: in our faith we have charity for all men; we condemn nobody. I have oftentimes been told, that I and my family were damned, and that it was impossible for us to be saved. My lord, it is very hard to hear such words so often as I have. I sometimes gave them an answer that they did not like; for I could not always bear what they said. I hope to be saved through God's mercy, as well as they do.

Q. So, you say that when they made game of your religion, you made game of their's. Is not that what you say?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. Well, hold your tongue, you are a sly man; you give what turn you please to things, and deny almost every thing: you will repent of this, if you don't take care. We have ways to make people confess who are obstinate. Sign these papers: these are the articles you confess, and these are what you deny.—But I won't believe you; I have heard of you a long while ago, and know now that you are a cunning pernicious man against the Roman-Catholic faith.

The lawyer then came in, when the inquisitor asked him a variety of frivolous questions; to which, as before, he answered, Yes and No, without so much as looking at his supposed client.

Mr. Martin being remanded to his dungeon, was shaved on Whitfun-eve (shaving is only allowed three times a year in the inquisition); and the next day one of the gaolers gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a visit from the lords of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them, as usual, with, We will do you all the service we can. Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; when, instead of a proper person, says he, "there was a man that you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers

are



are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest in the world, for he hardly said any thing but yes and no, to what your lordship said." To which one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to speak here." At this the gaoler and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce refrain from smiling in their faces, to think that his cause was to be defended by a man, who scarce dared to open his lips. Mr. Martin, some time after, was ordered to dress himself very clean; as soon as he was ready, one of the gaolers came and told him, that he must go with him; but that first he must have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. This terribly frightened Mr. Martin, who now thought of nothing but the torture. The gaoler then led him for some time, till he heard a voice say, Stop, and pull off your clothes. He was then examined to know if he had been circumcised, and consequently was a Jew. Finding that he had not been circumcised, he was remanded to his dungeon.

In about a month after he was brought to a room filled with a great number of persons, had a rope put round his neck, and was led by it to the altar of the great church. Here his sentence was pronounced, which was, That for the crimes of which he stood convicted, the lords of the holy office had ordered him to be banished out of the dominions of Spain, upon the penalty of 200 lashes, and being sent five years to the galleys; and that he should at present receive 200 lashes through the common streets of the city of Grenada.

Now Mr. Martin was sent again to his dungeon that night, and the next morning the executioner came, stripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope about his neck, and led him out of the inquisition. He was then mounted on an ass, and received his 200 lashes, amidst not only the shouts, but peltings of the people; which latter greatly incommoded him. He remained a fortnight after this in gaol, his back being very sore all the time; at length he was sent to Malaga, to his great joy. Here he was put in gaol for some days, till he could be sent on board an English ship: which had no sooner happened, than news was brought of a rupture between England and Spain, and that ship, with many others, was stopped. Mr. Martin not being considered as a prisoner of war, was put on board of a Hamburg trader, and his wife and children soon came to him; but he was obliged to put up with the loss of his effects, which had been embezzled by the inquisition: for this, however, he thought himself amply recompensed, by setting foot, once more, in his native country.

The case of Mr. Martin was published by the desire of, and authenticated by, the right honourable Mr. Secretary Craggs, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chichester, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bristol, Peterborough, Bangor, &c. &c. &c.

#### *A singular Discovery of some private Enormities of the INQUISITION.*

**W**HEN the crown of Spain was contested for in the beginning of the present century, by two princes, who equally pretended to the sovereignty, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other.

Then the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. who abdicated England, commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was then divided into two parts; the one consisting of Spaniards and French, headed by the duke of Berwick, advanced towards Catalonia; the other body, consisting of French troops only, commanded by the duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon.

When the troops approached the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the duke of Orleans; but he told them, haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach.

Accordingly he made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city through it, together with his whole army. When he had made every necessary regulation here, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison, at once to over-awe and defend, under the command of his lieutenant-general M. De Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman-Catholic, was totally free from superstition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the accomplished gentleman and skilful officer.

Before his departure, the duke had ordered that heavy contributions, in the following manner, should be levied upon the city.

1. That the magistrates and principal inhabitants should pay a thousand crowns per month for the duke's table.

2. That every house should pay one pistole, which would monthly amount to 18,000 pistoles.

3. That every convent and monastery should pay a donative, proportionable to its riches and rents.

The two last contributions to be appropriated to the maintenance of the army.

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the proper persons applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found that the ecclesiastics were not so willing, as other people, to part from their cash.

#### *Of the Donatives to be raised by the Clergy:*

The college of Jesuits was to pay 2000 pistoles.

_____ Carmelites	—	1000
_____ Augustins	—	1000
_____ Dominicans	—	1000

M. De Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The superior of the Jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument which could authorize such a procedure. M. De Legal then sent four companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastic message:

"To convince you of the necessity of paying the money, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and, therefore, hope you will not need any further admonition to direct your conduct."

The Jesuits, greatly perplexed at these proceedings, dispatched an express to court to the king's confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing mischief, than the courier in his journey: so that the Jesuits, seeing every thing going to rack and ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter amicably, and paid the money before the return of the messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuits, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the study of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, who are all familiars of, or agents dependent on the inquisition, imagined, that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had not any money whatever to pay the donative; for, says he, the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists only in the silver images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which to remove would be accounted sacrilege.

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, whom the inquisitors imagined would not dare to be so prophane as to wish for the possession of the precious idols.

However, he sent word that the silver images would make admirable substitutes for money, and would be more in character in his possession, than in that of the Dominicans themselves, "For, says he, while you pos-



selfs them, in the manner you do at present, they stand up in niches, useles and motionless, without being of the least benefit to mankind in general, or even to yourselves; but, when they come into my possession, they shall be useful, I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apostles, be beneficial in various places, and circulate for the universal service of mankind."

Now the inquisitors were astonished at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in a solemn procession, that they might excite the people to an insurrection. The dominican friars were accordingly ordered to march to De Legal's house, with the silver apostles and saints, in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, Heresy, heresy.

When M. De Legal heard of these proceedings, he ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the street which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other; so that the troops might either repel force with force, or do honour to the farcical ceremony.

The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops under arms to obey them; the silver images were, therefore, of necessity, delivered up to M. De Legal, who sent them to the mint, and ordered them to be immediately coined.

As the project of raising an insurrection failed, the inquisitors determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, unless he would release their precious silver saints from imprisonment in the mint, before they were melted down, or otherwise mutilated. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, but said they should certainly travel and do good; upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to M. De Legal.

This commission the secretary punctually performed, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it next day.

As soon as the secretary of the inquisition was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication, exactly like that sent by the inquisition; but to make this alteration, instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary and act according to his direction.

The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted upon admittance; which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication sent by M. De Legal, against the inquisitors. The inquisitors were all present, and heard it with astonishment, never having before met with any individual who dared behave so bold. They loudly cried out against De Legal, as an heretic; and said this was a most daring insult against the catholic faith. But, to surprise them still more, the French secretary told them, they must remove from their present lodgings; for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the inquisition, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city.

Hereupon the inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. The inquisitors, finding how things went, begged that they might be permitted to take their private property, which was granted, and they immediately set out for Madrid, where they made the most bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, he could not grant them any redress, as the injuries they had received were from his grandfather, the king of France's troops, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom. "Had it been my own troops, said he, I would have punished them; but as it is, I cannot pretend to exert any authority."

M. De Legal's secretary, in the mean time, set open all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted in the whole to 400; and among these were 60 beautiful young women, who appeared to form a seraglio for the three principal inquisitors.

Now this discovery, which laid the enormity of the inquisitors so open, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. De Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule, or blame, the holy office of the inquisition.

Word was sent by the French commander to the archbishop, that the prisoners had either ran away, or were so securely concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, that it was impossible for him to send them back again; and, therefore, the inquisition having committed such atrocious actions, must now put up with their exposure and shame.

One of the ladies thus happily delivered from captivity, was afterwards married to the very French officer, who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her from confinement. This lady related the following circumstances to her husband, and to M. Gavin (author of the Master Key to Popery); from the latter of whom we have selected the most material particulars, which are as follow.

"I went one day, says the lady, with my mother, to visit the countess Attarals, and I met there Don Francisco Tirregon, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the holy office.

"After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and many intricate questions about religion. The severity of his countenance frightened me, which he perceiving, told the countess to inform me, that he was not so severe as he looked for. He then caressed me in a most obliging manner, presented his hand, which I kissed with great reverence and modesty; and, as he went away, he made use of this remarkable expression: My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time. I did not, at the time, mark the sense of the words; for I was inexperienced in matters of gallantry, being, at that time, but fifteen years old. Indeed, he unfortunately did remember me, for the very same night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door.

"The maid, who laid in the same room with me, went to the window, and inquired who was there.—The answer was, THE HOLY INQUISITION. On hearing this I screamed out, Father! father! dear father, I am ruined for ever! My father got up, and came to me to know the occasion of my crying out; I told him the inquisition were at the door. On hearing this, instead of protecting me, he hurried me down stairs as fast as possible; and, lest the maid should be too slow, opened the street door himself; under such abject and slavish fears are bigoted minds! as soon as he knew they came for me, he fetched me with great solemnity, and delivered me to the officers with much submission.

"I was hurried into a coach, with no other clothing than a petticoat and a mantle, for they would not let me stay to take any thing else. My fright was so great, I expected to die that very night; but judge my surprise, when I was ushered into an apartment, decorated with all the elegance that taste, united with opulence, could bestow.

"Soon after the officers left me, a maid servant appeared with a silver salver, on which were sweet-meats and cinnamon water. She desired me to take some refreshments before I went to bed; I told her I could not, but should be glad if she could inform me whether I was to be put to death that night or not. To be put to death! exclaimed she, you do not come here to be put to death, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; so pray don't be afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy; for to-morrow you shall see wonders within this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you'll be very kind to me."

"I was going to ask some questions, but she told me she must not answer any thing more till the next day, but



but assured me that nobody would come to disturb me: I am going, said she, about a little business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet next your's; so she left me for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned. She then said, madam, pray let me know when you will be pleased to have your chocolate ready in the morning?

"This greatly surprised me, so that without replying to her question, I asked her name;—she said, my name is Mary. Mary, then, said I, for heaven's sake, tell me whether I am brought here to die or not?—I have told you already, replied she, that you come here to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.

"Now we went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from sleeping the whole night; Mary waked, she was surprised to find me up, but soon rose, and after leaving me for about half an hour, she brought in two cups of chocolate, and some biscuits on a silver plate.

"I drank one cup of chocolate, and desired her to drink the other, which she did; when we had done, I said, Well, Mary, can you give me any account of the reasons for my being brought here? To which she answered, Not yet, madam, you must have patience, and immediately slipped out of the room.

"In about half an hour after, she brought a great quantity of elegant clothes, suitable to a lady of the highest rank, and told me, I must dress myself. Among several trinkets which accompanied the clothes, I observed, with surprise, a snuff-box, in the lid of which was a picture of Don Francisco Tirregon. This unravelled to me the mystery of my confinement, and at the same time roused my imagination to contrive how to evade receiving the present. If I absolutely refused it, I thought immediate death must ensue; and to accept it, was giving him too much encouragement against my honour. At length I hit upon a medium, and said to Mary, Pray present my respects to Don Francisco Tirregon, and tell him, that, as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, modesty permits me to accept of these garments, which are requisite to keep me decent; but since I do not take snuff, I hope his lordship will excuse me in not accepting his box.

"Mary went with my answer, and soon returned with Don Francisco's picture elegantly set in gold, and richly embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied it: "That his lordship had made a mistake; his intent not being to send me a snuff-box, but his picture." I was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, Pray, madam, take my poor advice; accept of the picture, and every thing else which his lordship sends you; for if you do not, he can compel you to what he pleases, and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging to him, continued she, he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen; you will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in, and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore, I advise you to send a civil answer, or even not to deny a visit from his lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your disrespect.

"O, my God! exclaimed I, must I sacrifice my honour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his despotic power? Alas! what can I do? To resist, is vain. If I oppose his desires, force will obtain what chastity refuses. I now fell into the greatest agonies, and told Mary to return what answer she thought proper.

"She said, she was glad of my humble submission, and ran to acquaint Don Francisco with it. In a few minutes she returned, with joy in her countenance, telling me his lordship would honour me with his company to supper. "And now give me leave, madam, says she, to call you mistress, for I am to wait upon you. I have been in the holy office 14 years, and know all the customs perfectly well; but as silence is imposed upon me, under pain of death, I can only answer such questions as immediately relate to your own person. But I would advise you never to oppose the holy father's will; or if you see any young ladies about, never ask them any questions. You may divert yourself sometimes among them, but must never tell them any thing: three days

hence you will dine with them; and at all times you may have music, and other recreations. In fine, you will be so happy, that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman." After saying these words she left me, overwhelmed with astonishment, and scarce knowing what to think. As soon as I recovered myself I began to look about, and finding a closet, I opened it, and perceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly upon historical and profane subjects, but not any on religious matters. I chose out a book of history, and so passed the interval with some degree of satisfaction, till dinner time.

"Dinner was served up with the greatest elegance, and consisted of all that could gratify the most luxurious appetite. When dinner was over, Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring a bell, which she pointed out to me.

"I read a book to amuse myself during the afternoon, and at seven in the evening Don Francisco came to visit me in his night gown and cap, not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of a gallant.

"He saluted me with great respect, and told me, That he came to see me in order to shew the great respect he had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my lovers who had procured my confinement, having accused me in matters of religion; and that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it.

"These words were like daggers to my heart; I dropped at his feet, and said, "Ah, my lord! have you stopped the execution for ever?" He replied, "That belongs to yourself only," and abruptly wished me good night.

"When he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary came and asked what could make me cry so bitterly. To which I answered, Oh, Mary! what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire? for I am to die by them.

"Alas, madam, said she, never fear, you shall see, ere long, the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are made for those who oppose the holy father's will, not for you who are so good as to obey it. But pray, said she, was Don Francisco very obliging? I don't know, said I, for he frightened me out of my wits by his discourse: he saluted me with civility, but left me in an abrupt manner.

"Well, said Mary, you do not yet know his temper: he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him; but if they are disobedient, he is as unmerciful as Nero. So, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects: and now, dear madam, pray go to supper and be easy. I went to supper, indeed, and afterwards to bed; but I could neither eat or sleep, for the thoughts of the dry pan and gradual fire deprived me of appetite, and banished drowsiness.

"The next morning early, Mary said; that as nobody was stirring, if I would promise her secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan and gradual fire; so taking me down stairs, she brought me to a large room, with a thick iron door, which she opened. Within it was an oven, with fire in it at the time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room there was a great wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards; opening a little window in the centre, Mary desired me to look in with a candle; there I saw all the circumference of the wheel set with sharp razors, which made me shudder.

"Mary then took me to a pit, which was full of venomous animals. On my expressing great horror at the sight, she said, "Now, my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these things. The dry pan is for heretics, and those who oppose the holy father's will and pleasure; they are put alive into the pan, being first stripped naked; and the cover being locked down, the executioner begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees he augments it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The wheel is designed for those who speak against the pope, or



or the holy fathers of the inquisition ; for they are put into that machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned swiftly, till they are all cut to pieces. The pit is for those who condemn the images, and refuse to give proper respect to ecclesiastical persons ; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of poisonous animals."

" We went back again to my chamber, and Mary said, that another day she would shew me the torments designed for other transgressors ; but I was in such agonies at what I had seen, that I begged to be terrified with no more such sights. She soon after left me, but not without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco ; for if you do not comply with his will, says she, the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate.

" The horrors which the sight of these things, and Mary's expressions, impressed on my mind, almost bereaved me of my senses, and left me in such a state of stupefaction, that I seemed to have no manner of will of my own.

" The next morning Mary said, now let me dress you as nice as possible, for you must go and wish Don Francisco good-morrow, and breakfast with him. When I was dressed, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered Mary to withdraw, and to serve up breakfast in about two hours time. When Mary was gone, he commanded me to undress myself, and come to bed to him. The manner in which he spoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, so terribly frightened me, that I pulled off my clothes, without knowing what I did, and stepped into bed, insensible of the indecency I was transacting : so totally had the care of self-preservation absorbed all my other thoughts, and so entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terror !

" Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myself perpetual infamy ; and to escape the so much dreaded gradual fire, give myself up to the flames of lust. Wretched alternative, where the only choice is an excruciating death, or everlasting pollution !

Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and served us with chocolate in the most submissive manner ; for she knelt down by the bed-side to present it. When I was dressed, Mary took me into a very delightful apartment, which I had never yet seen. It was furnished with the most costly elegance ; but what gave me the greatest astonishment was, the prospect from its windows, of a beautiful garden, and a fine meandering river. Mary told me, that the young ladies she had mentioned would come to pay their compliments to me before dinner, and begged me to remember her advice, in keeping a prudent guard over my tongue.

" In a few minutes a great number of very beautiful young ladies, richly dressed, entered the room, and successively embracing me, wished me joy. I was so surprised, that I was unable to answer their compliments ; which one of the ladies perceiving, said, " Madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements you may enjoy, you will quit those pensive thoughts. We, at present, beg the honour of you to dine with us to-day, and henceforward three days in a week." I returned them suitable thanks in general terms, and so went to dinner, in which the most exquisite and savory dishes, of various kinds, were served up with the most delicate and pleasant fruits and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years of age. There were five maid servants, besides Mary to wait upon us ; but Mary confined her attention to me alone. After dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where some played on musical instruments, a few diverted themselves with cards, and the rest amused themselves with walking about. Mary, at length, entered the gallery, and said, Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and so you may go into whatever rooms you please, till eight o'clock in the evening.

" They unanimously agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found a most elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and passed the time in innocent conversation, and harmless mirth : but none mentioned a word concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers, or gave the least distant hint concerning the cause of their confinement.

" At eight o'clock Mary rang a bell, which was a signal for all to retire to their respective apartments, and I was conducted to the chamber of Don Francisco, where I slept.

" The next morning Mary brought me a richer dress than any I had yet had ; and as soon as I retired to my apartment, all the ladies came to wish me good-morning, dressed much richer than the preceding day. We passed the time till eight o'clock in the evening, in much the same manner as we had done the day before. At that time the bell rung, the separation took place, and I was conducted to Don Francisco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the last, and they accosted me in apparel still more sumptuous than before. The transactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in a similar manner.

" On the fourth morning Mary came into Don Francisco's chamber, and told me I must immediately rise, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She spoke with a kind of authority which surprised me ; but as Don Francisco did not speak a syllable, I got up and obeyed. Mary then conveyed me into a dismal dungeon, not eight feet in length ; and said, sternly, to me, This is your room, and this lady your bed-fellow and companion. At which word she bounced out of the room, and left me in the utmost consternation.

" After remaining a considerable time in the most dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, " What is this place, dear lady ! Is it a scene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth ? Alas ! I have lost my honour, and my soul for ever !"

" The lady took me by the hand, and said, in a sympathizing tone of voice, " Dear sister (for this is the name I shall henceforth give you) forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such an extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death. Your misfortunes, and those of all the ladies you have seen, are exactly of a piece : you suffer nothing but what we have suffered before you ; but we dare not shew our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us from this hellish place ; but be sure you discover no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our torments, or comfort. Have patience until we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.

" My perplexity and vexation were inexpressible ; but my new companion, whose name was Leonora, prevailed on me to disguise my uneasiness from Mary. I dissembled tolerably well when she came to bring our dinners ; but could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repast, and those I had before partook of. This consisted only of plain, common food, and of that a scanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which she took away as soon as we had dined.

" When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word ; and upon my solemn promise of secrecy, thus began to open her mind to me : " My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but, I assure you, all the ladies in the house have gone through the same. In time you will know all their stories, as they hope to know your's. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of our's ; and I warrant she has shewn you some horrible places, though not all : and that, at the very thought of them, you were so terrified, that you chose the same way we have done, to redeem yourself from death. By what hath happened to us, we know that Don Francisco hath been your Nero, your tyrant ; for the three colours of clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Aliaga ; and



and they always give those colours (after the farce of changing garments, and the short-lived recreations are over) to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective uses. We are strictly commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you, and as you must now do with others. But afterwards we live like the most wretched prisoners, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maid-servants, over whom Mary hath a kind of superiority, for she acts as house-keeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; and when any one of the inquisitors hath a mind for one of his slaves, Mary comes about nine o'clock, and leads her to his apartment. Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquisitors hath a mind to come that night; but he comes so silent, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber till she is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, she never sees any body but the person appointed to attend her. As soon as the child is born it is taken away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a syllable mentioned about it afterwards. I have been in this house six years, was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's house, and have had one child. There are, at this present time, fifty-two young ladies in the house; but we annually lose six or eight, though we know not what becomes of them, or whither they are sent. This, however, does not diminish our number, for new ones are always brought in to supply the place of those who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have seen seventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death those they pretend to send away; for it is natural to think, that they have too much policy to suffer their atrocious and infernal villanies to be discovered, by enlarging them. Hence our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon those crimes, which we are compelled to commit. Therefore, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God."

"This discourse of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as she told me in the course of time, and I took care to appear as cheerful as possible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months, during which time eleven ladies were taken from the house; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number just sixty, at the time we were so happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially restored to the joys of society, and to the arms of our parents and friends.

"On that happy day, the door of my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my husband, who, with the utmost expedition, sent both Leonora and me to his father's; and (soon after the campaign was over) when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompence for all the miseries I before suffered."

How evident it is, from the foregoing narrative that the inquisitors are a set of libidinous villains, lost to every just idea of religion, and totally destitute of humanity. Those who possess wealth, beauty, or liberal sentiments, are sure to find enemies in them. Avarice, lust, and prejudice, are their ruling passions; and they sacrifice every law, human and divine, to gratify their predominant desire. Their supposed piety is affectation; their pretended compassion hypocrisy; their justice depends on their will; and their equitable punishments are founded on their prejudices. None are secure from them; all ranks fall equally victims to their pride, their avarice, their aversion, or their power.

It may appear strange to many, that crowned heads, and eminent nobles, have not attempted to crush the power of the inquisition, and reduce the authority of

those ecclesiastical tyrants, from whose merciless fangs neither their families nor themselves are safe.

However, astonishing as it is, superstition hath, in this case, always overcome common sense, and custom operated against reason. One prince, indeed, which was Don Carlos, the amiable son of Philip the Second, king of Spain, and grandson of the celebrated emperor Charles V. intended to abolish the inquisition, but he lost his life before he became king, and consequently before he had the power so to do; for the very intimation of his design procured his destruction.

This Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father; and was a prince of great vivacity, admirable learning, and the most amiable disposition. He had sense enough to see into the errors of Popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against the institution, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, did all he could to expose their atrocious deeds, and even declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate all the agents thereof.

Such threats were sufficient to irritate the inquisitors against the prince: they, accordingly, bent their minds to vengeance, and determined on his destruction.

Now the inquisitors employed all their agents and emissaries to spread abroad the most artful insinuations against the prince; and, at length, raised such a spirit of discontent among the people, that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. Not content with this, they pursued even his friends, and obliged the king likewise to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his own brother, and consequently uncle to the prince; together with the prince of Parma, nephew to the king, and cousin to the prince, because they well knew that both the duke of Austria, and the prince of Parma, had a most sincere and inviolable attachment to Don Carlos.

A short time after, the prince having shewn great lenity and favour to the Protestants in the Netherlands, the inquisition loudly exclaimed against him, declaring, that as the persons in question were heretics, the prince himself must necessarily be one, since he gave them countenance. In short, they gained so great an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was absolutely a slave to superstition, that, shocking to relate, he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the force of bigotry, and for fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, gave up his only son, passing the sentence of death on him with his own lips.

Indeed, the prince had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to chuse the manner of his death. Roman like, the unfortunate young hero chose bleeding, and the hot bath; when the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquisitors, and his father's stupid bigotry.

#### *The cruel PERSECUTION of Dr. ÆGIDIO.*

**D**R. ÆGIDIO was educated at the university of Alcalá, where he took his several degrees, and particularly applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures and school divinity. The professor of theology dying, he was elected into his place, and acted so much to the satisfaction of every one, that his reputation for learning and piety was throughout Europe declared.

The doctor however had his enemies, and these laid a complaint against him to the inquisitors, who sent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, cast him into a dungeon.

Now as the greatest part of those who belonged to the cathedral church at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dorset, highly approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly consonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his



his behalf. Though the monarch had been educated a Roman-Catholic, he had too much sense to be a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his liberation.

Soon after, he visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and returning home he soon after fell sick, and died in an extreme old age.

Now the inquisitors having been disappointed of gratifying their malice against him, while living, determined (as the emperor's whole thoughts were engrossed by a military expedition) to wreak their vengeance on him when dead. Therefore, soon after he was buried, they ordered his remains to be dug out of the grave; and a legal process being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.



#### *An Account of the PERSECUTION of Dr. CONSTANTINE.*

**D**R. CONSTANTINE, an intimate acquaintance of the already mentioned Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning; exclusive of several modern tongues, he was acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and perfectly well knew not only the sciences called abstruse, but those arts which come under the denomination of polite literature.

The doctor's eloquence rendered him a pleasing, and the soundness of his doctrines a profitable preacher; and he was so popular, that he never preached but to a crowded audience. He had many opportunities of rising in the church, but never would take advantage of them; for if a living of greater value than his own was offered him, he would refuse it, saying, I am content with what I have; and he frequently preached so forcibly against simony, that many of his superiors, who were not so delicate upon the subject, took umbrage at his doctrines upon that score.

When fully confirmed in Protestantism by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were agreeable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors which had at various times crept into the Romish church. For these reasons he had many enemies among the Roman-Catholics, and some of them were determined on his utter ruin.

One Scobaria, a worthy gentleman, having erected a school for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Constantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook the task, and read lectures, by portions, on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; but while beginning to expound the book of Job, the inquisitors seized him.

When brought to examination, he answered with such precaution that they could not find any explicit charge against him, but remained doubtful in what manner to proceed, when the following circumstances occurred, which served for a salvo:

The doctor had deposited with a woman, named Isabella Martin, several books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew were exceptionable in the eyes of the inquisition.

Being informed against as a Protestant, this woman was apprehended, and, after a small process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, the woman's son had removed away several chests full of the most valuable articles; and among these were the books of Dr. Constantine.

But a treacherous servant having given intelligence of this to the inquisitors, an officer was dispatched to the son to demand the chests. The son, supposing the officer only came for Constantine's books, said, I know what you come for, and I will fetch them to you immediately. He then fetched Dr. Constantine's books and papers, when the officer was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for. He, however, told the young man, that he was glad these books and papers were produced, but nevertheless he must fulfil the end

of his commission, which was, to carry him and the goods he had embezzled before the inquisitors, which he did accordingly; for the young man knew it would be in vain to expostulate or resist, and therefore submitted to his fate with quietness.

When the inquisitors were thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, they soon found matter sufficient to form charges against him. When he was brought to a re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the hand-writing? Perceiving it was his own, he guessed the whole matter, confessed the writing, and justified the doctrine it contained; saying, "In that and all my other writings, I have never departed from the truth of the gospel, but have always kept in view the pure precepts of Christ, as he delivered them to mankind."

Having been detained upwards of two years in prison, Dr. Constantine was at last seized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miseries in this world. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which was publicly burnt at the ensuing Auto de Fe.

#### *An Account of Mr. NICHOLAS BURTON's Martyrdom.*

**M**R. BURTON was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he wanted to send a quantity of merchandize to London. Having asked as many questions as he thought proper, he departed, and the next day one of the inquisitorial officers took Mr. Burton into custody.

The president, on his examination, demanded if he had, by words or writing, said or insinuated any thing disrespectful to the Roman-Catholic persuasion.

Mr. Burton replied in the negative; saying, That he was sensible, in whatever country we were, respect ought to be paid to the religion of that country: that such knowledge to him was essential, who, as a merchant, was obliged to visit various countries, and conform to all their religious and civil ceremonies.

However, this defence availed him nothing: they proceeded to torture him, in order to gain information. Failing in this, they condemned him for invincible obstinacy, and at the next Auto de Fe he was burnt. When the flames first touched him, he bore the torments with such exemplary patience, and appeared with so smiling a countenance, that one of the priests, enraged at his serenity, said with great malice and absurdity, "The reason why he does not seem to feel, is to me very evident; the Devil has already got his soul, and his body is of course deprived of the usual sensations."

Several others of the English in Spain were, about the time of Mr. Burton's martyrdom, put to death by the inquisitors; particularly John Baker, William Burgate, and William Burges were burnt, and William Hooker was stoned to death; freely giving up their lives for him, who shed his blood for their redemption.

#### *Particulars of WILLIAM GARDENER.*

**W**ILLIAM GARDENER was born at Bristol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of one Paget, an eminent merchant.

When he was twenty-six years of age, he was, by his master, sent to Lisbon, to act as factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, executed his business with assiduity and fidelity, and behaved with the most engaging affability to all persons with whom he had the least concern. He conversed privately with a few, whom he knew to be zealous Protestants; and, at the same time, cautiously avoided giving the least offence to any who were Roman-Catholics: but he had not gone into any of the Popish churches as yet.

There



There being a marriage concluded between the king of Portugal's son and the Infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day, the bridegroom, bride, and the whole court went to the cathedral church, attended by multitudes of all ranks of people, and among the rest William Gardener, who stayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly shocked at the superstitions he beheld.

His mind was strongly impressed with the erroneous worship which he had seen; he was miserable, to behold a whole country sunk into such idolatry, when the truth of the gospel might be so easily obtained. He, therefore, took the inconsiderate, though laudable design, into his head, of making a reform in Portugal, or perishing in the attempt; and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though upon the occasion he became a martyr.

For this purpose he settled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, closed his books, and consigned over his merchandize. On the ensuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral church, and placed himself near the altar, with a New Testament in his hand.

In a short time the king and the court appeared, and a cardinal began mass: at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardener could hold out no longer, but springing towards the cardinal, he snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet.

The whole congregation were now thunderstruck, and one person drawing a dagger, wounded Gardener in the shoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have finished him, had not the king called to him to forbear.

When Gardener was carried before the king, the monarch asked him what countryman he was: to which he replied, I am an Englishman by birth, a Protestant by religion, and a merchant by occupation. What I have done is not out of contempt to your royal person, God forbid it should, but out of an honest indignation, to see the ridiculous superstitions and gross idolatries which are here practised.

Thinking that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, the king demanded who was his abettor, to which he replied, "My own conscience alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living, but I owe that and all other services to my Creator."

Hereupon Gardener was sent to prison, and a general order issued to apprehend all Englishmen in Lisbon. This order was in a great measure put into execution (some few escaping) and many innocent persons were tortured to make them confess if they knew any thing of the matter; in particular, a person who resided in the same house with Gardener, was treated with unparalleled barbarity, to make him confess something which might throw a light upon the business.

Then Gardener himself was tormented in the most excruciating manner: but in the midst of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being ordered for death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet, Gardener was drawn up to the gibbet by pulleys, and then let down near the fire, but not so close as to touch it; for they burnt or rather roasted him by slow degrees. Yet he bore his sufferings patiently, and cheerfully resigned his soul to the Lord.

We must observe, that some of the sparks were blown from the fire, which consumed Gardener, towards the haven, burnt one of the king's ships of war, and did other considerable damage. The Englishmen who were taken up on this occasion were, soon after Gardener's death, all discharged, except the person that resided in the same house with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his freedom.

thern and western islands; after which he visited France, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. He set out on his travels in the month of March 1609, and the first place he went to was Paris, where he stayed for some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga in Spain, the seat of all his embarrassments.

While he resided here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumstances. In the evening of the 17th of October 1620, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, discovered the mistake, and the governor of Malaga perceiving the cross of England in their colours, went on board Sir Robert Mansell's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced all the people's fears.

Many persons from on board the fleet came ashore the next day. Among these were several well known by Mr. Lithgow, who, after reciprocal compliments, spent some days together in festivity and the amusements of the town. They then invited Mr. Lithgow to go on board, and pay his respects to the admiral. He accordingly accepted the invitation, was kindly received by him, and detained till the next day, when the fleet sailed. The admiral would willingly have taken Mr. Lithgow with him to Algiers; but having contracted for his passage to Alexandria, and his baggage, &c. being in the town, he could not accept the proposal.

When Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the same night for Alexandria) when, in passing through a narrow uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine serjeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the governor's house. After some little time the governor appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earnestly begged he might be informed of the cause of such violent treatment. The governor only answered by shaking his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he (the governor) returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid major, and town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the English merchants who resided in the town at that time.

All these orders were strictly discharged, and on the governor's return, he with the officers having seated themselves, Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governor began by asking several questions, namely, of what country he was, whither bound, and how long he had been in Spain. The prisoner, after answering these, and other questions, was conducted to a closet, where, in a short space of time, he was visited by the town-captain, who inquired whether he had ever been at Seville, or was lately come from thence; and patting his cheek with an air of friendship, conjured him to tell the truth: "For, said he, your very countenance shews there is some hidden matter in your mind, which prudence should direct you to disclose." Finding himself, however, unable to extort any thing from the prisoner, he left him, and reported the same to the governor and the other officers; on which Mr. Lithgow was again brought before them, a general accusation was laid against him, and he was compelled to swear that he would give true answers to such questions as should be proposed.

Then the governor proceeded to inquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner's opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the Squadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before its departure from England. The answers given to the several questions asked,

*A particular Account of the LIFE and SUFFERINGS of  
Mr. WILLIAM LITHGOW, a Native of Scotland.*

**W**ILLIAM LITHGOW was descended from a good family, and having a natural propensity to travelling, he rambled, when very young, over the nor-



asked, were set down in writing by the notary; but the junto seemed surprised at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, particularly the governor, who said he lied, that he was a traitor and spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in the designs that were projected against Spain; and that he had been for that purpose nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spanish navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom, they said, unusual civilities had passed, but all these transactions had been noticed with peculiar attention.

In short, to sum up the whole, and put the truth past all doubt, they said, he came from a council of war, held that morning on board the admiral's ship, in order to put in execution the orders assigned him. They upbraided him with being accessory to the burning of the island of St. Thomas, in the West-Indies; "Wherefore, said they, these Lutherans, and sons of the Devil, ought to have no credit given to what they say or swear."

Mr. Lithgow in vain endeavoured to obviate every accusation laid against him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. He begged permission to send for his cloak-bag, which contained his papers, and might serve to shew his innocence. This request they complied with, thinking it would discover some things of which they were ignorant. The cloak-bag was accordingly brought, and being opened, among other things, was found a licence from king James the First, under the sign manual, setting forth the bearer's intention to travel into Egypt; which was treated by the haughty Spaniards with great contempt. The other papers consisted of passports, testimonials, &c. of persons of quality. All these credentials, however, seemed rather to confirm than abate the suspicions of these prejudiced judges, who, after seizing all the prisoner's papers, ordered him again to retire.

During the interim, a consultation was held to fix the place where the prisoner should be confined. The alcade, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to, particularly by the corrigidore, who said, in Spanish, "In order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governor's house, and the greatest secrecy observed.

Upon this determination, one of the serjeants went to Mr. Lithgow, and begged his money, with liberty to search him. As it was needless to make any resistance, the prisoner quietly complied, when the serjeant (after rifling his pockets of eleven ducatoons) stripped him to his shirt; and searching his breeches, he found, enclosed in the waistband, two canvas bags, containing one hundred and thirty-seven pieces of gold. The serjeant immediately took the money to the corrigidore, who, after having told it over, ordered him to clothe the prisoner, and shut him up close till after supper.

When it was midnight the serjeant and two Turkish slaves released Mr. Lithgow from his then confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him through several passages, to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was so great that he could neither stand or sit, but was obliged to lie continually on his back. They left him in this condition for some time, when they returned with a refreshment of food, consisting of a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf, together with a small quantity of wine; which was not only the first, but the best and last of the kind, during his confinement in this place. After delivering these articles, the serjeant locked the door, and left Mr. Lithgow to contemplate his fate in private.

He received a visit from the governor the next day, who promised him his liberty, with many other advan-

tages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, saying, He should see him no more till further torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, that he should permit no person whatever to have access to, or commune with him; that his sustenance should not exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlid. "Close up, said he, this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats: let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort." These, and several other orders of the like severity were given, to render it impossible for his condition to be known to any of his countrymen.

The unfortunate Lithgow continued in this wretched and melancholy state without seeing any person for several days, in which time the governor received an answer to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from Madrid; and, pursuant to the instructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because Christmas holidays approached, it being then the forty-seventh day since his confinement.

Between two and three o'clock in the morning, he heard the noise of a coach in the street, and some time after heard the opening of the prison doors, not having had any sleep for two nights; hunger, pain, and melancholy reflections having prevented him from resting.

Immediately after the prison doors were opened, the nine serjeants, who had first seized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a word conducted him in his irons, through the house into the street, where a coach waited, and into which they laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to sit. Two of the serjeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all observed the most profound silence. They drove him to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up for that night.

About day-break the next morning, arrived the governor and the alcade, into whose presence Mr. Lithgow was immediately brought, to undergo another examination. The prisoner desired he might have an interpreter, which was allowed to strangers by the laws of that country, but this was refused, nor would they permit him to appeal to Madrid, the superior court of judicature. After a long examination, which lasted from morning till night, there appeared in all his answers so exact a conformity with what he had before said, that they declared he had learned them by heart, there not being the least prevarication. They, however, pressed him again to make a full discovery; that is, to accuse himself of crimes never committed, the governor adding, "You are still in my power; I can set you free if you comply: if not, I must deliver you to the alcade." Mr. Lithgow still persisting in his innocence, the governor ordered the notary to draw up a warrant for delivering him to the alcade to be tortured immediately.

Pursuant to this order, he was conducted by the serjeants to the end of a stone gallery, where the rack was placed. The encarouador, or executioner, immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being so close rivetted, that the sledge hammer tore away above half an inch of his heel, in forcing off the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak condition (not having the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merciless alcade said, "Villain, traitor, this is but the earnest of what you shall endure."

As soon as his irons were off he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer, that God would be pleased to enable him to be steadfast, and undergo courageously the grievous trial he had to encounter. The alcade and notary having placed themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked, and fixed upon the rack, the office of these gentlemen being to be witness of, and set down the confessions and tortures endured by the unhappy sufferer.



It is morally impossible to describe all the various tortures inflicted upon him. Suffice it to say, that he lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most hellish nature; and had they continued them a few minutes longer, he must have inevitably expired.

When these cruel persecutors were satisfied for the present, the prisoner was taken from the rack, and his irons being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to prevent his dying, and reserve him for future punishments, than from any principle of charity or pity.

As a confirmation of this, orders were given for a coach to pass every morning before day by the prison; that the noise made by it might give fresh terrors and alarms to the unhappy prisoner, and deprive him of all possibility of obtaining the least sleep.

In this horrid situation he continued, almost starved for want of the common necessities to preserve his wretched existence, till Christmas-Day, when he received some relief from Mariane, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles: and so affected was she at beholding his situation, that she wept bitterly, and at her departure expressed the greatest concern at not being able to give him further consolation.

Mr. Lithgow was kept in this loathsome dungeon till he was almost devoured with vermin. They crawled about his beard, lips, eye-brows, &c. so that he could scarce open his eyes; and his mortification was increased by not having the use of his hands or legs to defend himself, from his being so miserably maimed by the tortures. So cruel was the governor, that he even ordered the vermin to be swept on him twice in every eight days. He, however, obtained some little mitigation of this part of his punishment, from the humanity of a Turkish slave that attended him, who, at times, when he could do it with safety, destroyed the vermin, and contributed every refreshment to him that he was capable of.

Mr. Lithgow at length received from this slave that information which gave him little hopes of ever being released, but, on the contrary, that he should finish his life under new tortures. The substance of this information was, that an English seminary priest, and a Scotch cooper, had been for some time employed by the governor to translate from the English into the Spanish language, all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governor's house, that he was an arch and dangerous heretic.

He was greatly alarmed at this information, and began, not without reason, to apprehend that they would soon finish him, more especially as they could neither, by torture, or any other means, bring him to vary from what he had all along said at his different examinations.

About two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and being seated, after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman-Catholic, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other; adding, that he was surprised at being asked such questions, since it was expressly stipulated by the articles of peace between England and Spain, that none of the English subjects should be liable to the inquisition, or any way molested by them on account of diversity in religion, &c. In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances: "As you have almost murdered me, said he, for pretended treason, so now you intend to make a martyr of me for my religion." He also expostulated with the governor on the ill-return he made the king of England, whose subject he was, for the princely humanity exercised towards the Spaniards in 1588, when their armada was shipwrecked on the Scotch coast, and thousands of the Spaniards found relief, who must have otherwise perished in a miserable manner.

Now the governor admitted the truth of what Mr. Lithgow said, but replied with an haughty air, that the king, who then only ruled Scotland, was actuated more by fear than love, and therefore did not deserve any thanks. One of the Jesuits said, there was no faith to be kept with heretics. The inquisitor then rising, addressed himself to Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently; (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings irreverently of his holiness, the great agent and Christ's vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: thy books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing thy own countrymen."

When this trumpery was ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him, he, with other religious orders, would attend, to give him such assistance thereto as he might want. One of the Jesuits said, first making the sign of the cross upon his breast, "My son, behold, you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our lady of Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body."

The inquisitor, with the three ecclesiastics, returned in the morning, when the former asked the prisoner what difficulties he had on his conscience that retarded his conversion; to which he answered, "He had not any doubts in his mind, being confident in the promises of Christ, and assuredly believing his revealed will signified in the gospels, as professed in the reformed Catholic Church, being confirmed by grace, and having infallible assurance thereby of the true Christian faith." To these words the inquisitor replied, "Thou art no Christian, but an absurd heretic, and without conversion a member of perdition." The prisoner then told him, it was not consistent with the nature and essence of religion and charity, to convince by opprobrious speeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the scriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally fruitless.

So enraged was the inquisitor at the replies made by the prisoner, that he struck him on the face, used many abusive speeches, and attempted to stab him, which he had certainly done had he not been prevented by the Jesuits: and from this time he never visited the prisoner again.

The two Jesuits returned the next day, and putting on a very grave supercilious air, the superior asked him, what resolution he had taken? To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was already resolved, unless he could shew substantial reasons to make him alter his opinion. The superior, after a pedantic display of their seven sacraments, the intercession of saints, transubstantiation, &c. boasted greatly of their church, her antiquity, universality, and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow denied: "For, said he, the profession of the faith I hold hath been ever since the first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church, however obscure, in the greatest time of your darkness."

Now the Jesuits, finding their arguments had not the desired effect, that torments could not shake his constancy, nor even the fear of the cruel sentence he had reason to expect would be pronounced and executed on him, after severe menaces, left him. On the eighth day after, being the last of their inquisition, when sentence is pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, both in their words and behaviour. After repeating much the same kind of arguments as before, they, with seeming tears in their eyes, pretended they were sorry from their hearts he must be obliged to undergo a terrible death; but above all, for the loss of his most precious soul; and falling on their knees, cried out, "Convert, convert, O dear brother, for our blessed lady's sake convert!" To which he answered, "I fear neither death nor fire, being prepared for both."



The first effects Mr. Lithgow felt of the determination of this bloody tribunal was, a sentence to receive that night eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them, which might be reasonably expected from the maimed and disjointed condition he was in, he was, after Easter holidays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to ashes. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength both of body and mind, to stand fast to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments which were thus inflicted.

When these barbarians had glutted themselves for the present, with exercising on the unhappy prisoner the most distinguished cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his former dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from the Turkish slave before mentioned, who secretly brought him in his shirt sleeve, some raisins and figs, which he licked up in the best manner his strength would permit with his tongue. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey some of these fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet and parents, in the greatest detestation of Christians, should be so affected at the miserable situation of Mr. Lithgow, that he fell ill, and continued so for upwards of 40 days. During this period, Mr. Lithgow was attended by a negro woman, a slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being conversant in the house and family. She brought him some victuals, and with it some wine in a bottle, every day.

Now so far elapsed was the time, and the horrid situation so truly loathsome, that Mr. Lithgow waited, with anxious expectation for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, happily rendered abortive, and his deliverance from the following circumstances obtained.

A Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga; who, being invited to an entertainment by the governor, he informed him of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow, from the time of his being apprehended as a spy, and described the various sufferings he had endured. He likewise told him, that after it was known the prisoner was innocent, it gave him great concern. That on this account he would gladly have released him, restored his money and papers, and made some atonement for the injuries he had received; but that, upon an inspection into his writings, several were found of a very blasphemous nature, highly reflecting on their religion. That on his refusing to abjure these heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquisition, who finally condemned him.

Now, while the governor was relating this tragical tale, a Flemish youth, servant to the Spanish gentleman, who waited at table, was struck with amazement and pity at the sufferings of the stranger described. On his return to his master's lodgings, he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made such an impression on him that he could not rest in his bed. In the short slumbers he had, his imagination painted to him the person described, on the rack, and burning in the fire. In this anxiety he passed the night; and when the morning came, without disclosing his intentions to any person whatever, he went into the town, and inquired for an English factor. He was directed to the house of one Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard pass, the preceding evening, between his master and the governor; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was him, by the servant's remembering the circumstance of his being a traveller, and his having had some acquaintance with him.

Mr. Wild, on the departure of the Flemish servant, immediately sent for the other English factors, to whom he related all the particulars relative to their unfortunate countryman. After a short consultation it was agreed,

that an information of the whole affair should be sent, by express, to sir Walter Aston, the English ambassador to the king of Spain, then at Madrid. This was accordingly done, and the ambassador having presented a memorial to the king and council of Spain, he obtained an order for Mr. Lithgow's enlargement, and his delivery to the English factory. This order was directed to the governor of Malaga; and was received by the whole assembly of the bloody inquisition with the greatest surprise and aversion.

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter-Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave that had attended him to the house of one Mr. Busbich, where all proper comforts were given him. It fortunately happened, that there was at this time a Squadron of English ships in the road, commanded by sir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the past sufferings, and present situation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day a-shore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was instantly carried in blankets on board the Vanguard, and three days after was removed to another ship, by direction of the general sir Robert Mansel, who ordered that he should have proper care taken of him. The factory presented him with clothes, and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him 200 reals in silver; and sir Richard Hawkins sent him two double pistoles.

Sir Richard Hawkins demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. before his departure from the Spanish coast, but could not obtain any satisfactory answer on that head.

It is here worth the reader's while to reflect, how manifestly Providence interfered in behalf of this poor man, when he was just on the brink of destruction; for by his sentence, from which there was no appeal, he would have been taken, in a few days, to Grenada, and burnt to ashes: and that a poor ordinary servant, who had not the least knowledge of him, nor was any ways interested in his preservation, should risque the displeasure of his master, and hazard his own life, to disclose a thing of so momentous and perilous a nature, to a strange gentleman, on whose secrecy depended his own existence. By such secondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed; of which this is a most distinguished proof.

Having lain twelve days in the road, the ship weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, where, at that time, were the king and royal family. His majesty happened to be that day engaged in hunting, but on his return in the evening, Mr. Lithgow was presented to him, and related the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery. The king was so affected at the narrative, that he expressed the deepest concern, and gave orders that he should be sent to Bath, and his wants properly supplied from his royal munificence. By these means, under God, after some time, Mr. Lithgow was restored, from the most wretched spectacle, to a great share of health and strength; but he lost the use of his left arm, and several of the smaller bones were so crushed and broken, as to be rendered ever after unserviceable.

Though every effort was used, Mr. Lithgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty, and the ministers of state, interested themselves in his behalf. Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, indeed, promised that all his effects should be restored, with the addition of 1000l. English money, as some atonement for the tortures he had undergone, which last was to be paid him by the governor of Malaga. These engagements, however, were but mere promises; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the well performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the same. He had, indeed, too great a share of influence in the English council during the time of that pacific reign, when England suffered herself, by most of the states and kings in Europe, to be bullied into slavish compliance.



*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in ITALY.*

**N**OW we shall commence our account of the persecutions in Italy, a country which has been, and still is,

1. The centre of Popery,
2. The seat of the pontiff, and
3. The source of the various errors which have spread themselves over other countries, deluded the minds of thousands, and diffused the clouds of superstition and bigotry over the human understanding.

We shall, in pursuing our narrative, include the most remarkable persecutions that have happened, and the cruelties which have been wantonly made use of.

1. By the immediate order of the pope,
2. Through the power of the inquisition,
3. At the instigation of particular orders of the clergy, and
4. By the bigotry of the Italian princes.

*The first PERSECUTIONS under the PAPACY in ITALY.*

**T**HE first persecutions under the papacy began in Italy in the 12th century, at the time that Adrian, an Englishman, was pope, being occasioned by the following circumstances:

One Arnold, a learned man, and an excellent orator of Brixia, came to Rome, and boldly preached against the corruptions and innovations which had crept into the church. His doctrine was so clear, consistent, and breathed forth such a pure spirit of piety, that the senators, and many of the people, highly approved of, and admired his discourses.

Adrian was so greatly enraged at this, that he commanded Arnold instantly to leave the city, as an heretic. Arnold, however, did not comply, for the senators, and some of the principal people took his part, and resisted the pope's authority.

Now Adrian laid the city of Rome under an interdict, which caused the whole body of clergy to interpose; and, at length, persuaded the senators and people to give up the point, and suffer Arnold to be banished. This being agreed to, he received his sentence of exile, and retired to Germany, where he continued to preach against the pope, and to expose the gross errors of the Romish church.

On this account, Adrian thirsted for his blood, and made several attempts to get him into his hands; but Arnold, for a long time, avoided every snare laid for him. At length, Frederic Barbarossa arriving at the imperial dignity, requested that the pope would crown him with his own hand. This Adrian complied with, and at the same time asked a favour of the emperor, which was, to put Arnold into his hands. The emperor very readily delivered up the unfortunate preacher, who soon fell a martyr to Adrian's vengeance, being hanged, and his body burnt to ashes, at Apulia. The same fate attended several of his old companions and friends.

A Spaniard, named Encenas, was sent to Rome, to be brought up in the Roman-Catholic faith; but having conversed with some of the reformed, and read several treatises which they had put into his hands, he became a Protestant. This, at length, being known, one of his own relations informed against him, when he was burnt by order of the pope and a conclave of cardinals. The brother of Encenas had been taken up much about the same time, for having a New Testament, in the Spanish language, in his possession; but before the time appointed for his execution, he found means to escape out of prison; and retired to Germany.

One Faninus, a learned layman, by reading controversial books, became of the reformed religion. An information being exhibited against him to the pope, he was apprehended, and cast into prison. His wife, children, relations, and friends, visited him in his confinement,

and so far wrought upon his mind, that he renounced his faith, and obtained his release. But he was no sooner free from confinement, than his mind felt the heaviest of chains, the weight of a guilty conscience. His horrors were so great, that he found them insupportable, till he had returned from his apostacy, and declared himself fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome. To make amends for his falling off, he now openly and strenuously did all he could to make converts to Protestantism, and was pretty successful in his endeavours. These proceedings occasioned his second imprisonment; but he had his life offered him if he would recant again. This proposal he rejected with disdain, saying, that he scorned life upon such terms. Being asked why he would obstinately persist in his opinions, and leave his wife and children in distress; he replied, I shall not leave them in distress, I have recommended them to the care of an excellent trustee. What trustee? said the person who had asked the question, with some surprise: to which Faninus answered, Jesus Christ is the trustee I mean, and I think I could not commit them to the care of a better. On the day of execution he appeared remarkably cheerful, which one observing, said, It is strange you should appear so merry upon such an occasion, when Jesus Christ himself, just before his death, was in such agonies, that he sweated blood and water. To which Faninus replied: Christ sustained all manner of pangs and conflicts, with hell and death, on our accounts; and thus, by his sufferings, freed those who really believe in him from the fear of them. He was then strangled, and his body, being burnt to ashes, the wind scattered them about.

Also Dominicus, a learned soldier, having read several controversial writings, became a zealous Protestant, and retiring to Placentia, preached the gospel in its utmost purity, to a very considerable congregation. At the conclusion of his sermon one day, he said, "If the congregation will attend to-morrow, I will give them a description of Anti-christ, and paint him out in his proper colours."

An immense number of people attended the next day; but just as Dominicus was beginning his sermon, a civil magistrate went up to his pulpit, and took him into custody. He readily submitted; but as he went along with the magistrate, made use of this expression: I wonder the Devil hath let me alone so long. When he was brought to examination, this question was put to him: Will you renounce your doctrines? To which he replied: My doctrines! I maintain no doctrines of my own; what I preach are the doctrines of Christ, and for those I will forfeit my blood, and even think myself happy to suffer for the sake of my Redeemer. Every method was taken to make him recant from his faith, and embrace the errors of the church of Rome; but when persuasions and menaces were found ineffectual, he was sentenced to death, and hanged in the market-place accordingly.

A Protestant gentleman, named Galeacius, who resided near the castle of St. Angelo, was apprehended on account of his faith. Great endeavours being used by his friends, he recanted, and subscribed to several of the superstitious doctrines propagated by the church of Rome. Becoming, however, sensible of his error, he publicly renounced his recantation. Being apprehended for this, he was condemned to be burnt; and agreeable to the order, was chained to a stake, where he was left several hours before the fire was put to the faggots, in order that his wife, relations, and friends, who surrounded him, might induce him to give up his opinions. Galeacius, however, now retained his constancy of mind, and entreated the executioner to put fire to the wood that was to burn him. This, at length, he did, and Galeacius was soon consumed in the flames, which burnt with amazing rapidity, and deprived him of sensation in a very short time.

Not long after this gentleman's death, a great number of Protestants were put to death in various parts of Italy, on account of their faith, giving a sure proof of their sincerity in their martyrdoms.



*An Account of the several PERSECUTIONS in CALABRIA.*

**A**BOUT the 14th century, many of the Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, and settling in some waste lands, by the permission of the nobles of that country, they soon, by the most industrious cultivation, made several wild and barren spots appear with all the beauties of fertility and verdure.

The lords of Calabria were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, as they were honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests of the country exhibited several negative complaints against them; for not being able to accuse them of any thing bad which they did do, they founded accusations on what they did not do, and charged them,

1. With not being Roman-Catholics.
2. With not making any of their boys priests.
3. With not making any of their girls nuns.
4. With not going to mass.
5. With not giving wax tapers to their priests as offerings.
6. With not going on pilgrimages.
7. With not bowing to images.

However, the Calabrian lords quieted the priests, by telling them, that these people were extremely harmless; that they gave no offence to the Roman-Catholics, and cheerfully paid the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, of consequence, ought to be the very last persons to make a complaint.

Matters went on tolerably well after this for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to the jurisdiction of them. At length, they sent to Geneva for two clergymen; one to preach in each town, as they determined to make a public profession of their faith. Intelligence of this affair being carried to pope Pius the Fourth, he determined to exterminate them from Calabria, without further delay.

For this purpose he sent cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a very violent temper, and a furious bigot, together with two monks, to Calabria; where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, and having assembled the people, told them, that they should receive no injury, or violence, if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they would not, they should be deprived both of their properties and lives; and that their intentions might be known, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they were ordered to be present.

But the people of St. Xist, instead of attending mass, fled into the woods with their families, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. The cardinal then proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, not to be served as he had been at St. Xist, he ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the people of La Garde, as had been made to the inhabitants of St. Xist, but with this additional piece of artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed, that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded; for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, said, they would exactly follow the example of their brethren at St. Xist.

Thus the cardinal having gained his point by deluding the people of one town, sent for two troops of soldiers, with a view to murder those of the other. He, accordingly, dispatched the soldiers into the woods, to hunt down the inhabitants of St. Xist like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age or sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were properly apprized of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the

half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valour, and many were slain on both sides. The greatest part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the rest were compelled to retreat, which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

Hereupon the viceroy ordered a proclamation to be made throughout all the Neapolitan territories, that all out-laws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their respective offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and continuing under arms till those people were utterly destroyed.

Several persons, of desperate fortunes, came in upon this proclamation, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself likewise joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they did all they could to harass the poor people in the woods. Some they caught, and hanged up upon trees, cut down boughs, and burnt them, or ripped them open, and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts, or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance, but the greatest number they hunted down by way of sport. A few hid themselves in caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat; and thus all these poor people perished, by various means, to glut the bigoted malice of their barbarous enemies.

No sooner were the inhabitants of St. Xist exterminated, than those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. It was offered, that if they would embrace the Roman-Catholic persuasion, themselves and families should not be injured, but their houses and properties should be restored, and none would be permitted to molest them; but, on the contrary, if they refused this mercy, as it was termed, the utmost extremities would be used, and the most cruel deaths the certain consequence of their non-acquiescence.

In spite of the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, these worthy people unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of Popery. This exasperated the cardinal and viceroy so much, that thirty of them were ordered to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the remainder.

The thirty who were put to the rack were treated with such severity, that several died under the tortures: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used, that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities, however, did not answer the purposes for which they were intended; for those who remained alive after the rack, and those who had not felt the rack, remained equally constant in their faith, and boldly declared, that no tortures of body, or terrors of mind, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or worship idols.

There were several then, by the cardinal's order, stripped stark naked, and whipped to death with iron rods; some were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown down from the top of a large tower; and many were covered over with pitch, and burnt alive.

Among the monks who attended the cardinal, there was one naturally of a savage and cruel disposition, who requested of him, that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; his request being granted, the barbarous man took a large sharp knife, and cut the throats of fourscore men, women, and children, with as little remorse as a butcher would have killed so many sheep. Every one of these bodies were then ordered to be quartered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and then fixed in different parts of the country, within a circuit of about thirty miles.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was terribly mangled, but not quite killed by the fall; at which time the viceroy passing by, said, Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and give him to the hogs: when, brutal as this sentence may appear, it was accordingly executed.

There were sixty women racked so violently, that the



cords pierced their arms and legs quite to the bone: when, being remanded to prison, their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various cruel means; and if any Roman-Catholic, more compassionate than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and shared the same fate, as a favourer of heretics.

Now, the viceroy being obliged to march back to Naples, on some affairs of moment which required his presence, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was ordered to put the finishing stroke to what they had begun; which he, at length, effected, by acting with such barbarous rigour, that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left living in all Calabria.

A great number of inoffensive and harmless people were thus deprived of their possessions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and, at length, murdered, by various means, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the superstitions of others, embrace idolatrous doctrines which they abhorred, and accept of teachers whom they could not believe. Tyranny is of three kinds, viz. That which enslaves the person, that which seizes the property, and that which prescribes and dictates to the mind. The two first sorts may be termed civil tyranny, and have been practised by arbitrary sovereigns in all ages, who have delighted in tormenting the persons, and stealing the properties of their unhappy subjects. But the third sort, viz. prescribing and dictating to the mind, may be called ecclesiastical tyranny: and this is the worst kind of tyranny, as it includes the other two sorts; for the Romish clergy not only torture the bodies, and seize the effects of those they persecute, but take the lives, torment the minds, and, if possible, would tyrannize over the very souls of the unhappy victims in their power.



*A particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the Vallies of PIEDMONT.*

SEVERAL of the Waldenses, to avoid the persecutions to which they were continually subjected in France, went and settled in the vallies of Piedmont, where they increased surprisingly, and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding they were harmless in their behaviour, inoffensive in their conversation, and paid tithes to the Romish clergy, yet the latter could not be contented, but wished to give them some disturbance: they, accordingly, complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses of the vallies of Piedmont were heretics, for the reasons as follow:

1. That they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of Rome.
2. That they made no offerings for prayers for the dead.
3. That they did not go to mass.
4. That they did not confess, and receive absolution.
5. That they did not believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the souls of their friends out of it.

The archbishop ordered a persecution to be commenced upon these charges, and many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

One of the reformed at Turin had his bowels torn out, and put into a basin before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Cate-lin Girard being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone; which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard looking earnestly at the stone, said, When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this solid stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer shall have an end, and not before. He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more of the reformed were op-

pressed, or put to death, by various means, till the patience of the Waldenses being tired out, they flew to arms in their own defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies.

Provoked at this, the archbishop of Turin procured a number of troops, and sent against them; but in most of the skirmishes and engagements the Waldenses were successful, which partly arose from their being better acquainted with the passes of the vallies of Piedmont than their adversaries, and partly from the desperation with which they fought; for they well knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but, as heretics, should be tortured to death.

Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined at length to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so greatly disturbed his dominions. He was not willing to disoblige the pope, or affront the archbishop of Turin; nevertheless, he sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions overrun with troops, who were directed by priests instead of officers, and commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

Perceiving the resolution of the duke, the priests did all they could to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but the duke told them, that though he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer.

Accordingly the priests had recourse to the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered all over with hair.

But the duke was not so devoid of common sense as to give credit to what the priests said, though they affirmed, in the most solemn manner, the truth of their assertions. He, however, sent twelve very learned and sensible gentlemen into the Piedmontese vallies, to examine into the real characters of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and conversing with people of every rank among the Waldenses, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of those people; affirming, before the faces of the priests who vilified them, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious: that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, the gentlemen said, the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsties, for they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, or hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said (continued one of the gentlemen) we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. And we have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of personally examining them as much as you please."

Having accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, and examined the children, the duke graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.



For many years the Waldenses had enjoyed peace, till Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, died, when his successor happened to be a very bigoted Papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed, that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When informed of these proceedings, the new duke was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the vallies, swearing, that if the people would not change their religion, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men he had with him: he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses, with so small a force, was ridiculous; that those people were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and resolutely determined to defend themselves; and, with respect to flaying them alive, he said, that every skin belonging to those people would cost him the lives of a dozen of his subjects.

Alarmed at this information, the duke withdrew the troops, determining to act not by force, but by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for the taking of any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive, or burnt.

Hitherto the Waldenses had only the New Testament, and a few books of the Old, in the Waldensian tongue; but they determined now to have the sacred writings complete in their own language. They, therefore, employed a Swiss printer to furnish them with a complete edition of the Old and New Testament in the Waldensian tongue, which he did for the consideration of fifteen hundred crowns of gold, paid him by those truly pious people.

Pope Paul the Third, a bigoted Papist, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics.

To this the parliament readily agreed, when several were suddenly apprehended and burnt, by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hektor, a bookseller and stationer of Turin, who was brought up a Roman-Catholic, but having read some treatises written by the reformed clergy, he was fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering, and he hardly knew what persuasion to embrace.

After some serious consideration, he at last fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt by order of the parliament of Turin.

Now a consultation was held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, to send deputies to the vallies of Piedmont, with propositions as follow:

1. That if the Waldenses would come to the bosom of the church of Rome, and embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation.

2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and school-masters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion.

3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion.

4. That if the Waldenses of the vallies of Piedmont refused to comply with these propositions, persecution should ensue, and certain death be their portion.

The Waldenses answering these propositions respectively, made the following very noble replies:

1. That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion.

2. That they would never consent to commit their best and most respectable friends, to the custody and discretion of their worst and most inveterate enemies.

3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority.

4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

These spirited and pointed replies greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin: they continued, with more avidity than ever, to kidnap such Waldenses as did not act with proper precaution, who were sure to suffer the most cruel deaths. Among these it unfortunately happened, that they got hold of Jeffery Varnagle, minister of Angrogne, whom they accused as an heretic, and committed to the flames.

Then they solicited a considerable body of troops of the king of France, in order to exterminate the reformed entirely from the vallies of Piedmont; but just as the troops were going to march, the Protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses, if they should be attacked. The king of France, not caring to enter into a war, remanded the troops, and sent word to the parliament of Turin, that he could not spare any troops at present to act in Piedmont. The members of the parliament were greatly vexed at this disappointment, and the persecution gradually ceased; for as they could only put to death such of the reformed as they caught by chance, and as the Waldenses daily grew more cautious, their cruelty was obliged to subside, for want of objects on whom to exercise it.

When the Waldenses had enjoyed a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed by the following means: the pope's nuncio coming to Turin to the duke of Savoy upon business, told that prince he was astonished he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from the vallies of Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to enter into the bosom of the church of Rome. That he could not help looking upon such conduct with a suspicious eye, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should report the affair accordingly to his holiness the pope.

Inflamed by this reflection, and unwilling to be misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to act with the greatest severity, in order to shew his zeal, and to make amends for former neglect by future cruelty. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all the Waldenses to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered the Piedmontese vallies, with a formidable body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, crucified with their heads downwards, &c. &c.

All who fled had their goods plundered, and their houses burnt to the ground: they were particularly cruel when they caught a minister or a school-master, whom they put to such exquisite tortures, as are almost incredible to conceive. If any whom they took seemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the galleys, to be made converts by dint of hardships.

On this occasion, the most cruel persecutors that attended the duke were three in number, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate; for he was brought up in the reformed religion, but renounced his faith, embraced the errors of Popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and sordidly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. 3. The provost of justice, who was very anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution put money into his pocket.

Now these three persecutors were unmerciful to the last degree; and wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was sure to flow. Exclusive of the cruelties exercised



cised by the duke, by these three persons, and the army, in their different marches, many local barbarities were committed. At Pignerol, a town in the vallies, was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder the houses, and pull down the churches of the Waldenses. Not meeting with any opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman-Catholic nurses.

In like manner the Roman-Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses: they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their properties, stole their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the Waldenses to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c. &c.

A few Roman-Catholic ruffians having seized a minister as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His parishioners having intelligence of the affair, the men armed themselves, pursued the ruffians, and seemed determined to rescue their minister; which the ruffians no sooner perceived, than they stabbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The astonished parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for the weapon had touched the vital parts, and he expired as they were carrying him to his dwelling.

The monks of Pignerol having a great inclination to get a minister of a town in the vallies, called St. Germain, into their power, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of apprehending him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous person, who had formerly been a servant to the clergyman, and who perfectly well knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, not expecting any injury from a person on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he started back, and fled to a back door; but they rushed in, followed and seized him. Having murdered all his family, they made him proceed towards Pignerol, goading him all the way with pikes, lances, swords, &c. He was kept a considerable time in prison, and then fastened to the stake to be burnt; when two women of the Waldenses, who had renounced their religion to save their lives, were ordered to carry faggots to the stake to burn him; and as they laid them down, to say, Take these, thou wicked heretic, in recompence for the pernicious doctrines thou hast taught us. These words they both repeated to him: to which he calmly replied, I formerly taught you well, but you have since learned ill. The fire was then put to the faggots, and he was speedily consumed, calling upon the name of the Lord as long as he retained his voice.

Seeing the troops of ruffians, belonging to the monks, did great mischief about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some bands of armed men to the assistance of their brethren of St. Germain. These bodies of armed men frequently attacked the ruffians, and often put them to the rout, which so terrified the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol for some time, till they could procure a body of regular troops for their protection.

Now the duke, not thinking himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, greatly augmented his forces, ordered the bands of ruffians, belonging to the monks, should join him, and commanded, that a general gaol-delivery should take place, provided the persons released would bear arms, and form themselves into light companies, to assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

As soon as the Waldenses were informed of the proceedings, they secured as much of their properties as they could, and quitting the vallies, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps; for it is to be understood, that the

vallies of Piedmont are situated at the foot of those prodigious mountains, called the Alps, or the Alpine Hills.

Now the army began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force the passes to the Alps, which were gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were sure to be treated in the most barbarous and severe manner.

A soldier having caught one of the Waldenses, hit his right ear off, saying, I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity. He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

A party of the troops found a venerable man upwards of an hundred years of age, together with his granddaughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They butchered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and fled from them; but they pursuing her, she threw herself from a precipice, and expired.

The Waldenses, in order the more effectually to be able to repel force by force, entered into a league with the Protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. These were, respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses determined, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they must soon have perished, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native vallies.

At length, the duke of Savoy was tired of the war; it had cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men; and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he could at first have imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expences of the expedition; but in this he was mistaken, for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become more powerful than ever, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with the Waldenses.

Happily he executed this resolution, though greatly against the will of the ecclesiastics, who were the chief gainers, and the best pleased with revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died soon after his return to Turin; but on his death-bed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

Charles-Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and gave a full ratification of peace to the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the ecclesiastics did all they could to dissuade him from his noble purpose.

#### *A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in VENICE.*

**W**HEN the state of Venice was free from inquisitors, a great number of Protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of the doctrines they professed, and the inoffensiveness of the conversation they made use of.

As soon as the pope was informed of the great increase of Protestantism, he, in the year 1542, sent inquisitors to Venice, to make an inquiry into the matter, and apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious persons. Hence a severe persecution began, and many worthy persons were martyred for serving God with purity, and scorning the trappings of idle superstition.

The modes by which the Protestants were deprived of life were several; but one particular method, which

was



was first invented upon this occasion, we shall describe: As soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, which ran through a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

When any denied the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were sent to Rome, where, being committed purposely to damp prisons, and never called to an hearing, their flesh mortified, and they there died in a most miserable manner.

Anthony Ricetti, a citizen of Venice, being apprehended as a Protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner we have already described. A few days previous to the time appointed for his execution, his son went to him, and begged him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left fatherless. To which the father replied, A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself for the glory of his Redeemer: therefore I am resolved to sacrifice every thing in this transitory world, for the sake of salvation in a world that will last to eternity. The lords of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, they would not only give him his life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, sending word to the nobles, that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations; and being told that a fellow-prisoner, named Francis Sega, had recanted, he answered, If he has forsaken God, I pity him; but I shall continue steadfast in my duty. Finding all endeavours to persuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was executed according to his sentence, dying cheerfully, and recommending his soul fervently to the Almighty Creator.

All that Ricetti had been told concerning the apostacy of Francis Sega was absolutely false, for he had never offered to recant, but steadfastly persisted in his faith: and was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the very same manner.

A Protestant gentleman of very great learning, named Francis Spinola, being apprehended by order of the inquisitors, was carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, I confess myself to be the author of it, and at the same time solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures. On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon for several days.

When brought to a second examination, he charged the pope's legate, and the inquisitors, with being merciless barbarians, and then represented the superstitions and idolatries practised by the church of Rome in so glaring a light, that not being able to refute his arguments, they sent him back to his dungeon, to make him repent of what he had uttered.

They asked him, on his third examination, if he would recant his errors? To which he answered, That the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the Sacred Writings. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to meet death with the utmost serenity, seeming to wish for dissolution, and declaring, that the prolongation of this life did but tend to retard that real happiness which could be only expected in the other world.

*An interesting Account of several remarkable Individuals, who were martyred in different Parts of Italy, for their Religion.*

JOHN MOLLIIUS was born at Rome, of reputable parents. At twelve years of age they placed him

in the monastery of Grey Friars, where he made such a rapid progress in arts, sciences, and languages, that he was permitted to take priest's orders at the early age of eighteen years.

Mollius was then sent to Ferrara, where, after pursuing his studies six years longer, he was made theological reader in the university of that city. He now, unhappily, exerted his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. After some years residence at Ferrara, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. Having read some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he grew fully sensible of the errors of Popery, and soon became in his heart a zealous Protestant.

This man now determined to expound, according to the purity of the gospel, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons. The concourse of people that continually attended his preaching was surprising; but when the priests found the tenor of his doctrines, they dispatched an account of the affair to Rome; when the pope sent a monk, named Cornelius, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to the tenets of the church of Rome. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increased, and Cornelius was forced to preach to empty benches.

Hereupon Cornelius wrote an account of his bad success to the pope, who immediately sent an order to apprehend Mollius, who was seized upon accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him word, that he must recant, or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was accordingly removed there.

Here he begged to have a public trial, but that the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to give an account of his opinions in writing, which he did under the following heads:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Original sin.                            | 8. Mass.                                     |
| 2. Free-will.                               | 9. Auricular confession.                     |
| 3. The infallibility of the church of Rome. | 10. Prayers for the dead.                    |
| 4. The infallibility of the pope.           | 11. The host.                                |
| 5. Justification by faith.                  | 12. Prayers to saints.                       |
| 6. Purgatory.                               | 13. Going on pilgrimages.                    |
| 7. Transubstantiation.                      | 14. Extreme unction.                         |
|   | 15. Performing service in an unknown tongue. |

And all these he confirmed from scripture authority. The pope, upon this occasion, for political reasons, spared him for the present, but soon after, in 1553, had him apprehended, and put to death; he being first hanged, and his body burnt to ashes.

In 1554, Francis Gamba, a Lombard, of the Protestant persuasion, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan. At the place of execution, a monk presented a cross to him; to whom he said, My mind is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece of senseless stick to put me in mind of him. For this expression his tongue was bored through, and he was afterwards committed to the flames.

In 1555, Algerius, a student in the university of Padua, and a man of great learning, having embraced the reformed religion, did all he could to convert others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, where, being allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote to his converts at Padua a celebrated epistle as follows:

## L E T T E R

*From ALGERIUS to his Converts at Padua.*

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I Cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement; to suffer for Christ is delectable, indeed: to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing



purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting.

"Hence, I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the house of sorrow: where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

"How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity; I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my griefs, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence, in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

"Your sincere friend,

"ALGERIUS."

When the pope was informed of Algerius's great learning, and surprising natural abilities, he thought it would be of infinite service to the church of Rome, if he could induce him to forsake the Protestant cause. He, therefore, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by the most profane promises, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours ineffectual, he ordered him to be burnt, which sentence was accordingly executed.

In 1559, John Alloysius, being sent from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended as a Protestant, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the pope; and James Bovellus was burnt at Messina for the same reason.

In 1560, pope Pius the Fourth ordered all the Protestants to be severely persecuted throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman-Catholic thus speaks of them, in a letter to a noble lord: "I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments, with respect to the persecution now carrying on: I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness: seventy Protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and dispatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office."

There was a young Englishman at Rome, who happened to be one day passing by a church, when the procession of the host was just coming out. A bishop carried the host, which the young man perceiving, he snatched it from him, threw it upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, crying out, Ye wretched idolaters, that neglect the true God to adore a morsel of bread. This action so provoked the people, that they would have torn him to pieces upon the spot; but the priests having persuaded them to let him abide by the sentence of the pope, they restrained their fury.

As soon as the affair was represented to the pope, he was so greatly exasperated that he ordered the prisoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal dissuaded him from

this hasty sentence, saying, it was better to punish him by slow degrees, and to torture him, that they might find out if he had been instigated by any particular person to commit an act so atrocious.

This being approved, he was tortured with the most exemplary severity, notwithstanding which they could only get these words from him, "It was the will of God that I should do what I did."

Accordingly the pope passed this sentence upon him:

1. "That he should be led, naked to the middle, through the streets of Rome, by the executioner.
2. "That he should wear the image of the devil upon his head.
3. "That his breeches should be painted with the representation of flames.
4. "That he should have his right hand cut off.
5. "That after having been carried about thus in procession, he should be burnt."

Having heard his sentence pronounced, he implored God to give him strength and fortitude to go through it. As he passed through the streets he was greatly derided by the people, to whom he said some severe things respecting the Romish superstition. But a cardinal, who attended the procession, over-hearing him, ordered him to be gagged.

As soon as he came to the church door, where he trampled on the host, the hangman cut off his right hand, and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors, with flaming torches, scorched and burnt his flesh all the rest of the way. At the place of execution he kissed the chains that were to bind him to the stake. A monk presenting the figure of a saint to him, he struck it aside, and then being chained to the stake, fire was put to the faggots, and he was burnt to ashes in an instant.

Shortly after the last mentioned execution, a venerable old man, who had long been a prisoner in the inquisition, was condemned to be burnt, and brought out for execution. When he was fastened to the stake, a priest held a crucifix to him, on which he said, "If you do not take that idol from my sight, you will constrain me to spit upon it." The priest rebuked him for this with great severity; but he bade him remember the first and second commandments, and refrain from idolatry, as God himself had commanded. He was then gagged, that he should not speak any more, and fire being put to the faggots, he suffered martyrdom in the flames with great fortitude.

#### *Summary of the PERSECUTIONS in the Marquisate of SALUCES.*

IN 1561 the marquisate of Saluces, on the south side of the vallies of Piedmont, was principally inhabited by Protestants; when the marquis, who was proprietor of it, began a prosecution against them at the instigation of the then pope. He began by banishing the ministers, and if any of them refused to leave their flocks, they were sure to be imprisoned, and severely tortured; however, he did not proceed so far as to put any to death.

A little after the marquisate fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people should all conform to go to mass.

Upon receiving this letter, the inhabitants of Saluces returned the following general epistle for answer.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"WE humbly entreat your permission to continue in the practice of the religion which we have always professed, and which our fathers have professed before us. In this we shall acquit our consciences, without offending any; for we are sensible that our religion is founded on the Holy Scriptures, by whose precepts we are commanded not to injure our neighbours.

"We likewise implore your protection; for as Jews, infidels, and other enemies to Christ, are suffered to live in your dominions unmolested, we hope the same indulgence



gence may be granted to Christians, whose very faith obliges them to be harmless, honest, inoffensive, and loyal.

"We remain your highness's respectful,  
obedient, and faithful subjects,

"THE PROTESTANT INHABITANTS OF THE  
MARQUISATE OF SALUCES."

This letter being read, the duke did not interrupt the Protestants for some time; but, at length, he sent them word, that they must either conform to go to mass, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The Protestants, upon this unexpected edict, sent a deputy to the duke to obtain its revocation, or at least to have it moderated. But their remonstrances were in vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was peremptory.

There were some weak enough to go to mass, in order to avoid banishment, and preserve their property; others removed, with all their effects to different countries; and many neglected the time so long, that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquise in haste. Those, who unhappily staid behind, were seized, plundered, and put to death without mercy.

*A particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the Vallies of PIEDMONT, in the Seventeenth Century.*

WHEN pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the vallies of Piedmont, to induce the Protestants to renounce their religion, these missionaries having erected monasteries in several parts of the vallies, became exceedingly troublesome to those of the reformed, where the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to, as had injured them in any degree.

The Protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy against these missionaries, whose insolence and ill-usage were become intolerable; but instead of getting any redress, the interest of the missionaries so far prevailed, that the duke published a decree, in which he declared, that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a Protestant; and that any witness, who convicted a Protestant of any crime whatever should be entitled to an hundred crowns as a reward.

Upon the publication of a decree of this nature, it may be easily imagined, that many Protestants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for several villanous Papists would swear any thing against the Protestants for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths. If any Roman-Catholic, of more conscience than the rest, blamed these fellows for their atrocious crimes, they themselves were in danger of being informed against, and punished as favourers of heresy, which they called Protestantism.

Now these missionaries did all they could to get the books of the Protestants into their power, in order to burn them; when the Protestants doing their utmost endeavours to conceal their books, the missionaries wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them. These military gentry did great mischief in the houses of the Protestants, and destroyed such quantities of provisions, as occasioned the ruin of many families.

Now, to encourage, as much as possible, the apostacy of the Protestants, the duke of Savoy published a proclamation, wherein he said, "To encourage the heretics to turn Catholics, it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby expressly command, that all such as shall embrace the holy Roman faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion." The duke of Savoy likewise established a court, called, The council for extirpating the heretics. This court was to enter into inquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the Protestant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of the Protestants. But the investigation of these things was carried on with

the most manifest partiality; old charters were wrested to a wrong sense, and sophistry was used to pervert the meaning of every thing, which tended to favour the reformed.

These severities not seeming sufficient, the duke, soon after, published another edict, in which he strictly commanded, that no Protestant should act as a school-master, or tutor, either in public or private, or dare to teach any art, science, or language, directly or indirectly, to persons of any persuasion whatever.

Another, equally severe, immediately followed this edict, which decreed, that no Protestant should hold any place of profit, trust, or honour; and to wind up the whole, the certain token of an approaching persecution came forth in a final edict, by which it was positively ordered, that all Protestants should diligently attend mass.

The publication of an edict, containing such an injunction, may be compared to unfurling the bloody flag; for murder and rapine were certain to follow. One of the first objects that attracted the notice of the Papists, was Mr. Sebastian Bafan, a zealous Protestant, who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented for fifteen months, and then committed to the flames.

Before the persecution, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the Protestants' children, that they might privately be brought up Roman-Catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if they met with any resistance, the wretched parents were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, to give greater vigour to the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman-Catholic nobility and gentry, when a solemn edict was published against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating the Protestants; among which the following were the principal.

For the preservation of the papal authority.

That the church livings may be all under one mode of government.

To make an union among all parties.

In honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This severe edict was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, A. D. 1655, under the duke's sanction, by Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of civil laws. This order set forth, "That every head of a family, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, and Bricheraffio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, withdraw and depart, and be withdrawn out of the said places, and translated into the places and limits tolerated by his highness during his pleasure; particularly Bobbio, Angrogna, Villaro, Rorata, and the county of Bonetti.

"And all this to be done on pain of death, and confiscation of house and goods, unless within the limited time they turned Roman-Catholics."

Such a speedy flight, in the midst of winter, may be conceived as no agreeable task, especially in a country almost surrounded by mountains. The sudden order affected all, and things, which would have been scarcely noticed at another time, now appeared in the most conspicuous light. Women with child, or women just lain-in, were not objects of pity on this order for sudden removal, for all were included in the command; and it unfortunately happened, that the winter was remarkably rigorous and severe.

However, the Papists drove the people from their habitations at the time appointed, without even suffering them to have sufficient clothes to cover them; and many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Some, however, who remained behind after the decree was published, met with the severest treatment, being murdered by the Popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops who were quartered in the vallies. A particular description of these cruelties is given in a letter, written by a Protestant, who was upon the spot, and who happily escaped the carnage.



carnage. "The army, says he, having got footing, became very numerous, by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring Popish inhabitants, who finding we were the destined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the Popish inhabitants, there were several regiments of French auxiliaries, some companies belonging to the Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prisoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and absolution in the next, for assisting to exterminate the Protestants from Piedmont.

"This armed multitude being encouraged by the Roman-Catholic bishops and monks, fell upon the Protestants in a most furious manner. Nothing now was to be seen but the face of horror and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies bestrewed the streets, groans and cries were heard from all parts. Some armed themselves, and skirmished with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they cruelly tormented 150 women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and dashing out the brains of the children. In the towns of Villaro and Bobbio, most of those that refused to go to mass, who were upwards of fifteen years of age, they crucified with their heads downwards; and the greater number of those who were under that age were strangled."

A woman of sixty years of age, named Sarah Rastignole des Vignes, being seized by some soldiers, they ordered her to say a prayer to some saints; which she refusing, they thrust a sickle into her belly, ripped her up, and then cut her head off.

A handsome young woman, of the name of Martha Constantine, was treated with great indecency and cruelty by several of the troops, who first ravished, and then killed her, by cutting off her breasts. These they fried, and set before some of their comrades, who eat them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which a quarrel ensued, swords were drawn, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and who had practised such an inhuman deception on their deluded comrades.

A man at Thrassinieré was seized by some of the soldiers, who ran the points of their swords through his ears, and through his feet. They then tore off the nails of his fingers and toes with red-hot pincers, tied him to the tail of an ass, and dragged him about the streets; and, finally, fastened a cord round his head, which they twisted with a stick in so violent a manner as to wring it from his body.

A Protestant, of about eighty years of age, named Peter Simonds, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, and at length miserably perished of hunger.

One Elay Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, was cut into small pieces; the soldiers, in ridicule, saying, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, had every limb separated from each other, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge. Two old women were ripped open, and left in the fields upon the snow, where they perished; and a very old woman, who was deformed, had her nose and hands cut off, and was left in that manner to bleed to death.

There were several men, women, and children, flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Magdalen Bertino, a Protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped stark naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown down one of the precipices; and Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired in the greatest agony.

Likewise Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus; Ann Charboniere had one end of a stake thrust up her body; and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish;

and Jacob Perrin the elder, of the church of Villaro, and David, his brother, were flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, was apprehended, with four of his children; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would renounce his religion? which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he, by the swiftness of his heels, escaped to the Alps, where he took refuge.

*Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the Vallies of PIEDMONT, in the Seventeenth Century.*

**G**IOVANNI PELANCHION, for refusing to turn Papist, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, He is possessed with the Devil, so that neither stoning, nor dragging him through the streets, will kill him, for the Devil keeps him alive. They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

The daughter of Peter Fontaine, a beautiful child of ten years of age, named Magdalene, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacopo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other Protestants, were hung up by means of hooks fixed in their bellies, and left to expire in the most excruciating agony.

Likewise, Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable Protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and slices cut from the fleshy parts of his body, till he bled to death.

The following seven persons, Daniel Saleagio and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwich Durant, Bartholomew Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths stuffed with gunpowder, which being set fire to, their heads were blown to pieces.

Also, Jacob Birone, a school-master of Rorata, for refusing to change his religion, was stripped quite naked; and after having been very indecently exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He then had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass? He still replied in the negative to these interrogatories, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

A very pious Protestant, named Paul Garnier, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced, what confidence and resignation a good conscience can bestow.

Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by



by some soldiers, they cut his head off, and having fried his brains, eat them. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, were driven into the river, and stoned to death there.

There was one Paul Giles, who, on attempting to run away from some soldiers, was shot in the neck: they then slit his nose, sliced his chin, stabbed him, and gave his carcase to the dogs.

When some of the Irish troops had taken eleven men of Garcigliana prisoners, they made a furnace red-hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, whom they themselves pushed in.

A man about ninety years of age, named Michael Gonet, was burnt to death; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed; and Bartholomew Franche had holes made in his heels, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the gaol, where his wounds mortified, and accelerated his dissolution.

Magdalene de la Peire being pursued by some of the soldiers, and taken, was thrown down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella, and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; and Michael Bellino, with Ann Bocharno, were decapitated.

Both the son and daughter of a counsellor of Giovanni, were rolled down a steep hill together, and suffered to perish in a deep pit at the bottom. A tradesman's family, consisting of himself, his wife, and an infant in arms, were cast from a rock, and dashed to pieces; and Joseph Chairet, and Paul Carniero, were flayed alive.

When Cypriania Bustia was asked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman-Catholic, he replied, I would rather renounce life, or turn dog: to which a priest answered, for that expression you shall both renounce life, and be given to the dogs. They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where he continued a considerable time without food, till he was famished; after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured in a most shocking manner by dogs.

Joseph Pont was cut through the middle of his body; Margaret Soretta was stoned to death, and then thrown into the river; and Antonio Bertina had his head cleft asunder.

While Daniel Maria, and his whole family, were ill of a fever, several Papist ruffians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present ease, which they did, by knocking the whole family on the head and murdering them.

There were three infant children of a Protestant, named Peter Fine, covered with snow, and stifled; an elderly widow, named Judith, was beheaded; and a beautiful young woman was stripped naked, and had a stake driven through her body, of which she died.

The wife of Peter Besson, named Lucy, a woman far gone in her pregnancy, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmontese vallies, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as every where surrounded her: she, accordingly, took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the extreme inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above circumstances.

One Francis Gros, the son of a clergyman, had his flesh slowly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dish before him: two of his children were minced before his sight; and his wife was fastened to a post, that she might behold all these cruelties practised on her husband and offspring. The tormentors, at length, being tired of exercising their cruelties, cut off the heads of both husband and wife, and then gave the flesh to the dogs of the whole family.

The sieur Thomas Margher fled to a cave, when the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds; and a widow, of near fourscore years of age, was by soldiers hewn to pieces.

Jacob Roseno was ordered to pray to the saints, which

he absolutely refused to do: some of the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he still refusing, several of them fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. As he was almost expiring they cried to him, Will you call upon the saints? Will you pray to the saints? To which he answered, No! No! No! when one of the soldiers, with a broad sword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings in this world; but no doubt his integrity and fortitude has insured him everlasting happiness.

A soldier, attempting to ravish a young woman, named Susanna Giacquin, she made a stout resistance, and in the struggle, pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed to pieces by the fall. His comrades, instead of admiring the virtue of the young woman, and applauding her for so nobly defending her chastity, fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to atoms.

A poor peasant of La Torre, named Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a Protestant by the soldiers, was ordered by the marquis of Pianezza, to be executed in a place near the convent. When he came to the gallows, several monks attended, and did all they could to persuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them, he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. They then put him in mind of what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would suffer after his decease: to which he replied, I would have my wife and children, as well as myself, to consider their souls more than their bodies, and the next world before this; and with respect to the distress I may leave them in, God is merciful, and will provide for them while they are worthy of his protection. Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks cried, Turn him off, turn him off: which the executioner did almost immediately, and the body being afterwards cut down, was flung into the river with indignity.

An elder of the church of Rossana, named Paul Clement, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some Protestants having just been executed by the soldiers, he was shewn the dead bodies, in order that the sight might intimidate him. On beholding the shocking objects, he said calmly, You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer; but, with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shewn me, you may rest assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of those poor people, and punish them for the innocent blood they have spilt. The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly; and while he was hanging, the soldiers amused themselves in standing at a distance, and shooting at the body as if it were a mark set up for sport.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was apprehended, and, with several others, committed to prison, in the gaol of Payfana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, did all they could to persuade him to renounce the Protestant religion, and turn Papist; but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him, that he might yet have his life, if he would subscribe to the belief of the Romish articles as follow:

1. "The real presence in the host.
2. "Transubstantiation.
3. "Purgatory.
4. "The pope's infallibility.
5. "That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory.
6. "That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins."

Hereupon Daniel Rambaut told the priests, that neither his religion, his understanding, or his conscience, would suffer him to subscribe to any of these proposed articles, for very sufficient reasons, viz.

1. "That to believe the real presence in the host, is a shocking union of both blasphemy and idolatry.
2. "That to fancy the words of consecration performs what the Papists call transubstantiation, by converting



the wafer and wine into the real and identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterwards ascended into heaven, is too gross an absurdity for even a child to believe, who was come to the least glimmering of reason; and that nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman-Catholics put a confidence in any thing so completely ridiculous.

3. "That the doctrine of purgatory was more inconsistent and absurd than a fairy tale.

4. "That the pope's being infallible was an impossibility, and the pope arrogantly laid claim to what could belong to God only, as a perfect being.

5. "That saying masses for the dead was ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided, on the departure of the soul from the body.

6. "That praying to saints for the remission of sins, is misplacing adoration; as the saints themselves have occasion for an intercessor in Christ. Therefore as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to sue to him alone for pardon."

So highly offended were the priests at M. Rambaut's answers to the articles to which they would have had him subscribe, that they determined to shake his resolution by the most cruel method imaginable: they ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most admirable patience, increased both in fortitude and resignation, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, and unshaken constancy, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to the dogs to be devoured.

A Protestant gentleman of considerable eminence, whose name was Peter Gabriola, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung a great number of little bags of gunpowder about his body, and then setting fire to them blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, who was extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, as they were unable to assist themselves, or help each other in that melancholy plight.

Daniel Benech being apprehended, had his nose slit, his ears cut off, and was then divided into quarters, each quarter being hung upon a tree; and Mary Moninohad her jaw bones broke, and was then left to languish till she was starved to death.

A handsome widow, named Mary Pelanchion, belonging to the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigades, who having beat her cruelly, and ravished her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, and stripped her naked in a most indecent manner; hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they fired at her till she died.

Also, Mary Nigrino, and her daughter, who was an idiot, were cut to pieces in the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by wild beasts: Susanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured till she perished through hunger; and Susanna Calvio, running away from some soldiers, and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the straw, by which she was burnt to death.

A child named Daniel Bertino was burnt; Paul Armand was hacked to pieces; Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out, and was left to perish in that condition; and Andreo Bertino, a very old man, who was lame, was mangled in a most shocking manner, and at length had his belly ripped open and his bowels carried about on the point of a halbert.

A Protestant lady, whose name was Constantia Bellione, being apprehended on account of her faith, was asked by a priest if she would renounce the Devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion, by which I was always taught to renounce the Devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of

shapes." The priest was highly incensed at what she said, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. The lady, however, boldly answered, that she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her conscience pure and her faith inviolate. The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body, which cruelty she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, what horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure. Exasperated at this expression, and willing to stop her tongue, the priest ordered a file of musqueteers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon dispatched, and sealed her martyrdom with her blood.

Judith Mandon, a young woman, for refusing to change her religion and embrace Popery, was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance, in the very same manner as that barbarous custom which was formerly practised on Shrove-Tuesday of shying at cocks as it was termed. By this inhuman proceeding, her limbs were beat and mangled in a most terrible manner, and at last one of the bludgeons dashed the poor creature's brains out.

Paul Genre and David Paglia, attempting to escape to the Alps, with each his son, were pursued and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite exhausted, and that they could not afford them any more barbarous sport, by running, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river. As he could swim very well, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides the river, and kept stoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, and consequently sunk and was drowned.

One David Armand was ordered to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona being apprehended at Villaro, was carried to La Torre, where refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by means of brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire to, and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired; and Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitch-forks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated with the stench.

Several soldiers went to the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. A musquet ball entered one of Mrs. Garniero's breasts, as she was suckling an infant with the other. On finding their intentions, she begged hard that they would spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman-Catholic nurse. They then took the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, they left her body weltering in it's blood, and her husband hanging on the gallows they erected.

An elderly man, named Isaiah Mondon, and a pious Protestant, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lay on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the inhuman soldiers found him, and after having beaten him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and his spirits exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him



to make him proceed; when, on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery, by dispatching him. This they at last agreed to do; and one of them stepping up to him, shot him through the head with a pistol, saying, "There, heretic, take thy request."

A worthy Protestant, of the name of Mary Revel, received a shot in her back, as she was walking along the street. She dropped down with the wound, but recovering sufficient strength, she raised herself upon her knees, and lifting her hands towards heaven, prayed in a most fervent manner to the Almighty; when a number of soldiers, who were near at hand, fired a whole volley of shot at her, many of which took place, and in an instant put an end to her miseries.

A number of men, women, and children, secreted themselves in a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety. It was the custom for two of the men to go when it was necessary, and by stealth procure provisions. These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of Roman-Catholics appeared before it. The Papists that assembled upon this occasion were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances of the Protestants in the cave; and some of them were even related to each other. The Protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, by the ties of blood, and as old acquaintances and neighbours, not to murder them. But superstition overcomes every sensation of nature and humanity; so that the Papists, blinded by bigotry, told them, they could not shew any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bad them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the fatal obstinacy of the Roman-Catholics, the Protestants all fell prostrate, lifted their hands and hearts to heaven, prayed with great sincerity and fervency, and then bowing down, put their faces close to the ground, and patiently awaited their fate, which was soon decided, for the Papists fell upon them with unremitting fury, and having cut them to pieces, committed to the cave their mangled bodies and limbs.

As Giovanni Salvagiot was passing by a Roman-Catholic church, for not taking off his hat, he was followed by some of the congregation, who fell upon and murdered him; and Jacob Barrel and his wife, having been taken prisoners by the earl of St. Secondo, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, he delivered them up to the soldiery, who cut off the woman's breasts, and the man's nose, and then shot both through the head.

A Protestant, named Anthony Guiguo, of a wavering disposition, went to Periero, with an intent to renounce his religion, and embrace Popery. This design he communicated to some priests, who highly commended it, and a day was fixed upon for his public recantation. In the mean time, Anthony grew fully sensible of his perfidy, and his conscience tormented him so much, night and day, that he determined not to recant, but to make his escape. This he effected, but being soon missed and pursued, he was taken. The troops on the way did all they could to bring him back to his design of recantation; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they beat him violently on the road, when coming near a precipice, he took an opportunity of leaping down it, and was dashed to piece-meal.

A Protestant, who was a gentleman of considerable fortune at Bobbio, being highly provoked by the insolence of a priest, retorted with great severity; and, among other things, said, that the pope was Antichrist, mass idolatry, purgatory a farce, and absolution a cheat. To be revenged, the priest hired five desperate ruffians, who, the same evening, broke into the gentleman's house, and seized upon him in a violent manner. The gentleman was terribly frightened, fell on his knees, and implored mercy; but the desperate ruffians, without the least hesitation, dispatched him.

nearly depopulated most of the towns and villages. One place only had not been assaulted, and that was owing to the difficulty of approaching it: this was the little commonality of Roras, which was situated upon an eminence.

When the work of blood grew slack in other places, the earl of Christople, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determined, if possible, to make himself master of it; and, with that view, detached three hundred men to surprise it unawares.

However, the inhabitants of Roras had intelligence of the approach of these troops, when captain Joshua Gianavel, a brave Protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambuscade, to attack the enemy in a narrow passage.

As soon as the troops appeared, and had entered the passage, which was the only place by which the town could be approached, the Protestants kept up a smart and well directed fire against them, and still kept themselves concealed behind bushes from the sight of the enemy. A great number of the soldiers were killed, and the remainder receiving a continual fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return it, thought proper to make a precipitate retreat.

Whereupon the members of this little community sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, one of the duke's general officers, setting forth, "That they were sorry, upon any occasion, to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any reason assigned, or any previous notice sent of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that as it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and should do so again; but in all other respects, they professed themselves dutiful, obedient, and loyal subjects to their sovereign, the duke of Savoy."

Now the marquis of Pianessa, that he might have the better opportunity of deluding and surprising the Protestants of Roras, sent them word in answer, "That he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, or sent by him, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he then published the following proclamation.

*"To the Inhabitants of all the Towns, Villages, Hamlets, &c. in Piedmont, and the Appendages thereunto belonging; and to the united Troops belonging to, or in the Pay of, his Highness the Duke of Savoy, greeting:*

"WHEREAS the inhabitants of Roras have bravely and loyally routed, killed, or expelled, a band of bloody robbers, and desperate outlaws, and thereby rendered an essential service to the country in general. Be it, therefore, known, that all persons are strictly ordered and commanded, in the duke's name, not to injure, molest, or disturb any of the inhabitants of Roras, but to do them every possible service, in return for the benefit which the state hath received from them.

"PIANESSA.

*"Given at the Camp near Villaro."*

However, the very day after this plausible proclamation, and specious conduct, the marquis sent 500 men to possess themselves of Roras, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into perfect security, by his dissimulation.

But Captain Gianavel was not to be deceived so easily: he, therefore, laid an ambuscade for this body of troops, as he had for the former, and compelled them to retire with a loss very considerable.

The marquis Pianessa, though foiled in these two attempts, determined on a third, which should be still more formidable; but first he imprudently published another proclamation, disowning any knowledge of the second attempt.

Shortly

#### AN HISTORICAL SKETCH of the PIEDMONTESE WAR.

THE massacres and murders already mentioned to have been committed in the vallies of Piedmont,



Shortly after, 700 chosen men were sent upon the expedition, who, in spite of the fire from the Protestants, forced the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every person they met with, without distinction of sex or age. The Protestant captain Gianavel, at the head of a small body, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute their passage through a fortified pass, that led to the richest and best part of the town. Here he was successful, by keeping up a continual fire, and by means of his men being all complete marksmen. The Roman-Catholic commander was greatly staggered at this opposition, as he imagined that he had surmounted all difficulties. He, however, did his endeavours to force the pass, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the Protestants being secured by a breast-work, he found he should be baffled by the handful of men who made the opposition.

Provoked at the loss of so many of his troops, and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in attempting what appeared so impracticable, he thought it the wisest thing to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the difficulty and danger of the enterprize, he designed to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass called Piampra, which, though hard of access, was easy of descent. But in this he met with a disappointment, for captain Gianavel having posted his little band here, greatly annoyed the troops as they passed, and even pursued their rear till they entered the open country.

Hereupon the marquis of Pianessa, finding that all his attempts were frustrated, and that every artifice he used was only an alarm-signal to the inhabitants of Roras, resolved to act openly, and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards should be given to any one who would bear arms against the obdurate heretics of Roras, as he called them; and that any officer, who would exterminate them, should be considerably rewarded.

This stimulated captain Mario, a bigoted Roman-Catholic, and a desperate ruffian, to undertake the enterprize. He, therefore, obtained leave to raise a regiment in the following six towns: Lucerne, Borges, Famolas, Bobbio, Cavo, and Bagnal.

When he had completed his regiment, which consisted of 1000 men, he laid his plan not to go by the defiles, or the passes, but to attempt gaining the summit of a rock, from whence he imagined he could pour his men into the town, without much opposition or difficulty.

Now the Protestants suffered the Roman-Catholic troops to gain almost the summit of the rock, without giving them any opposition, or ever appearing in their fight: but when they had almost reached the top, they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well-directed and constant fire, and another party rolling down stones of a great weight.

By this means the career of the Papist troops was stopped: many were killed by the musquetry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell sacrifices to their hurry, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down, and were dashed to pieces; and captain Mario himself narrowly escaped with life, for he fell from a craggy place into a river which washed the foot of the rock. He was taken up senseless, but afterwards recovered, though he was ill of the bruises for a long time; and, at length, fell into a decline at Lucerne, where he expired.

There was another body of troops ordered from the camp at Villaro, to make an attempt upon Roras; but these were likewise defeated, by means of the Protestants ambushing, and compelled to retreat again to the camp at Villaro.

Captain Gianavel, after each of these signal victories, made a suitable discourse to his men, causing them to kneel down, and return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and usually concluded with the 11th psalm, where the subject is, placing confidence in the Creator.

Still the marquis of Pianessa, greatly enraged at being so much baffled by the few inhabitants of Roras, determined, at all events, to attempt their expulsion, in such a manner as could hardly fail of succeeding.

For this purpose he ordered all the Roman-Catholic militia of Piedmont to be raised and disciplined. When these orders were completed, he joined to the militia eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he designed, that three formidable attacks should be made at the same time, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with his conditions, which were as follow:

1. "To ask pardon for taking up arms.
2. "To pay the expences of all the expeditions sent against them.
3. "To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope.
4. "To go to mass.
5. "To pray to the saints.
6. "To wear beards.
7. "To deliver up their ministers.
8. "To deliver up their school-masters.
9. "To go to confession.
10. "To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory.
11. "To give up captain Gianavel at discretion.
12. "To give up the elders of their church at discretion."

But the inhabitants of Roras, on being acquainted with these conditions, were filled with an honest indignation; and, in answer, sent word to the marquis, that sooner than comply with them they would suffer three things, which, of all others, were the most obnoxious to mankind, namely,

1. "Their estates to be seized.
2. "Their houses to be burnt.
3. "Themselves to be murdered.

Enraged at this message, the marquis sent them the following laconic letter.

*"To the obstinate HERETICS inhabiting RORAS.*

"YOU shall have your request, for the troops sent against you have strict injunctions to plunder, burn, and kill.

*"PIANESSA."*

Hereupon the three armies were put into motion, and the attacks ordered to be made thus: the first by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne.

By the superiority of numbers, the troops forced their way, and having gained the rocks, pass, and defile, began to make the most horrid depredations, and exercise the greatest cruelties. Men they hanged, burnt, racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they ripped open, crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipices; and children they tossed upon spears, minced, cut their throats, or dashed out their brains. On the first day of their gaining the town, one hundred and twenty-six suffered in this manner.

Pursuant to the marquis of Pianessa's orders, they likewise plundered the estates, and burnt the houses of the people. Several Protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of captain Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent to Turin under a strong guard.

Upon this the marquis of Pianessa wrote a letter to captain Gianavel, and released a Protestant prisoner, that he might carry it him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, he should be indemnified for all his losses since the commencement of the war; his wife and children should be immediately released, and himself honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made to him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given to take him, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should, from the greatness of the sum, be tempted to betray him.

The following answer to this epistle was sent by the brave Gianavel.

*"MY LORD MARQUIS,*

"THERE is no torment so great, or death so cruel, but what I would prefer to the abjuration of my religion:



gion : so that promises lose their effects, and menaces only strengthen me in my faith.

" With respect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thoughts of their confinement, or more dreadful to my imagination, than their suffering a violent and cruel death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of husband and parent ; my heart is replete with every sentiment of humanity ; I would suffer any torment to rescue them from danger ; I would die to preserve them.

" But having said thus much, my lord, I assure you that the purchase of their lives must not be the price of my salvation. You have them in your power it is true ; but my consolation is, that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies : you may destroy the mortal part, but their immortal souls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter, to bear testimony against you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them and myself to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

" JOSHUA GIANAVEL."

When this brave Protestant officer had written the above letter, he retired to the Alps, with his followers ; and being joined by a great number of other fugitive Protestants, he harassed the enemy by continual engagements.

One day meeting with a body of Papist troops, near Bibiana, he, though inferior in numbers, attacked them with great fury, and put them to the rout without the loss of a man, though himself was shot through the leg in the engagement, by a soldier who had hid himself behind a tree ; but Gianavel perceiving from whence the shot came, pointed his gun to the place, and dispatched the person who had given the wound.

Now captain Gianavel hearing that a captain Jahier had collected together a considerable body of Protestants, wrote him a letter, proposing a junction of their forces. Captain Jahier immediately agreed to the proposal, and marched directly to meet Gianavel.

When the junction was formed, it was proposed to attack a town (inhabited by Roman-Catholics) called Garcigliana. The assault was given with great spirit, but a reinforcement of horse and foot having lately entered the town, which the Protestants knew nothing of, they were repulsed : yet made a masterly retreat, and only lost one man in the skirmish.

The next attempt of the Protestant forces was upon St. Secondo, which they attacked with great vigour, but met with a strong resistance from the Roman-Catholic troops, who had fortified the streets, and planted themselves in the houses, from whence they poured musquet-balls in prodigious numbers. The Protestants, however, advanced, under cover of a great number of planks, which some held over their heads, to secure them from the shot of the enemy from the houses, while others kept up a well-directed fire ; so that the houses and intrenchments were soon forced, and the town taken without much difficulty.

They found a prodigious quantity of plunder in the town, which had been taken from the Protestants at various times, and different places, and which were stored up in the warehouses, churches, dwelling-houses, &c. This they removed to a place of safety, to be distributed among the sufferers with as much justice as possible.

With such skill and spirit this successful attack was made, that it cost very little to the conquering party ; the Protestants having only 17 killed, and 26 wounded ; while the Papists suffered a loss of no less than 450 killed, and 511 wounded.

Now the following five Protestant officers, Gianavel, Jahier, Laurentio, Genoet, and Benet, laid a plan to surprise Briqueras. To this end they marched in five respective bodies, and, by agreement, were to make the attack at the same time. The captains Jahier and Laurentio passed through two defiles in the woods, and came to the place in safety, under cover ; but the other three bodies made their approaches through an open country, and, consequently, were more exposed to an attack.

As soon as the Roman-Catholics took the alarm, a great number of troops were sent to relieve Briqueras, from Cavors, Bibiana, Fenile, Campiglione, and some other neighbouring places. When these were united, they determined to attack the three Protestant parties, that were marching through the open country.

When the Protestant officers perceived the intent of the enemy, not being at a great distance from each other, they joined their forces with the utmost expedition, and formed themselves in order of battle.

The captains Jahier and Laurentio had, in the mean time, assaulted the town of Briqueras, and burnt all the out-houses, to make their approaches with the greater ease ; but not being supported as they expected by the other three Protestant captains, they sent a messenger, on a swift horse, towards the open country, to inquire the reason of such neglect.

In a short time the messenger returned, and informed them that it was not in the power of the three Protestant captains to support their proceedings, as they were themselves attacked by a very superior force in the plain, and could scarce sustain the unequal engagement.

On receiving this intelligence, the captains Jahier and Laurentio determined to discontinue the assault on Briqueras, and to proceed, with all possible expedition, to the relief of their friends on the plain. This design proved to be of the most essential service, for just as they arrived at the spot where the two armies were engaged, the Papist troops began to prevail, and were on the point of flanking the wing, commanded by captain Gianavel. The arrival of these troops turned the scale in favour of the Protestants ; and the Papist forces, though they fought with a most obstinate intrepidity, were totally defeated. A great number were killed and wounded on both sides, and very considerable baggage, military stores, &c. were taken by the Protestants.

Now captain Gianavel, having information that three hundred of the enemy were to convoy a great quantity of stores, provisions, &c. from La Torre to the castle of Mirabac, determined to attack them on the way. He, accordingly, began the assault at Malbec, though with a very inadequate force. The contest was long and bloody, but the Protestants, at length, were obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers, and compelled to make a retreat, which they did with great regularity, and no considerable loss.

Captain Gianavel advanced to an advantageous post, situated near the town of Villaro, and then sent the following information and commands to the people thereof.

1. " That he should attack the town in twenty-four hours.
2. " That with respect to the Roman-Catholics who had borne arms, whether they belonged to the army or not, he should act by the law of retaliation, and put them to death, for the numerous depredations, and many cruel murders, they had committed.
3. " That all women and children, whatever their religion might be, should be safe.
4. " That he commanded all male Protestants to leave the town, and join him.
5. " That all apostates, who had, through weakness, abjured their religion, should be deemed enemies, unless they renounced their abjuration.
6. " That all who returned to their duty to God, and themselves, should be received as friends."

The majority of Protestants immediately left the town, and joined captain Gianavel with great satisfaction, and the few, who through weakness or fear had abjured their faith, recanted their abjuration, and were received into the bosom of the church. As the marquis of Pianessa had removed the army, and encamped in quite a different part of the country, the Roman-Catholics in Villaro thought it would be folly to pretend to defend the place with the small force they had. They, therefore, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving the town, and most of their property, to the discretion of the Protestant invaders.

Now when the Protestant commanders had called a council



council of war, they resolved to make an attempt upon the town of La Torre, for the four following reasons :

1. " Because it was a place of great importance.
2. " Because it contained a great quantity of military stores and provisions.
3. " Because the inhabitants had been some of the most rigid of all the persecutors of the Protestants.
4. " Because it was garrisoned by troops drafted from the Irish brigades, who were the most cruel of all the troops to the Protestants whom they took prisoners."

As soon as the Papists were apprized of the design, they detached some troops to defend a defile, through which the Protestants must make their approach ; but these were defeated, compelled to abandon the pass, and forced to retreat to La Torre.

Now the Protestants proceeded on their march, and the troops of La Torre, on their near approach, made a furious sally, but were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to seek shelter in the town. The governor, it seems, only thought of defending the place, which the Protestants began to attack in form ; but after many brave attempts, and furious assaults, the commanders determined to abandon the enterprize for several reasons, particularly, because they found the place itself too strong, their own number too weak, and their cannon not adequate to the task of battering down the walls thereof.

When this resolution was taken, the Protestant commanders began a masterly retreat, and conducted it with such regularity, that the enemy did not chuse to pursue them, or molest their rear, which they might have done, as they passed the defiles.

On the next day they mustered, reviewed the army, and found the whole to amount to four hundred and ninety-five men. They then held a council of war, and planned an easier enterprize : this was to make an attack upon the commonalty of Crusol, a place inhabited by a number of the most bigoted Roman-Catholics, and who had exercised the most unheard-of cruelties on the Protestants during the persecutions.

The inhabitants of Crusol, hearing of the design against them, fled to a neighbouring fortress, situated on a rock, where the Protestants could not come at them, for a very few men could render it inaccessible to a numerous army. Thus they secured their persons, but were in too much hurry to secure their property, the principal part of which, indeed, had been plundered from the Protestants, and now luckily fell again to the possession of the right owners. It consisted of many rich and valuable articles, and what, at that time, was of much more consequence, viz. A great quantity of military stores, four hundred head of cattle, six hundred sheep and goats, a greater number of cheeses, many sacks of flour, good store of raisins, and several butts of wine.

The day after the Protestants were gone with their booty, eight hundred troops arrived to the assistance of the people of Crusol, having been dispatched from Lucerne, Briqueras, Cavors, &c. But finding themselves too late, and that a pursuit would be in vain, not to return empty handed, they began to plunder the neighbouring villages, though what they took was from their friends. After collecting a tolerable booty, they began to divide it, but disagreeing about the different shares, they fell from words to blows, plundered each other, and thus did a great deal of mischief to themselves.

Likewise, on the very same day in which the Protestants were so successful at Crusol, some Papists marched with a design to plunder and burn the little Protestant village of Rocappiatta, but by the way they met with the Protestant forces belonging to the captains Jahier and Laurentio, who were posted on the hill of Angrognia. A trivial engagement ensued, for the Roman-Catholics, on the very first attack, retreated in great confusion, and were pursued with much slaughter. After the pursuit was over, some of the straggling Papist troops meeting with a poor peasant, who was a Protestant, tied a cord round his head, and strained it till his skull was quite crushed.

The captains Gianavel and Jahier now concerted a design together, to make an attack upon Lucerne ; but captain Jahier not bringing his forces at the time appointed, captain Gianavel determined to attempt the enterprize alone.

Accordingly, by a forced march, he proceeded towards that place during the whole night, and was close to it by break of day. His first care was to cut the pipes that conveyed water into the town, and then to break down the bridge, by which alone provisions from the country could be conveyed.

Captain Gianavel then assaulted the place, and speedily possessed himself of two of the out-ports ; but finding he could not make himself master of the place, he prudently retreated with very little loss, blaming, however, captain Jahier, for the failure of the enterprize.

As soon as the Papists were informed that captain Gianavel was at Angrognia, with only his own company, they determined, if possible, to surprise him. With this view, a great number of troops were detached from La Torre, and other places : one party of these got on the top of a mountain, beneath which he was posted ; and the other party intended to possess themselves of the gate of St. Bartholomew.

Now the Papists thought themselves sure of taking captain Gianavel and every one of his men, as they consisted but of three hundred, and their own force was two thousand five hundred. Their design, however, was providentially frustrated, for one of the Popish soldiers imprudently blowing a trumpet before the signal for attack was given, captain Gianavel took the alarm, and posted his little company so advantageously at the gate of St. Bartholomew, and at the defile by which the enemy must descend from the mountains, that the Roman-Catholic troops failed in both attacks, and were repulsed with a loss very considerable.

Immediately after, captain Jahier came to Angrognia, and joined his forces to those of captain Gianavel, giving sufficient reasons to excuse his already-mentioned failure. Captain Jahier now made several secret excursions with great success, selecting always some of the most active troops, belonging both to Gianavel and himself. One day he had put himself at the head of only forty-four men, to proceed upon an expedition, when entering a plain near Offac, he was suddenly surrounded by a large body of horse. Captain Jahier, and his men, fought desperately, though oppressed by odds, and killed the commander in chief, three captains, and fifty-seven private men, of the enemy. But captain Jahier himself being killed, with thirty-five of his men, the rest surrendered. One of the soldiers cut off captain Jahier's head, and carrying it to Turin, presented it to the duke of Savoy, who gave him six hundred ducatoons as a reward.

The much lamented death of this gentleman was a signal loss to the Protestants, as he was a real friend to, and champion of, the reformed church. He possessed a most undaunted spirit, so that no difficulties could deter him from undertaking an enterprize, or dangers terrify him in its execution. He was pious without affectation, and humane without weakness ; bold in the field, meek in a domestic life, of a penetrating genius, active in spirit, and in all his undertakings resolute.

To complete the affliction of the Protestants, captain Gianavel was, soon after, wounded in such a manner that he was obliged to keep his bed. They, however, took new courage from misfortunes, and determining not to let their spirits droop, attacked a body of Popish troops with great intrepidity ; the Protestants were much inferior in numbers, but fought with more resolution than the Papists, and at length routed them, with considerable slaughter. During the action, a serjeant, named Michael Bertino, was killed ; when his son, who was close behind him, leaped into his place, and said, " I have lost my father ; but courage, fellow-soldiers, God is a father to us all."

There were several other skirmishes between the troops of La Torre and Tagliaretto, and the Protestant forces, which in general terminated in favour of the latter.

Andrion, a Protestant gentleman, raised a regiment of horse, and took the command of it himself. The sieur John Leger persuaded a great number of Protestants to form themselves into volunteer companies ; and an excellent officer, named Michelin, instituted several bands of light troops. These being all joined to the



the remains of the veteran Protestant troops (for great numbers had been lost in the various battles, skirmishes, sieges, &c.) composed a respectable army, which the officers thought proper to encamp near St. Giovanni.

Alarmed at the formidable appearance, and increased strength of the Protestant forces, the Roman-Catholic commanders, determined, if possible, to dislodge them from their encampment. With this view they collected together a large force, consisting of the principal part of the garrisons of the Roman-Catholic towns, the draft from the Irish brigades, a great number of regulars sent by the marquis of Pianessa, the auxiliary troops, and the independent companies.

When these had formed a junction, they encamped near the Protestants, and spent several days in calling councils of war, and disputing on the most proper mode of proceeding. Some were for plundering the country, in order to draw the Protestants from their camp; others were for patiently waiting till they were attacked; and a third party were for assaulting the Protestant camp, and trying to make themselves masters of every thing therein.

The last of them prevailed, and the morning after the resolution had been taken was appointed to put it into execution. The Roman Catholic troops were accordingly separated into four divisions, three of which were to make an attack in different places; and the fourth to remain as a body of reserve to act as occasion might demand.

Previous to the attack, one of the Roman-Catholic officers harangued his men in the following manner.

"Fellow soldiers, you are now going to enter upon a great action, which will bring you fame and riches. The motives for your acting with spirit are likewise of the most important nature; namely, the honour of shewing your loyalty to your sovereign, the pleasure of spilling heretic blood, and the prospect of plundering the Protestant camp. So, my brave fellows, fall on, give no quarter, kill all you meet, and take all you come near."

When this inhuman speech was made, the engagement began, and the Protestant camp was attacked in three places with inconceivable fury. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy and perseverance on both sides, continuing without intermission for the space of four hours; for the several companies on both sides relieved each other alternately, and by that means kept up a continual fire during the whole engagement.

In the mean time a detachment was sent from the body of reserve to attack the post of Castelas, which, if the Papists had carried, it would have given them the command of the vallies of Perofa, St. Martino, and Lucerne; but they were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to return to the body of reserve, from whence they had been detached.

In a short time after the return of this detachment, the Roman-Catholic troops, being hard pressed in the main battle, sent for the body of reserve to come to their support. These immediately marched to their assistance, and for some time longer held the event doubtful, but at length the valour of the Protestants prevailed, and the Papists were totally defeated, with the loss of upwards of three hundred men killed, and many more wounded.

As soon as the syndic of Lucerne, who was indeed a Papist, but not a superstitious one, saw the great number of wounded men brought into that city, he exclaimed, Ah! I thought the wolves used to devour the heretics, but now I see the heretics eat the wolves. This expression being reported to M. Marolles, the Roman-Catholic commander in chief at Lucerne, he sent a very severe and threatening letter to the syndic, who was so terrified, that the fright threw him into a fever, and he died in a few days after he received it.

This memorable battle was fought just before the harvest was got in; when the Papists, exasperated at their disgrace, and resolved on any kind of revenge, spread themselves by night in detached parties over the finest corn fields of the Protestants, and set them on

fire in sundry places. Some of these straggling parties, however, suffered for their conduct; for the Protestants, being alarmed in the night by the blazing of the fire among the corn, pursued the fugitives early in the morning, and overtaking many put them to death. The Protestant captain Bellin, likewise, by way of retaliation, went with a body of light troops, and burnt the suburbs of La Torre, making his retreat afterwards with no great loss.

Soon after, captain Bellin, with a much stronger body of troops, attacked the town of La Torre itself, and making a breach in the wall of the convent, his men entered, driving the garrison into the citadel, and burning both town and convent. After having effected this, they made a regular retreat, as, for want of cannon, they could not reduce the citadel.

*A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS of MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, a Native of SPAIN.*

MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, a Spaniard of a rich and honourable family, entered, when young into priest's orders, but would not accept of any preferment in the church. He possessed great natural abilities, which he dedicated to the service of his fellow-creatures, without any view of emolument to himself. His course of life was pious and uniform; nor did he exercise those austerities which are common among the religious orders of the Romish church.

As he was of a contemplative turn of mind, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, and being desirous of propagating his sublime mode of devotion, he left his own country, and settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who so approved of his religious maxims, that they concurred in assisting him to propagate them; and, in a short time, he obtained a great number of followers, who, from the sublime mode of their religion, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

Molinus published a book, in 1675, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, to which were subjoined recommendatory letters from several great personages. One of these was by the archbishop of Reggio; a second by the general of the Franciscans; and a third by father Martin de Esparza, a Jesuit, who had been divinity-professor both at Salamanca and Rome.

As soon as the book was published, it was greatly read, and highly esteemed, both in Italy and Spain: this so raised the reputation of the author, that his acquaintance was coveted by the most respectable characters. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, so that a correspondence was settled between him, and those who approved of his method, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly for it, and consulted him, as a sort of oracle, on many occasions. But those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory; in particular three of the most eminent, namely, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his acquaintance, and thought themselves happy in being reckoned among the number of his friends. The most distinguished of them was the cardinal d'Estrees, a man of very great learning, who so highly approved of Molinos's maxims, that he entered into a close connection with him. They conversed together daily, and notwithstanding the distrust a Spaniard has naturally of a Frenchman, yet Molinos, who was sincere in his principles, opened his mind without reserve to the cardinal; and by this means a correspondence was settled between Molinos and some of the most distinguished characters in France.

Thus, whilst Molinos was labouring to propagate his religious mode, father Petrucci wrote several letters and treatises relative to a contemplative life; but he mixed in them so many rules for the devotions of the Romish church, as mitigated that censure he might have otherwise



wife incurred. They were written chiefly for the use of the nuns, and therefore the sense was expressed in a style the most easy and familiar.

By this time Molinos had acquired such reputation, that the Jesuits and Dominicans began to be greatly alarmed, and determined to put a stop to the progress of this new method. To do this it was necessary to decry the author of it; and as heresy is an imputation that makes the strongest impression at Rome, Molinos and his followers were given out to be heretics. Books were also written by some of the Jesuits against Molinos and his method; but they were all answered by Molinos with great and becoming spirit.

However, these disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the whole affair was taken notice of by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci with his treatises and letters, were brought under a severe examination; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. One of the society had, indeed, approved of Molinos's book: but the rest took care he should not be again seen at Rome. In the course of the examination both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so well, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

The conduct of Petrucci on this occasion was so highly approved, that it not only raised the credit of the cause, but his own emolument; for he was soon after made bishop of Jesis, which was a new declaration made by the pope in their favour. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, their method was more followed, and the novelty of it, with the new approbation given after so vigorous an accusation by the Jesuits, all contributed to raise the credit, and increase the number of the party.

Father Petrucci's behaviour in his new dignity greatly contributed to increase his reputation, so that his enemies were unwilling to give him any further disturbance; and, indeed, there was less occasion given for censure by his writings than those of Molinos. Some passages in the latter were not so cautiously expressed, but there was room to make exceptions to them; while, on the other hand, Petrucci so fully explained himself, as easily to remove the objections made to some parts of his letter.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected the reputation of it, were reckoned among the number. If these persons were observed to become more strict in their lives and mental devotions, yet there appeared less zeal in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at mass, nor so earnest to procure masses to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either in processions or at confession.

Notwithstanding the new approbation given to Molinos's book by the inquisition had checked the proceedings of his enemies; yet they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined if possible to ruin him. They insinuated that he had ill designs, and was, in his heart, an enemy to the Christian religion: that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of Christianity. And because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was descended from a Jewish, or Mohometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those religions which he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal. This last calumny gained but little credit at Rome, though it was said an order was sent to examine the registers of the place where Molinos was baptized.

As soon as Molinos found himself attacked with such great vigour, and unrelenting malice, he took every necessary precaution to prevent these imputations being credited. He wrote a treatise entitled, *Frequent and Daily Communion*, which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This was printed with his *Spiritual Guide*, in the year 1675;

and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage himself in matters of controversy, but that by the earnest solicitations of many pious people it was drawn from him.

The Jesuits having failed in their attempts, of crushing Molinos's power in Rome, applied to the court of France, when in a short time, they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d'Estrees, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, though so strongly attached to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice all that is sacred in friendship to the will of his master. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars, not only relative to Molinos, but also Petrucci, both of whom, together with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

As soon as they were brought before the inquisitors (which was in the beginning of the year 1684) Petrucci answered the respective questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed; and though Molinos's examination was much longer, it was generally expected he would have been likewise discharged: but this was not the case. Though the inquisitors had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be made criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but Molinos so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be made of them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d'Estrees, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said, he could prove against him more than was necessary to convince them he was guilty of heresy. To do this he perverted the meaning of some passages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances relative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions: that he had found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous consequences were likely to ensue; but in order to make a full discovery, he had assented to several things, which, in his heart, he detested; and that, by these means, he saw into the secrets of Molinos; but determined not to take any notice, till a proper opportunity should offer of crushing both him and his party.

Molinos, in consequence of d'Estrees's evidence, was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers prosecuted their mode without interruption. But on a sudden the Jesuits determined to extirpate them, and the storm broke out with the most inveterate fury.

The count Vespignani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, confessor to the prince Borghese, and some of his family, with several others, in all seventy persons, were put into the inquisition, among whom many were highly esteemed both for their learning and piety. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; and the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession. In a word, it was said, they neglected all the exterior parts of religion, and gave themselves up wholly to inward prayer and solitude.

The countess Vespignani exerted herself in a very particular manner on her examination before the inquisitors. She said, she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, and that it was impossible they should know it without his discovering the secret; that, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession, if priests made this use of it, to discover the most secret thoughts intrusted to them; and that she would only make her confession to God for the future.

From this spirited speech, and the great noise made



in consequence of the countess's situation; the inquisitors thought it most prudent to dismiss both her and her husband, lest the people might be incensed, and what she said might lessen the credit of confession. They were, therefore, both discharged; but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the jesuits against the quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of two hundred persons, besides those already mentioned, were put into the inquisition; and that method of devotion which had passed in Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in a wretched dungeon.

Therefore, to extirpate quietism if possible, the inquisitors sent a circular letter to cardinal Cibo, as the chief minister, to disperse it through Italy. It was addressed to all prelates, informing them, that whereas many schools and fraternities were established in several parts of Italy, in which some persons, under a pretence of leading people into the ways of the spirit, and to the prayer of quietness, instilled into them many abominable heresies, therefore a strict charge was given to dissolve all those societies, and to oblige the spiritual guide to tread in the known paths; and, in particular, to take care none of that sort should be suffered to have the direction of the nunneries. Orders were likewise given to proceed, in the way of justice, against those who should be found guilty of these abominable errors.

A strict inquiry was made after this into all the nunneries in Rome; when most of their directors and confessors were discovered to be engaged in this new method. It was found that the Carmelites, the nuns of the Conception, and those of several other convents, were wholly given up to prayer and contemplation; and that, instead of their beads, and the other devotions to saints, or images, they were much alone, and often in the exercise of mental prayer: that when they were asked, why they had laid aside the use of their beads, and their ancient forms, their answer was, their directors had advised them so to do. Information of this being given to the inquisition, they sent orders that all books written in the same strain with those of Molinos and Petrucci, should be taken from them, and that they should be compelled to return to their original form of worship.

Little effect was produced by the circular letter sent to cardinal Cibo, for most of the Italian bishops were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as all other orders from the inquisitors, should be kept secret; but notwithstanding all their care, copies of it were printed, and dispersed in most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who use every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accused him of being the cause of it; but he retorted on them, and his secretary laid the fault on both.

In the mean time, Molinos suffered great indignities from the officers of the inquisition; and the only comfort he received was, from being sometimes visited by father Petrucci.

Although he had lived in the highest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired, being generally considered as one of the worst of heretics.

The chief part of Molinos's followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited Molinos, their leader.

When he had lain a considerable time in prison, he was at length brought again before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution; and notwithstanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of heresy, and was condemned to imprisonment for life.

Having left the court he was attended by a priest, who

had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison he entered the cell allotted for his confinement with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest thus addressed him: Adieu, father, we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side, or on your's.

While in confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and finished his existence.

The followers of Molinos were so impressed by his melancholy dissolution, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the assiduity of the jesuits, quietism was totally extirpated throughout the country.

#### *A Full and Particular ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS in BOHEMIA under the PAPACY.*

THE Roman pontiffs having usurped a power over several churches, were particularly severe on the Bohemians, which occasioned them to send two ministers, and four lay-brothers to Rome, in the year 977, to obtain redress of the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular they were permitted to do, viz. to have divine service performed in their own language, and to give the cup to the laity in the sacrament.

However the disputes soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting their whole power to impose on the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

Some zealous friends of the gospel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1375, to call an œconomical council, for an inquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a full and thorough reformation. The king, not knowing how to proceed, sent to the pope for directions how to act; but the pontiff was so incensed at the affair, that his only reply was, Severely punish those rash and profane heretics. The monarch, accordingly, banished every one who had been concerned in the application, and to oblige the pope, laid a great number of additional restraints upon the religious liberties of the people.

When John Hufs, and Jerom of Prague, two holy and pious men, were condemned by order of the council of Constance, fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were cruelly burnt, and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy, every where, to excommunicate such as adopted their opinions, or commiserated their fate.

By means of these orders great contentions between the papists and reformed Bohemians took place, which was the cause of a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague the persecution was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed being driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and threw twelve senators, with the speaker, out of the senate-house windows, whose bodies fell upon spears, which were held up by others of the reformed in the street, to receive them.

When informed of these proceedings, the pope came to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; and promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins whatever to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one Bohemian protestant.

A bloody war was the result of this, for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people; and the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel force by force, in the most vigorous and effectual manner. The popish army prevailing against the protestant forces at the battle of Cutenburgh, the prisoners of the reformed were taken to three deep mines near that town, and several hundreds were



were cruelly thrown into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.

A merchant of Prague, going to Breslaw, in Silesia, happened to lodge in the same inn with several priests. Entering into conversation upon the subject of religious controversy, he passed many encomiums upon the martyred John Hus, and his doctrines. The priests taking umbrage at this, laid an information against him the next morning; and he was committed to prison as an heretic. Many endeavours were used to persuade him to embrace the Roman catholic faith; but he remained steadfast to the pure doctrines of the reformed church. Soon after his imprisonment, a student of the university was committed to the same gaol; when, being permitted to converse with the merchant, they mutually comforted each other. On the day appointed for execution, when the gaoler began to fasten the ropes to their feet, by which they were to be dragged through the streets, the student appeared quite terrified, and offered to abjure his faith, and turn Roman catholic if he might be saved. The offer was accepted, his abjuration was taken by a priest, and he was set at liberty. A priest applying to the merchant to follow the example of the student, he nobly said, "Lose no time in hopes of my recantation, your expectations will be vain; I sincerely pity that poor wretch, who has miserably sacrificed his soul for a few more uncertain years of a troublesome life; and, so far from having the least idea of following his example, I glory in the very thoughts of dying for the sake of Christ." On hearing these words, the priest ordered the executioner to proceed; and the merchant being drawn through the city, was brought to the place of execution, and there destroyed by fire.

Pichel, a bigoted popish magistrate, apprehended 24 protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. As they all owned they were of the reformed religion, he indiscriminately condemned them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day appointed for the execution, a great concourse of people attended, among whom was Pichel's daughter. This worthy wife threw herself at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and in the most pathetic manner, implored him to commiserate her sorrow, and pardon her husband. The obdurate magistrate sternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child, he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which she nobly answered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from your's, he is still my husband, a name which, at a time like this, should alone employ my whole consideration." Pichel flew into a violent passion, and said, "You are mad! cannot you, after the death of this, have a much worthier husband?" No, sir, (replied she) my affections are fixed upon this, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow. Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner to be thrown into the river. As soon as this was put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together into one watery grave. An uncommon instance of conjugal love in a wife, and of an inviolable attachment to, and personal affection for, her husband.

Ferdinand the emperor, whose hatred to the Bohemian protestants was without bounds, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a high court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place, and always to be attended by a body of troops.

The chief number of these reformers consisted of jesuits, and from their decisions there was no appeal, by which it may be easily conjectured, that it was a tribunal indeed the most dreadful.

This tremendous bloody court, attended by a body of troops, made the tour of Bohemia, in which they seldom examined or saw a prisoner, suffering the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make a report of the matter afterwards.

An aged minister was the first victim of their cruelty, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed; the next day

they robbed, and murdered another, and soon after shot a third, as he was preaching in his pulpit.

A nobleman and a clergyman, who resided in a protestant village, hearing of the approach of the high court of reformers and the troops, fled from the place, and secreted themselves. The soldiers, however, on their arrival, seized upon a school-master, and asked him where the lord of that place and the minister were concealed, and where they had hid their treasures. The school-master replied, he could not answer either of the questions. They then stripped him naked, bound him with cords, and beat him most unmercifully with cudgels. This cruelty not extorting any confession from him, they scorched him in various parts of his body; when, to gain a respite from his torments, he promised to shew them where the treasures were hid. The soldiers gave ear to this with pleasure, and the school-master led them to a ditch full of stones, saying, Beneath those stones are the riches ye seek for. Eager after money, they went to work, and soon removed those stones, but not finding what they sought after, beat the school-master to death, buried him in the ditch, and covered him with the very stones he had made them remove.

Several of the soldiers ravished the daughters of a worthy protestant before his face, and then tortured him to death. A minister and his wife they tied back to back, and burnt. Another minister they hung upon a cross beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. A gentleman they hacked into small pieces; and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

Their principal rage being directed against the clergy, they took a pious protestant minister, and tormented him daily for a month together, in the following manner, making their cruelty regular, progressive, and systematic.

1. They placed him amidst them, and made him the subject of their derision and mockery, during a whole day's entertainment, trying to exhaust his patience, but in vain, for he bore the whole with a true christian fortitude,
2. They spit in his face, pulled his nose, and pinched him in most parts of his body.
3. He was hunted like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue.
4. They made him run the gantlope between two ranks of them, each striking him with a twig.
5. He was beat with their fists.
6. He was beat with ropes.
7. They scourged him with wires.
8. He was beat with cudgels.
9. They tied him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood started out of his nose, mouth, &c.
10. They hung him up by the right arm till it was dislocated, and then had it set again.
11. The same was repeated with his left arm.
12. Burning papers, dipped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes.
13. His flesh was torn with red hot pincers.
14. He was put to the rack.
15. They pulled off the nails of his right hand.
16. The same repeated with his left hand.
17. He was bastinadoed on his feet.
18. A slit was made in his right ear.
19. The same repeated on his left ear.
20. His nose was slit.
21. They whipped him through the town upon an ass.
22. They made several incisions in his flesh.
23. They pulled off the toe nails of his right foot.
24. The same repeated with his left foot.
25. He was tied up by the loins, and suspended for a considerable time.
26. The teeth of his upper jaw were pulled out.
27. The same was repeated with his lower jaw.
28. Boiling lead was poured upon his fingers.
29. The same repeated with his toes.
30. A knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner, as to force out his eyes.

While



While these horrid cruelties were carried on, particular care was taken that his wounds should not mortify, and not to injure him mortally till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes proved his death.

Various were the other murders and depredations committed by those unfeeling brutes, and shocking to humanity were the cruelties which they inflicted on the poor Bohemian protestants. The winter being far advanced, however, the high court of reformers, with their infernal band of military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way meeting with a protestant pastor, they could not resist the temptation of feasting their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty, which had just suggested itself to the diabolical imagination of one of the soldiers. This was to strip the minister naked, and alternately to cover him with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of tormenting a fellow-creature was immediately put in practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which seemed to delight his inhuman persecutors.

Soon after a secret order was issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen, who had been principally concerned in supporting the protestant cause, and in nominating Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. These, to the number of fifty, were apprehended in one night, and at one hour, and brought from the places where they were taken, to the castle of Prague, and the estates of those who were absent from the kingdom were confiscated, themselves were made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows, as marks of public ignominy.

After this the high court of reformers proceeded to try the fifty, who had been apprehended, and two apostate protestants were appointed to examine them. These examiners asked a great number of unnecessary and impertinent questions, which so exasperated one of the noblemen, who was naturally of a warm temper, that he exclaimed, opening his breast at the same time, "Cut here, search my heart, you shall find nothing but the love of religion and liberty: those were the motives for which I drew my sword, and for those I am willing to suffer death."

Seeing that none of the prisoners would change their religion, or acknowledge they had been in an error, they were all pronounced guilty; but the sentence was referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and an account of the respective accusations against them, he passed judgment on all, but in a different manner, as his sentences were of four kinds, viz. death, banishment, imprisonment for life, and imprisonment during pleasure.

Twenty, who were ordered for execution, were informed they might send for jesuits, monks, or friars, to prepare for the awful change they were to undergo; but that no protestants would be permitted to come near them. This proposal they rejected, and strove all they could to comfort and cheer each other upon the solemn occasion.

When the morning of the day appointed for the execution arrived, a cannon was fired as a signal to bring the prisoners from the castle to the principal market-place, in which scaffolds were erected, and a body of troops were drawn up to attend the tragic spectacle.

Notwithstanding, the prisoners left the castle with as much cheerfulness as if they had been going to an agreeable entertainment, instead of a violent death.

Besides soldiers, jesuits, priests, executioners, attendants, &c. a prodigious concourse of people attended, to see the exit of these devoted martyrs, who were executed in the following order:

#### I. LORD SCHILIK.

This nobleman was about fifty years of age, and was possessed of great natural and acquired abilities. When he was told he was to be quartered, and his parts scattered in different places, he smiled with great serenity, saying, The loss of a sepulchre is but a trifling consideration. A gentleman who stood by, crying, Courage, my lord: he replied, I have God's favour, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me; formerly I have faced him in fields

of battle to oppose Anti-Christ; and now dare face him on a scaffold, for the sake of Christ. Having said a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and his head, and then quartered him. His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters distributed in different parts of the city.

#### II. LORD VISCOUNT WINCESLAUS.

This pious and venerable nobleman, who had attained the age of seventy years, was equally respectable for his learning and hospitality. His temper was so remarkably patient, that when his house was broke open, his property seized, and his estates confiscated, he only said, with great composure, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Being asked why he could engage in so dangerous a cause as that of attempting to support the elector Palatine Frederic, against the power of the emperor, he replied, I acted strictly according to the dictates of my conscience, and, to this day, deem him my king. I am now full of years, and wish to lay down life, that I may not be a witness of the farther evils which are to attend my country. You have long thirsted for my blood; take it, for God will be my avenger. Then approaching the block, he stroked his long grey beard, and said, Venerable hairs, the greater honour now attends ye, a crown of martyrdom is your portion. Then laying down his head, it was severed from his body at one stroke, and placed upon a pole in a conspicuous part of the city.

#### III. LORD HARANT.

This was a gentleman of good sense, great piety, and much experience gained by travel, as he had visited the principal places in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Hence he was free from national prejudices, and had collected much knowledge.

The accusations against this nobleman were, his being a protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederic, the elector Palatine of the Rhine, as king of Bohemia. When he came upon the scaffold, he said, "I have travelled through many countries, and traversed various barbarous nations, yet never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land, and surmounted inconceivable difficulties, to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I, and my forefathers, have hazarded our lives and estates; but, Almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do." He then went to the block, kneeled down, and exclaimed, with great energy, Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit; in thee have I always trusted; receive me, therefore, my blessed Redeemer. The fatal stroke was then given, and a period put to the temporary pains of this life.

#### IV. LORD FREDERIC DE BILE.

This nobleman suffered as a protestant, and a promoter of the late war: he met his fate with serenity, and only said, he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave the enemies who caused his death, denied the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and hoped for salvation in the merits of his blessed Redeemer.

#### V. LORD HENRY OTTO.

When his lordship first came upon the scaffold, he seemed greatly confounded, and said, with some asperity, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, your throne is established in blood; but if you kill my body, and disperse my members, they shall still rise up in judgment against you." He then was silent, and having walked about for some time, seemed to recover his fortitude, and growing calm, said to a gentleman who stood near, I was, a few minutes since, greatly discomposed, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised for affording me such comfort; death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but seems to invite me to participate of some unknown joys. Kneeling before the block, he said, Almighty God! to thee I commend my soul, receive it for the sake of Christ, and admit it to the glory of thy presence. The executioner put this nobleman to considerable pain, by making



making several strokes before he severed the head from the body.

#### VI. THE EARL OF RUGENIA.

This nobleman was distinguished for his superior abilities, and unaffected piety. On the scaffold he said, "We, who drew our swords, fought only to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep our consciences sacred: as we were overcome, I am better pleased at the sentence of death than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that it pleases God to have his truth defended, not by our swords, but by our blood." He then went boldly to the block, saying, "I shall now be speedily with Christ," and received the crown of martyrdom with great courage.

#### VII. SIR GASPER KAPLITZ.

This nobleman was 86 years of age. When he came to the place of execution, he addressed the principal officer thus: "Behold a miserable ancient man, who hath often intreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his desire; for God reserved me till these years to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself; therefore God's will be done." One of the officers told him, in consideration of his great age, that if he would only ask pardon, he would immediately receive it. "Ask pardon, exclaimed he, I will ask pardon of God whom I have frequently offended; but not of the emperor to whom I never gave any offence: should I sue for pardon, it might be justly suspected I had committed some crime for which I deserved this condemnation. No, no, as I die innocent, and with a clear conscience, I would not be separated from this noble company of martyrs: so saying, he cheerfully resigned his neck to the block.

#### VIII. PROCOPIUS DORZECKI.

On the scaffold this gentleman said, "We are now under the emperor's judgment; but in time he shall be judged, and we shall appear as witnesses against him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was struck when the elector Frederic was crowned king of Bohemia, he presented it to one of the officers; at the same time uttering these words, "As a dying man, I request, if ever king Frederic is restored to the throne of Bohemia, that you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his sake, I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then cheerfully laid down his head, and submitted to the fatal blow.

#### IX. DIONYSIUS ZERVIUS.

We understand this gentleman was brought up a Roman catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion for some years. When upon the scaffold the jesuits used their utmost endeavours to make him recant, and return to his former faith, but he paid not the least attention to their exhortations. Kneeling down he said, "They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul, that I commend to my Redeemer;" and then patiently submitted to martyrdom, being at that time fifty-six years of age.

#### X. VALENTINE COCKAN.

This was a gentleman of considerable fortune and eminence, perfectly pious and honest, but of trifling abilities; yet his imagination seemed to grow bright, and his faculties to improve on death's approach, as if the impending danger refined the understanding. Just before he was beheaded, he expressed himself with such eloquence, energy, and precision, as greatly amazed those who knew his former deficiency in point of capacity.

#### XI. TOBIAS STEFFICK.

This person was remarkable for his affability and serenity of temper. He was perfectly resigned to his fate, and a few minutes before his death spoke in this singular manner: "I have received, during the whole course of my life, many favours from God; ought I not therefore cheerfully to take one bitter cup, when he thinks proper to present it? Or rather, ought I not to rejoice, that it is his will I should give up a corrupted life for that of immortality?"

#### XII. DR. JESSENIUS.

This was an able student of physic, who was accused of having spoken disrespectful words of the emperor, of

treason in swearing allegiance to the elector Frederic, and of heresy in being a protestant: for the first accusation he had his tongue cut out; for the second he was beheaded; and for the third, and last, he was quartered, and the respective parts exposed on poles.

#### XIII. CHRISTOPHER CHOBER.

As soon as this gentleman stepped upon the scaffold, he said, "I come, in the name of God, to die for his glory; I have fought the good fight, and finished my course; so executioner, do your office." The executioner obeyed, and he instantly received the crown of martyrdom.

#### XIV. JOHN SHULTIS.

There was no person ever lived more respected, or died more lamented than this gentleman. The only words he spoke, before receiving the fatal stroke, were, "The righteous seem to die in the eyes of fools, but they only go to rest. Lord Jesus! thou hast promised that those who come to thee shall not be cast off. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul."

#### XV. MAXIMILIAN HOSTIALICK.

This worthy gentleman was famed for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he first came on the scaffold, he seemed exceedingly terrified at the approach of death. The officer taking notice of his agitation, he said, "Ah! sir, now the sins of my youth crowd upon my mind; but I hope God will enlighten me, lest I sleep the sleep of death, and lest mine enemies say, We have prevailed." Soon after he said, "I hope my repentance is sincere, and will be accepted, in which case the blood of Christ will wash me from my crimes." He then told the officer he should repeat the song of Simeon; at the conclusion of which the executioner might do his duty. He, accordingly, said, "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation;" at which words his head was severed at one blow from his body.

#### XVI. JOHN KUTNAUR.

As soon as this gentleman came to the place of execution, a jesuit said to him, "Embrace the Roman catholic faith, which alone can save and arm you against the terrors of death." To which he replied, "Your superstitious faith I abhor, it leads to perdition, and I wish for no other arms against the terrors of death than a good conscience." The jesuit turned away, saying, sarcastically, "The protestants are impenetrable rocks. You are mistaken, said Kutnaur, it is Christ that is the rock, and we are firmly fixed upon him."

As this person was not born independent, but had acquired a fortune by a mechanical employment, he was ordered to be hanged. Just before he was turned off, he said, "I die, not for having committed any crime, but for following the dictates of my conscience, and defending my country and religion."

#### XVII. SIMEON SUSSICKEY.

This gentleman was father-in-law to Kutnaur, and, like him, was ordered to be executed on a gallows. He went cheerfully to death, and appeared impatient to be executed, saying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Christ."

#### XVIII. NATHANIEL WODNIANSKEY.

This gentleman was hanged for having supported the protestant cause, and the election of Frederic to the crown of Bohemia. At the gallows, the jesuits did all in their power to induce him to renounce his faith. Finding their endeavours ineffectual, one of them said, "If you will not abjure your heresy, at least repent of your rebellion?" To which Wodnianskey replied, "You take away our lives under a pretended charge of rebellion; and, not content with that, seek to destroy our souls: glut yourselves with blood, and be satisfied, but tamper not with our consciences."

His own son then approached the gallows, and said to his father, "Sir, if life should be offered to you on condition of apostacy, I intreat you to remember Christ, and reject such pernicious overtures." To this the father replied, "It is very acceptable, my son, to be exhorted to constancy by you; but suspect me not; rather endeavour to confirm in their faith your brothers, sisters, and



and children, and teach them to imitate that constancy, of which I shall leave them an example." He had no sooner concluded these words, than he was turned off, receiving the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude.

#### XIX. WENCESLAUS GISBITZKEY.

As this person, during his whole confinement, had great hopes of life given him, his friends became very apprehensive for the safety of his soul. He, however, continued stedfast in his faith, prayed fervently at the gallows, and met his fate with uncommon fortitude.

#### XX. MARTIN FOSTER.

An unfortunate cripple; the accusations against whom were, being charitable to heretics, and lending money to the elector Frederic. His great wealth, however, seems to have been his principal crime; and that he might be plundered of his treasures, he was consequently ranked among the martyrs of those times.

### ACCOUNT of the General PERSECUTIONS in GERMANY.

THEN several persecutions in Germany were principally occasioned by the doctrines and ministry of Martin Luther. Indeed, the pope was so terrified at the success of that courageous reformer, that he determined to engage the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at any rate, in the scheme to attempt their extirpation.

For this purpose,

1. He gave the emperor two hundred thousand crowns in ready money.
2. He promised to maintain twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, for the space of six months, or during a campaign.
3. He allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy of the empire, during the war.
4. He permitted the emperor to pledge the abbey-lands for five hundred thousand crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities against the protestants.

Prompted and supported thus, the emperor undertook the extirpation of the protestants, against whom, indeed, he was particularly enraged himself; and, for this purpose, a formidable army was raised in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

In the mean time, the protestant princes formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor of Germany in person, and the eyes of all Europe were turned on the event of the war.

The armies at length met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony, and landgrave of Hesse, both taken prisoners. This fatal blow was succeeded by a horrid persecution, the severities of which were such, that exile might be deemed a mild fate, and concealment in a dismal wood pass for happiness. In such times a cave is a palace, wild roots delicacies, and a rock a bed of down.

Such as were taken experienced the most cruel tortures that infernal imaginations could invent; and by their constancy evinced, that a real christian can surmount every difficulty, and despise every danger, to acquire a crown of martyrdom.

Henry Voes and John Esch, being apprehended as protestants, were brought to examination: when Voes, answering for himself and the other, gave the following answers to some questions asked by a priest, who examined them by order of the magistracy.

*Priest.* Were you not both, some years ago, Augustine friars?

*Voes.* Yes.

*Priest.* How came you to quit the bosom of the church of Rome?

*Voes.* On account of her abominations.

*Priest.* In what do you believe?

*Voes.* In the Old and New Testament.

No. 78.

*Priest.* Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?

*Voes.* Yes, if they agree with scripture.

*Priest.* Did not Martin Luther seduce you both?

*Voes.* He seduced us even in the very same manner as Christ seduced the apostles; that is, he made us sensible of the frailty of our bodies, and the value of our souls.

This examination was deemed sufficient; they were both condemned to the flames, and, soon after, suffered with that manly fortitude which becomes christians, when they resign their breath for the truth.

One Henry Surphen, an eloquent and pious preacher, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled to walk barefoot a considerable way, so that his feet were terribly cut. He desired a horse, but his conductors said, in derision, A horse for an heretic; no, no, heretics may go barefoot. When he arrived at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burnt; but, during the execution, many indignities were offered him, as those who attended, not content with what he suffered in the flames, cut and slashed him in a manner the most terrible.

Several were murdered at Halle; Middleburg being taken by storm, all the protestants were put to the sword, and great numbers were burned at Vienna.

There was an officer sent to put a minister to death; who pretended, when he came to the clergyman's house, that his intentions were only to pay him a visit. The minister, not suspecting the intended cruelty, entertained his supposed guest in a very cordial manner. As soon as dinner was over, the officer said to some of his attendants, "Take this clergyman, and hang him." The attendants themselves were so shocked, after the civility they had seen, that they hesitated to perform the commands of their master; and the minister said, "Think what a sting will remain on your conscience, for thus violating the laws of hospitality." The officer, however, insisted upon being obeyed, and the attendants, with reluctance, performed the execrable office of executioners.

A pious divine, of the name of Peter Spengler, of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river, and drowned. Before he was taken to the banks of the stream, which was to become his grave, they led him to the market-place, that his crimes might be proclaimed; which were, not going to mass, not making confession, and not believing in transubstantiation. After this ceremony was over, he made a most excellent discourse to the people, which, with a kind of hymn of a very edifying nature, he concluded.

A protestant gentleman being ordered to lose his head for not renouncing his religion, went cheerfully to the place of execution. A friar came to him, and said these words in a low tone of voice, "As you have a great reluctance publicly to abjure your faith, whisper your confession into my ear, and I will absolve your sins." To this the gentleman loudly replied, "Trouble me not, friar, I have confessed my sins to God, and obtained absolution through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then turning to the executioner, he said, "Let me not be pestered with these men, but perform your duty." On which at a single blow his head was struck off.

John Huglin, and Wolfgang Seuch, two worthy ministers, were burned, as was Leonard Keyser, a student of the university of Wertenburgh: and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged for refusing to recant protestantism.

The persecutions in Germany having subsided many years, again broke out in 1630, on account of the war between the emperor, and the king of Sweden, for the latter was a protestant prince, and consequently the protestants of Germany espoused his cause, which greatly exasperated the emperor against those protestants.

The imperialists having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, (which was defended by the Swedes) took it by storm, and committed the most horrid cruelties on the occasion. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houses, pillaged the properties, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townsmen, ravished the women, smothered the children, &c. &c.



In the year 1631, a most bloody tragedy was transacted at Magdeburg. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken that protestant city by storm, upwards of 20,000 persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, were slain during the carnage, and 6,000 were drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. After this fury subsided, the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

The town of Hoxter was taken by the popish army, and all the inhabitants as well as the garrison were put to the sword; when the houses being set on fire, the bodies were consumed in the flames.

At Griphenburg, when the imperial forces prevailed, they shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and, surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Franhental surrendered upon articles of capitulation, yet the inhabitants were as cruelly used as at other places, and at Heidelberg many were shut up in prison and starved.

The cruelties used by the imperial troops, under count Tilly in Saxony, are as follow:

1. Half strangling, and recovering the persons again repeatedly.
2. Rolling sharp wheels over the fingers and toes.
3. Pinching the thumbs in a vice.
4. Forcing the most filthy things down the throat, by which many were choked.
5. Tying cords round the head so tight that the blood gushed out of the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth.
6. Fastening burning matches to the fingers, toes, ears, arms, legs, and even tongue.
7. Putting powder in the mouth and setting fire to it, by which the head was shattered to pieces.
8. Tying bags of powder to all parts of the body, by which the person was blown up.
9. Drawing cords backwards and forwards through the fleshy parts.
10. Making incisions with bodkins and knives in the skin.
11. Running wires through the nose, ears, lips, &c.
12. Hanging protestants up by the legs, with their heads over a fire, by which they were smoke-dried.
13. Hanging up by one arm till it was dislocated.
14. Hanging upon hooks by the ribs.
15. Forcing people to drink till they burst.
16. Baking many in hot ovens.
17. Fixing weights to the feet, and drawing up several with pulleys.

Add to these, hanging, stifling, roasting, stabbing, frying, racking, ravishing, ripping open, breaking the bones, rasping off the flesh, tearing with wild horses, drowning, strangling, burning, broiling, crucifying, immuring, poisoning, cutting off tongue, nose, ears, &c. sawing off the limbs, hacking to pieces, and drawing by the heels through the streets.

Sure these enormous cruelties will be a perpetual stain on the memory of count Tilly, who not only permitted, but even commanded his troops to put them in practice. Wherever he came, the most horrid barbarities, and cruel depredations, ensued: famine and conflagration marked his progress; for he destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that the full result of his conquests were murder, poverty, and desolation.

They stripped an aged and pious divine naked, tied him on his back upon a table, and fastened a large fierce cat upon his belly. They then pricked and tormented the cat in such a manner, that the creature with rage tore his belly open, and gnawed his bowels.

There was another minister, and his family, who were seized by these inhuman monsters; when they ravished his wife and daughter before his face, stuck his infant son upon the point of a lance, and then surrounding him with his whole library of books, they set fire to them, and he was consumed in the midst of the flames.

In Hesse-Cassel some of the troops entered an hospital, in which were principally mad women, when stripping all the poor wretches naked, they made them

run about the streets for their diversion, and then put them to death.

In Pomerania, some of the imperial troops entering a small town, seized upon all the young women, and girls of upwards of 10 years, and then placing their parents in a circle, they ordered them to sing psalms, while they ravished their children, or else they swore they would cut them to pieces afterwards. They then took all the married women who had young children, and threatened, if they did not consent to the gratification of their lusts, to burn their children before their faces in a large fire which they had kindled for that purpose.

A band of count Tilly's soldiers meeting with a company of merchants belonging to Basil, who were returning from the great market of Strasburg, they attempted to surround them: all escaped, however, but ten, leaving their properties behind. The ten who were taken begged hard for their lives; but the soldiers murdered them, saying, You must die because you are heretics, and have got no money.

The same soldiers met with two countesses, who, together with some young ladies, the daughters of one of them, were taking an airing in a landau. The soldiers spared their lives, but treated them with great indecency, and having stripped them all stark naked, bade the coachman drive on.

At last, by means and mediation of Great-Britain, peace was restored to Germany, and the protestants remained unmolested for several years, till some new disturbances broke out in the Palatinate, which were occasioned in the following manner.

The great church of the Holy Ghost, at Heidelberg, had, for many years, been shared equally by the protestants and Roman catholics, in this manner: the protestants performed divine service in the nave or body of the church; and the Roman catholics celebrated mass in the choir. Though this had been the custom time immemorial, the elector Palatine, at length, took it into his head not to suffer it any longer, declaring, that as Heidelberg was the place of his residence, and the church of the Holy Ghost the cathedral of his principal city, divine service ought to be performed only according to the rites of the church of which he was a member. He then forbade the protestants to enter the church, and put the papists in possession of the whole.

The people thus aggrieved applied to the protestant powers for redress, which so much exasperated the elector, that he suppressed the Heidelberg catechism. The protestant powers, however, unanimously agreed to demand satisfaction, as the elector, by this conduct, had broke an article of the treaty of Westphalia; and the courts of Great-Britain, Prussia, Holland, &c. sent deputies to the elector, to represent the injustice of his proceedings, and to threaten, unless he changed his behaviour to the protestants in the Palatinate, that they would treat their Roman catholic subjects with the greatest severity. Many violent disputes took place between the protestant powers, and those of the elector, and these were greatly augmented by the following incident: the coach of the Dutch minister standing before the door of the resident sent by the prince of Hesse, the host was by chance carrying to a sick person; the coachman took not the least notice, which those who attended the host observing, pulled him from his box, and compelled him to kneel: this violence to the domestic of a public minister was highly resented by all the protestant deputies; and, still more to heighten these differences, the protestants presented to the deputies three additional articles of complaint.

1. That military executions were ordered against all protestant shoe-makers who should refuse to contribute to the masses of St. Crispin.

2. That the protestants were forbid to work on popish holidays, even in harvest time, under very heavy penalties, which occasioned great inconveniences, and considerably prejudiced public business.

3. That several protestant ministers had been dispossessed of their churches, under pretence of their having been originally founded, and built by Roman catholics.

At



*The MARTYRDOM of MR JOHN BADBY in Smithfield, where while the Prior of S. Bartholomew's attended with twelve torches borne before him) Prince, Henryson of Edward IV. exhorted the people, that they receive*



*DR JOHN HUS Pastor of Bethlehem Church in Bohemia & professor of Philosophy in the University of Prague, going to seal the Truth of his Doctrines by Martyrdom, in the suburbs of Constance, AD 1418*



At length the protestant deputies became so serious, as to intimate to the elector, that force of arms should compel him to do the justice he denied to their representations. This menace brought him to reason, as he well knew the impossibility of carrying on a war against the powerful states who threatened him. He, therefore, agreed, that the use of the body of the church of the Holy Ghost should be restored to the protestants. He restored the Heidelberg catechism, put the protestant ministers again in possession of the churches of which they had been dispossessed, allowed the protestants to work on popish holidays; and ordered, that no person should be molested for not kneeling when the host passed by.

All these things he did through fear; but to shew his resentment to his protestant subjects, in other circumstances where protestant states had no right to interfere, he totally abandoned Heidelberg, removing all the courts of justice to Mannheim, which was intirely inhabited by Roman catholics. He likewise built a new palace there, making it his place of residence; and, being followed by the Roman catholics of Heidelberg, Mannheim became a flourishing place.

In the mean time the protestants of Heidelberg sunk into poverty, and many of them became so distressed, as to quit their native country, and seek an asylum in protestant states. A great number of these coming into England, in the time of queen Anne, were cordially received here, and met with a most humane assistance, both by public and private donations.

In 1732, above 30,000 protestants were, contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, driven from the archbishopric of Saltzburg. They went away in the depth of winter, with scarce cloaths to cover them, and without provisions, not having permission to take any thing with them. The cause of these poor people not being publicly espoused by such states as could obtain them redress, they emigrated to various protestant countries, and settled in places where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion, without hurting their consciences, and live free from the trammels of popish superstition, and the chains of papal despotism.

*A Circumstantial Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and MARTYRDOM, of JOHN HUSS, who was BURNT to DEATH at CONSTANCE in GERMANY, for maintaining the DOCTRINES of WICKLIFFE, the ENGLISH REFORMIST.*

**T**HIS man was born at Hussenitz, a village in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him the best education their circumstances would admit: and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics at a private school, he was removed to the university of Prague, where he soon gave strong proofs of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his diligence and application to study.

Huss commenced bachelor of divinity in 1408, and was after successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. In these stations he discharged his duties with great fidelity, and became at length so conspicuous for his preaching, (which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe) that it was not likely he could long escape the notice of the pope, and his adherents, against whom he inveighed with no small degree of asperity and rage.

Wickliffe the English reformist had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines spread into Bohemia, and were well received by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his zealous friend and fellow-martyr, Jerom of Prague.

The archbishop of Prague, finding the reformists daily increasing, issued a decree to suppress the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings: but this had an effect quite different to what he expected, for it stimulated the

friends of these doctrines to greater zeal, and almost the whole university united in propagating them.

Huss had considerable influence in the university, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but also on account of some valuable privileges he had obtained from the king in behalf of the Bohemians in that seminary, by which many Germans had been obliged to leave it, and retire to Leipsic, who afterwards became, on that account, his most inveterate enemies.

Now strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss violently opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, however, at length obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commission to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's doctrines in his province. By virtue of this bull, the archbishop condemned the writings of Wickliffe: he also proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, notwithstanding their privileges, to preach to any congregation. Dr. Huss, with some other members of the university, protested against these proceedings, and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop.

When this affair was made known to the pope, he granted a commission to Cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huss to appear personally at the court of Rome, to answer the accusations laid against him, of preaching both errors and heresies. Dr. Huss desired to be excused from a personal appearance, and was so greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Wenceslaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom, in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Huss before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuse his absence, and said, they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Huss contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the former sentence, and extended the excommunication, not only to Huss, but to all his friends and followers.

Huss, from this unjust sentence, appealed to a future council, but without success; and, notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion in consequence from his church in Prague, he retired to Hussenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate his new doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote at this time were very numerous; and he compiled a treatise, in which he maintained, that reading the books of protestants could not be absolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the trinity; and boldly declared against the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy of those corrupt times. He caused a writing to be fixed on the church of Bethlehem, charging the Roman catholic clergy with the following errors:

1. Of saying that we ought to pay adoration to the pope.
2. That the priests can remit the pain and guilt of sin.
3. That every one must obey his superiors, whether their commands are just or unjust.
4. That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the excommunicated.

Besides these, he wrote many other books, all of which were penned with such strength of argument, as greatly to facilitate the spreading of his doctrines.

The persecutions against the protestants in England had been carried on for some time, and the most cruel scenes were exhibited. They now extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, where Dr. Huss, and Jerom of Prague, were particularly marked out to suffer death in the cause of religion.

In the month of November, in the year 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, in order, as was pretended, for the sole purpose of determining



termining a dispute then depending between three persons who contended for the papacy; but the real motive was, to crush the progress of the reformation.

Now John Hufs was summoned to appear at this council; and to encourage him, the emperor sent him a safe-conduct, giving him permission freely to come to, and return from the council. When Hufs received this information, he told the persons who delivered it, "That he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy; and that he esteemed himself happy in having so fair an opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was summoned to attend."

Hufs, about the latter end of November, set out on his journey to Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him merely through respect and affection. He caused some placards, or writings, to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared, that he went to the council to answer all allegations that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present for this purpose.

The compliments, and even reverence, which Hufs met with on his journey, were beyond imagination. The streets, and sometimes the very roads, were lined with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said, that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprise at the treatment he received: "I thought (said he) I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

When Hufs arrived at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. A short time after his arrival, came one Stephen Paletz, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a set of articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

We have already observed, that the attendance of Dr. Hufs, at Constance, was, by the emperor's own request, who gave him a safe-conduct; notwithstanding which, according to the maxim of the council, that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known that he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace.

Now this violation of common law and justice was particularly noticed by one of Hufs's friends, who urged the imperial safe-conduct; but the pope replied, he never granted any safe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor.

During Hufs's confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and even ordered his remains to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were strictly complied with.

In the interim the nobility of Bohemia and Poland strongly interceded for Hufs; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him.

As soon as he was brought before the council, the articles exhibited against him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings.

His examination being finished, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council, to burn him as an heretic if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the walls of the prison.

Having continued some days in this situation, many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, which was presented

to the council by several of the most distinguished nobles of Bohemia; notwithstanding which, for many enemies had Hufs in that court, that not the least attention was paid to it, and the wretched and persecuted reformer was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

Some short time after the petition was presented, four bishops, and two lords, were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Hufs to make a recantation. But he called God to witness, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written, any thing against the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council: to which Hufs replied, "Let them send the meanest person of that council, who can convince me by argument from the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to him." This christian and pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could not make any impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

Dr. Hufs was brought on the fourth of July for the last time, before the council. After a long examination he was desired to abjure, which he refused without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a bloody persecuting sermon, (concerning the destruction of heretics) the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon his fate was determined, his vindication disregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were condemned, and he was declared a manifest heretic: he was convicted of having taught many heresies and pernicious errors; of having despised the keys of the church and ecclesiastical censures; of having seduced and given scandal to the faithful by his obstinacy, and having rashly appealed to the tribunal of Christ. The council therefore censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

This sentence Hufs received without the least emotion. At the close of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented; how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation; yet O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

But these excellent sentences were esteemed as so many expressions of treason, and tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription: "A ring-leader of heretics."

The heroic martyr received this mock mitre with an air of unconcern, which seemed to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity, nay even a joy appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of a tedious journey in her way to the realms of everlasting peace and happiness.

When the ceremony of degradation was over, the bishops delivered Hufs to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gates of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance, to be burnt alive.

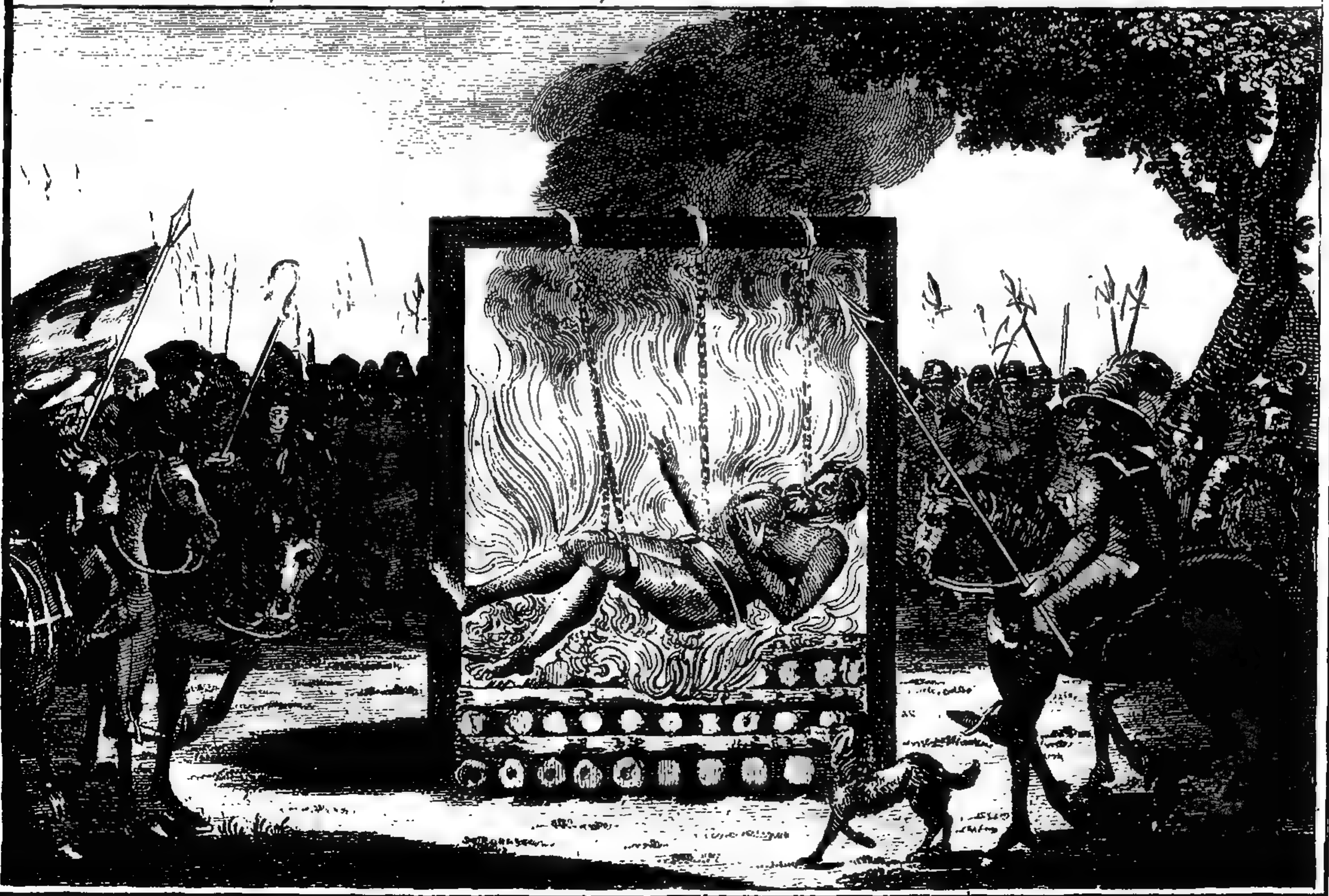
When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked stedfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God!"

As soon as the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My Lord Jesus Christ





**JEROME of PRAGUE** (a Primitive Martyr) going to be **BURNT to DEATH** (near the City of Constance in Bohemia) for holding the Doctrines of Wickliffe, in the Year 1400 — after which his Ashes were cast into the River Rhine. —



*The CRUEL MARTYRDOM of SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord Cobham, during the Reign of Henry V. in the Year — 1417.*



Christ was bound with a harder chain than this for my sake, and why then should I be ashamed of this old rusty one?"

Even when the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was so officious as to desire him to abjure. "No, (said Hufs) I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a goose, (the name of Hufs signifying goose in the Bohemian language) but in a century you will have a swan whom you can neither roast nor boil." If he was prophetic, he must have meant Martin Luther, who shone about an hundred years after, and who had a swan for his arms.

As soon as the flames were applied to the faggots, our martyr sung an hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the severity of the flames, which soon put a period to his life.

*A Circumstantial Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and MARTYRDOM, of JEROM of PRAGUE; who was BURNT to DEATH at CONSTANCE in GERMANY, for maintaining the DOCTRINES of WICKLIFFE, the ENGLISH REFORMIST.*

JEROM of PRAGUE, who was the companion of Dr. Hufs, and may be said to be co-martyr with him, was born at Prague; and educated in that university, where he particularly distinguished himself for his great abilities and learning. He likewise visited several other learned seminaries in Europe, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a person of uncommon application he translated many of them into his native language, having, with great pains, made himself master of the English language.

Upon his return to Prague he professed himself an open favourer of Wickliffe, and finding that his doctrines had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Hufs was the principal promoter of them, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

Jerom on the 4th of April, A. D. 1415, arrived at Constance, about three months before the death of Hufs. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party, whom he found there, was easily convinced he could not be of any service to his friend.

Understanding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he thought it most prudent to retire. Accordingly, the next day he went to Iberling, an imperial town, about a mile from Constance. From this place he wrote to the emperor, and proposed his readiness to appear before the council, if he would give him a safe conduct; but this was refused. He then applied to the council, but met with an answer no less unfavourable than that from the emperor.

Thus being disappointed, Jerom caused papers to be put up in all the public places in Constance, particularly on the doors of the cardinals houses, in which he professed his readiness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he said, had been greatly defamed. He also declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would with great readiness retract it; begging only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

As he received no answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to take with him a certificate, signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used all prudent means in his power to procure an audit.

However, Jerom did not escape thus. He was seized at Hirsaw, by an officer belonging to the duke of Sultsbach, who, though unauthorized so to act, made little doubt of obtaining thanks from the council for a service so acceptable.

Now the duke of Sultsbach, having Jerom in his power, wrote to the council for directions how to proceed. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The elector palatine met him on the way, and conducted him into the city, himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters by a long chain; and immediately on his arrival he was committed to a loathsome dungeon.

In the same manner as Hufs had been treated so, was Jerom, only that he was much longer confined, and shifted from one prison to another. At length, being brought before the council, he desired that he might plead his own cause, and exculpate himself; which being refused him, he thus gave vent to his indignation: "What barbarity is this? For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of prisons. There is not a misery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of accusation: to me, you deny the least opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have swallowed the blackest calumnies against me. You have represented me as an heretic, without knowing my doctrine: as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I professed: as a persecutor of priests, before you could have any opportunity of understanding my sentiments on that head. You are a general council: in you center all this world can communicate of gravity, wisdom, and sanctity: but still you are men, and men are seducible by appearances. The higher your character is for wisdom, the greater ought your care to be, not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is not my own cause: it is the cause of men: it is the cause of christians: it is a cause, which is to affect the rights of posterity; however the experiment is to be made in my person."

No effect however had this speech: Jerom was obliged to hear his charge read, which was reduced under five heads as follow:

1. That he was a derider of the papal dignity.
2. An opposer of the pope.
3. An enemy to the cardinals.
4. A persecutor of the prelates.
5. An hater of the christian religion.

Jerom to these several charges answered with an amazing force of elocution, and strength of argument. "Now, (said he) wretch that I am! whither shall I turn me! To my accusers? My accusers are as deaf as adders. To you, my judges? You are all prepossessed by the arts of my accusers."---After this speech Jerom was immediately remanded to his prison.

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accusation, and witnesses were examined in support of the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence, which appears almost incredible, when we consider he had been three hundred and forty days shut up in loathsome prisons, deprived of day-light, and almost starved for want of common necessities. But his spirit soared above these disadvantages, under which a man less animated would have sunk; nor was he more at a loss for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furnished with books of the best quality.

Such of the assembly as were most bigotted were unwilling he should be heard, knowing what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds of the most prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable distinction between evidence as resting upon facts, and as supported by malice and calumny. He laid before the assembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct. He observed that the



greatest and most holy men had been known to differ in points of speculation, with a view to distinguish truth, not to keep it concealed. He expressed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cause of virtue and truth. He entered upon an high encomium on Hufs; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious track of martyrdom. He then touched upon the most defensible doctrines of Wickliffe; and concluded with observing, that it was far from his intention to advance any thing against the state of the church of God: that it was only against the abuse of the clergy he complained: and that he could not help saying, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpose of charity, and universal benevolence, should be prostituted to the pride of the eye, in feasts, foppish vestments, and other reproaches to the name and profession of religion.

When the trial was over, Jerom received the same sentence, that had been passed upon his martyred countryman. In consequence of this he was, in the usual stile of popish affectation, delivered over to the civil power: but as he was a layman, he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation. They had prepared a cap of paper painted with red devils, which being put upon his head, he said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, will wear this cap."

They allowed him two days in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerom was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood; and he suffered death with the most distinguished magnanimity.

While going to the place of execution he sung several hymns; and when he came to the spot, which was the same where Hufs had been burnt, he kneeled down, and prayed fervently. He embraced the stake with great cheerfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the faggots, he said, "Come here, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had so many opportunities of making my escape."

When the fire was kindled, he sung an hymn, but was soon interrupted by the flames; and the last words he was heard to say were,

*Hanc animam in flammis offero, Christe, tibi!*

"This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!"

#### *A Full and Particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in the NETHERLANDS.*

SEEING that the light of the gospel was now successfully spread over the Netherlands, the pope instigated the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry: among whom the following were the most remarkable.

One Wendelinuta, a pious protestant widow, was apprehended on account of her religion, when several monks, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to persuade her to recant. As they could not prevail, a Roman catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, and promised to exert herself strenuously towards inducing the prisoner to abjure the reformed religion. When she was admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken; but finding her endeavours ineffectual, she said, Dear Wendelinuta, if you will not embrace our faith, at least keep the things which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life. To which the widow replied, Madam, you know not what you say: for with the heart we believe to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation. As she positively refused to recant, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk

held a cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but through the before-mentioned Roman catholic lady, the favour was granted, that she should be strangled before the faggots were kindled.

There were two protestant clergymen burnt at Colen; a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river, and drowned; and Pistorius, a learned student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool's coat, and committed to the flames.

A protestant minister was ordered to attend the execution of sixteen protestants who received sentence to be beheaded. This gentleman performed the function of his office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As soon as the sixteen were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another stroke remaining yet; you must behead the minister, he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded, though even many of the Roman catholics themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unnecessary barbarism.

One George Scherter, a minister of Saltzburg, was apprehended and committed to prison for instructing his flock in the knowledge of the gospel. While he was in confinement he wrote a confession of his faith; soon after which he was condemned, first to be beheaded, and afterwards to be burnt to ashes. In his way to the place of execution he said to the spectators, "That you may know I die a true christian, I will give you a sign." This was indeed verified in a most singular manner; for after his head was cut off, the body lying a short space of time with the belly to the ground, it suddenly turned upon the back, when the right foot crossed over the left, as did also the right arm over the left: and in this manner it remained till it was committed to the fire.

A learned man in Louviana, named Percival, was murdered in prison; and Justus Insparg was beheaded, for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

Giles Tilleman, a cutler of Brussels, was a man of great humanity and piety. Among others he was apprehended as a protestant, and many endeavours were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. He had once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison, and being asked why he did not avail himself of it, he replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury, as they must have answered for my absence, had I got away." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Perceiving, at the place of execution, a great quantity of faggots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, a small quantity will suffice to consume me. The executioner offered to strangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not consent, telling him, that he defied the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure amidst them, that he hardly seemed sensible of their effects.

About the years 1543 and 1544, the persecution was carried on throughout all Flanders in a most violent and cruel manner. Some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment: but most were put to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack, or burying alive.

One John de Boscare, a zealous protestant, was apprehended on account of his faith, in the city of Antwerp. On his trial he stedfastly professed himself to be of the reformed religion, which occasioned his immediate condemnation. The magistrate, however, was afraid to put him to death publicly, as he was popular through his great generosity, and almost universally beloved for his inoffensive life, and exemplary piety. A private execution being determined on, an order was given to drown him in prison. The executioner, accordingly, put him into a large tub; but Boscare struggling, and



and getting his head above the water, the executioner stabbed him with a dagger in several places, till at last his dissolution was completed.

Another protestant, John de Buifons, was, about the same time, secretly apprehended, and privately executed at Antwerp. The number of protestants being great in that city, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates feared an insurrection, and for that reason ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

Three persons were apprehended in Antwerp, A. D. 1568, named Scoblant, Hues, and Coomans. During their confinement they behaved with great fortitude and cheerfulness, confessing that the hand of God appeared in what had befallen them, and bowing down before the throne of his providence. In an epistle to some worthy protestants, they express themselves in the following words: "Since it is the will of the Almighty that we should suffer for his name, and be persecuted for the sake of his gospel, we patiently submit, and are joyful upon the occasion: though the flesh may rebel against the spirit, and hearken to the counsel of the old serpent, yet the truths of the gospel shall prevent such advice from being taken, and Christ shall bruise the serpent's head. We are not comfortless in confinement, for we have faith; we fear not affliction, for we have hope; and we forgive our enemies, for we have charity. Be not under apprehensions for us, we are happy in confinement through the promises of God, glory in our bonds, and exult in being thought worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ. We desire not to be released, but to be blessed with fortitude; we ask not liberty, but the power of perseverance; and wish for no change in our condition, but that which places a crown of martyrdom upon our heads."

Scoblant was first brought to his trial; when, persisting in the profession of his faith, he received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he earnestly requested the gaoler not to permit any friar to come hear him; saying, "They can do me no good, but may greatly disturb me. I hope my salvation is already sealed in heaven, and that the blood of Christ, in which I firmly put my trust, hath washed me from mine iniquities. I am now going to throw off this earthly mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory, by whose celestial brightness I shall be freed from all errors. I hope I may be the last martyr to papal tyranny, and the blood already spilt found sufficient to quench the thirst of popish cruelty; that the church of Christ may have rest here, as his servants will hereafter." On the day of execution he took a pathetic leave of his fellow-prisoners. At the stake he fervently said the Lord's Prayer, and sung the fortieth Psalm; then commending his soul to God, he was destroyed by the flames.

Some short time after, Hues died in prison; upon which occasion Coomans wrote thus to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblant is martyred, and Hues dead, by the visitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone; I have with me the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward. Pray unto God to strengthen me to the end, as I expect every hour to be freed from this tenement of clay."

This man, on his trial, freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, answered with a manly fortitude to every charge against him, and proved the scriptural part of his answers from the gospel. The judge told him the only alternatives were, recantation or death; and concluded, by saying, "Will you die for the faith you profess?" To which Coomans replied, "I am not only willing to die, but to suffer the most excruciating torments for it: after which my soul shall receive it's confirmation from God himself, in the midst of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went cheerfully to the place of execution, and died with christian resignation, and manly fortitude.

Also one William Nassau fell a sacrifice to treachery, being assassinated in the fifty-first year of his age, by Baltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Comté, in the province of Burgundy. This murderer, in hopes of a reward here and hereafter, for killing an enemy to the

king of Spain, and an enemy to the catholic religion, undertook to destroy the prince of Orange. Having procured fire-arms, he watched him as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The prince of Orange, observing that the assassin spoke with an hollow and confused voice, asked who he was? saying, he did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport, which he should have presently.

Nothing farther passed before dinner, but afterwards, on the return of the prince and princess through the same hall, the assassin, standing concealed as much as possible by one of the pillars, fired at the prince, the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right, wounding in their passage the stomach and vital parts. On receiving the wounds, the prince only said, Lord have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people, and then immediately expired.

General were the lamentations throughout the United Provinces, on account of the death of the prince of Orange; and the assassin, who was immediately taken, received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his enthusiasm, or folly, that when his flesh was torn by red-hot pincers, he coolly said, If I was at liberty, I would commit such an action over again.

The funeral of the prince of Orange was the grandest ever seen in the Low Countries, and perhaps the sorrow for his death the most sincere, as he left behind him the character he honestly deserved, namely, that of being Father of his people.

In short, multitudes were murdered in different parts of Flanders; in the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven of the principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the Romish superstition: and great numbers were suffered to languish in confinement, till they perished through the inclemency of their prisons.

#### *A Full and Particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in LITHUANIA.*

IN 1648 the persecutions in Lithuania began, and were carried on with great severity by the Cossacks and Tartars. The cruelty of the Cossacks was such, that even the Tartars, at last, grew ashamed of it, and rescued some of the intended victims from their hands.

The following were the chief barbarities exercised; skinning alive, cutting off hands, taking out the bowels, cutting the flesh open, putting out the eyes, beheading, scalping, cutting off feet, boring the shin bones, pouring melted lead into the flesh, sending to perpetual banishment, hanging, stabbing, &c. &c.

The Russians taking advantage of the devastations which had been made in the country, and of it's incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable army, and, like a flood, bore down all before them. Every thing they met with was an object of destruction; they razed cities, demolished castles, ruined fortresses, sacked towns, burnt villages, and murdered people. The ministers of the gospel were peculiarly marked out as the objects of their displeasure, though every worthy christian was liable to the effects of their barbarity.

Whenever Lithuania recovered itself after one persecution, succeeding enemies again destroyed it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and sword through it, and continual calamities, for some years, attended that unhappy district. It was then attacked by the prince of Transylvania, who had in his army, exclusive of his own Transylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, Walachians, &c. These, as far as they penetrated, wasted the country, destroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houses, murdered the sick, and enslaved the healthy.

A clergyman, who wrote an account of the misfortunes of Lithuania, in the seventeenth century, says, "In consideration of these extremities, we cannot but adore the judgment of God poured upon us for our sins, and



and deplore our sad condition. Let us hope for a deliverance from his mercy, and wish for restitution in his benevolence. Though we are brought low, though we are wasted, troubled, and terrified; yet his compassion is greater than our calamities, and his goodness superior to our afflictions. Our neighbours hate us at present, as much as our more distant enemies did before: they persecute the remnant of us still remaining, deprive us of our few churches left, banish our preachers, abuse our schoolmasters, treat us with contempt, and oppress us in the most opprobrious manner. In all our afflictions the truth of the gospel shone among us, and gave us comfort; and we only wished for the grace of Jesus Christ, (not only to ourselves, but to soften the hearts of our enemies) and the sympathy of our fellow christians."

*A Full and Particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in POLAND.*

EVERY one knows it hath been the fate of many pious people, in all ages of the world, to bear the cross of Christ, and suffer persecutions on account of their opinions; for those who are born after the flesh have always been enemies to such as are born after the Spirit: accordingly the protestants of Poland were persecuted in a dreadful manner. The ministers in particular were treated with the most unexampled barbarity; some having their tongues cut out, because they had preached the gospel truths; others being deprived of their sight on account of having read the bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces, for not recanting. Several private persons were put to death by various methods; the most cruel being usually preferred. Women were murdered without the least regard to their sex; and the persecutors even went so far as to cut off the heads of sucking babes, and fasten them to the breasts of their unfortunate mothers!!!

Not even the solemnity of the grave exempted the bodies of protestants from the malice of persecutors; for they sacrilegiously dug up the bodies of many eminent persons, and either cut them to pieces, and exposed them to be devoured by birds and beasts, or hung them up in places the most conspicuous and public.

In this persecution the city of Lesna particularly suffered; for being besieged and taken, the inhabitants were all destroyed.

*A Full and Particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in CHINA.*

THREE Italian missionaries, called Roger the Neapolitan, Pafis of Bologna, and Matthew Ricci of Mazerata, in the marquise of Ancona, first established christianity in China. These entered China about the beginning of the sixteenth century, being well circumstanced to perform their important commission with success, as they had previously made the Chinese language their constant study.

The assiduity of these three missionaries in the discharge of their duty was very great; but Roger and Pafis returning to Europe in a few years, the whole labour fell upon Ricci, who aimed to establish christianity with a degree of zeal that was indefatigable.

This man, though much disposed to indulge his converts as far as possible, made great hesitation at their ceremonies, which seemed to amount to idolatry. At length after eighteen years consideration, he began to soften his opinion, and tolerated all the parts of those customs which were ordered by the laws of the empire, but strictly enjoined his Chinese christians to omit the rest.

Such was the condition of christianity in China, when the christian church established there was governed only by Ricci, who, by his moderation, made innumerable converts. In 1630, however, this tranquillity was disturbed by the arrival of some new missionaries: these being unacquainted with the Chinese customs, manners,

and language, and with the arguments on which Ricci's toleration was founded, were astonished when they saw christian converts prostrate before Confucius and the tables of their ancestors, and accordingly condemned the custom.

Now a warm controversy ensued between Ricci, seconded by his converts, and the new missionaries; and the latter wrote an account of the whole affair to the pope, and the society for the propagation of the christian faith. The society soon pronounced, that the ceremonies were idolatrous and intolerable, and the pope confirmed the sentence. In this both the society and the pope were excusable, as the matter had been misrepresented to them; for the enemies of Ricci had affirmed, the halls, in which the ceremonies were performed, to be temples, and the ceremonies themselves the sacrifices of idolatry.

The above-mentioned sentence was sent over to China, but treated with contempt, and matters remained as they were for some time. At length, a true representation of the matter was sent over, setting forth, that the Chinese customs and ceremonies alluded to were entirely free from idolatry, being merely political, and tending only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The pope, finding that he had made himself ridiculous, by confirming an absurd sentence upon a false report, wanted to get rid of the affair, and therefore referred the representation to the inquisition, which reversed the sentence immediately, at the private desire of the pope, as may be naturally conjectured.

However the christian church, for all these divisions, flourished in China till the death of the first Tartar emperor, whose successor was a minor. During this minority of the young emperor Cang-hi, the regents and nobles conspired to extirpate the christian religion. The execution of this design was begun with expedition, and carried on with severity, so that every christian teacher in China, as well as those who professed the faith, were struck with amazement. John Adam Schall, a German ecclesiastic, and one of the principals of the mission, was thrown into a dungeon in the year 1664, but narrowly escaped with his life, being then in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

In 1665, the ensuing year, the ministers of state publicly and unanimously resolved, and made a decree as follows:

1. That the christian doctrines were false.
2. That they were dangerous to the interest of the empire.
3. That they should not be practised under pain of death.

A most furious and general persecution was the result of the publication of this decree, in which some were put to death, many were ruined, and all were, in some manner, oppressed. This decree was general, and the persecution universal accordingly throughout the empire; for, previous to this, the christians had been partially persecuted at different times, and in different provinces.

In four years after, viz. 1669, the young emperor was declared of age, and took the reins of government upon himself, when by his order the persecution immediately ceased.

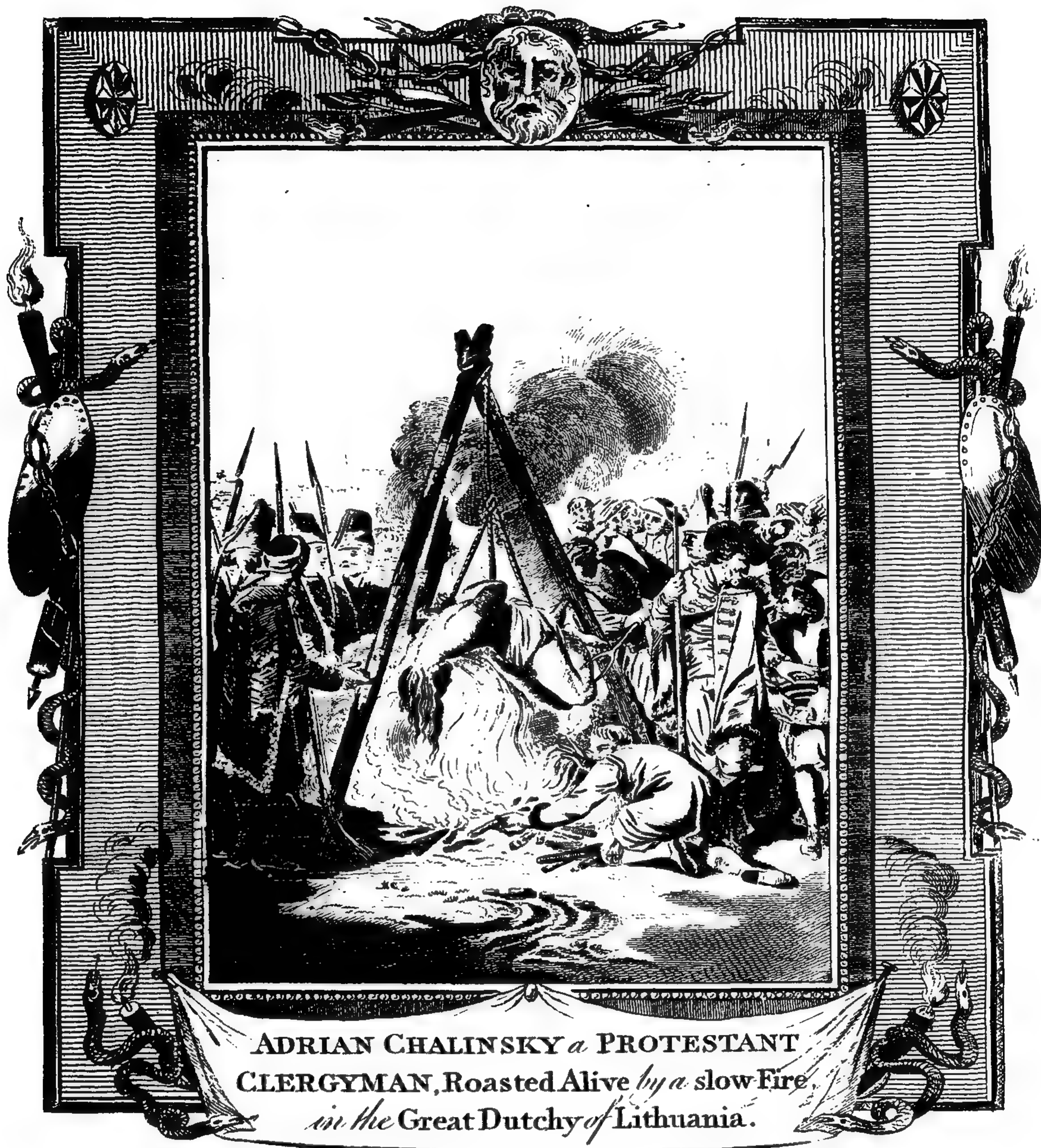
*A Full and Particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS in JAPAN.*

CHRISTIANITY was first introduced into the idolatrous empire of Japan, by some Portuguese missionaries in or about the year of our Lord 1552, and their endeavours in making converts to the light of the gospel met with a degree of success equal to their most sanguine desires.

This good fortune continued till the year 1616, when the missionaries being accused of having concerned themselves in politics, and formed a plan to subvert the government, and dethrone the emperor, great jealousies subsisted till 1622, when the court commenced a dreadful persecution against both foreign and native christians.

Such.







Such was the rage of this persecution, that, during the first four years, no less than 20,570 christians were massacred. The public profession of christianity was prohibited under pain of death, and the churches were shut up by an express order.

Several who were informed against, as privately professing christianity, suffered martyrdom with great heroism. The persecution continued many years, when the remnant of the innumerable christians, with which Japan abounded, to the number of 37,000 souls, retired to the town and castle of Siniabara, in the island of Xinio, where they determined to make a stand, to continue in their faith, and to defend themselves to the very last extremity of all.

Hereupon the Japanese army pursued the christians, and laid siege to the place. The christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held out against the besiegers for the space of three months, but were at length compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered; and christianity, in their martyrdoms, entirely extirpated from Japan.

It was on the 12th of April, 1638, that this event took place, since which period no christians but the Dutch are allowed to land in the empire, and even they are obliged to conduct themselves with the greatest precaution, and to carry on their commerce with the utmost circumspection and care.

#### SUMMARY of the PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS against the CHRISTIANS in ABYSSINIA, or ETHIOPIA.

**A**BOUT the conclusion of the fifteenth century, and soon after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and were indefatigable in propagating the Roman catholic doctrine among the Abyssinians, who professed christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

Now the priests, employed in this mission, gained such influence at court, that the emperor consented to abolish the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome. He soon after consented to receive a patriarch from Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's supremacy.

Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people who professed the primitive christianity, as first established in Abyssinia, opposed these innovations, and took up arms against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome, and its emissaries, a most furious civil war was begun, and the whole empire thrown into commotion. This war was carried on through several reigns, its continuance being above 100 years, and the court constantly siding with the Roman catholics, the primitive christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the most inhuman methods.

#### SUMMARY of the PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS against the CHRISTIANS in TURKEY.

**T**HE great impostor, Mahomet, in the infancy of his new religion, tolerated christianity through a political motive, as he was sensible, that even in those early times it had several powerful espousers among the princes, who were his contemporaries. As a proof that this was his sole view, as soon as he found his doctrine was established on a more permanent situation, he altered his forbearance to a system of the most rigid and barbarous persecution; which diabolical plan he has particularly recommended to his misguided followers, in that part of his Alcoran, intituled, The Chapter of the Sword; and as proofs of the blind zeal his followers have adopted from his infernal tenets, the many bloody battles of the Turks with the whole of the professors of Christ's gospel, and their cruel massacres of them at various periods, sufficiently evince.

No. 79.

In the year 1453, Constantine was besieged in Constantinople, by Mahomet the Second, with an army of 300,000 men, when, after a bloody siege of about six weeks, on the 29th of May, 1453, it fell into the hands of the infidels, after being an imperial christian city for some centuries; and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it, as well as of the adjoining suburb of Pera.

The Turks, on entering Constantinople, exercised on the wretched christians the most unrelenting barbarity, destroying them by every method the most hellish cruelty could invent, or the most unfeeling heart practise: some they roasted alive on spits; others they flayed alive, and in that horrid manner left to expire with hunger: many were sawed asunder, and others torn to pieces by horses. For full three days and nights the Turks were striving to exceed each other in the exercise of their shocking carnage, and savage barbarity; murdering, without distinction of age or sex, all they met, and brutally violating the chastity of women, of every age and distinction.

About the year 1529, Solymán the First retook Buda from the christians, and shewed the most horrible persecution of the inhabitants; some had their eyes torn out, others their hands, ears, and noses cut off, and the children their privities, the virgins were deflowered, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such that were pregnant had their wombs ripped open, and their unborn babes thrown into the flames. Not content with this, he repeated these horrid examples all the way on his march to Vienna, which he ineffectually besieged, during which, this diabolical barbarian, having made a body of christians prisoners, he sent three of them into the city to relate the great strength of his army, and the rest he ordered to be torn limb from limb by wild horses in sight of their christian brethren, who could only lament by their cries and tears the dreadful fate of these poor sufferers.

The tender children were frequently in sight of their wretched parents torn to pieces by beasts, others dragged at horses heels, some famished with hunger, and others buried up to their necks in earth, and in that manner left to perish. In short, were we to relate the innumerable massacres and deplorable tragedies acted by the infidels, the particulars would at least make a volume of themselves, and from their horrid similarity be not only shocking, but disgusting to any reader of sensibility.

#### The several PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS in GEORGIA and MINGRELIA.

**T**HE Inhabitants of Georgia are christians, and being very handsome people, the Turks and Persians persecute them by the most cruel mode of taxation ever invented, viz. in lieu of money, they compel them to deliver up their children for the following motives, viz.

The females to increase the number of concubines in the seraglios; to serve as maids of honour to sultanas, the ladies of bashaws, &c. and to be sold to merchants of different nations, by whom the price is proportioned to the beauty of the purchased fair one.

The males are used as mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, as clerks in the offices of state, and as soldiers in the army.

To the west of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by christians, who are persecuted and oppressed in the same manner as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians, their children being extorted from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the sale.

#### The several PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS in the STATES of BARBARY.

**T**HE christians are treated in Algiers with particular severity; as the Algerines are some of the most perfidious, as well as the most cruel of all the inhabitants



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of Barbary. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some christians are allowed the title of Free Christians; and these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries, but the christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse grey suit, and a seaman's cap.

The following are the various punishments among the Algerines.

1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook.

2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must either turn Mahometans, or be impaled alive.

3. If they turn christians again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, where they hang in a miserable manner several days, and expire in the most exquisite tortures.

4. If they kill a Turk, they are burnt.

5. If ever they attempt to escape from slavery, and are re-taken, they suffer death in the following manner, which is equally singular and brutal: the criminal is hung naked on a high gallows, by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where he is left till death relieves him from his cruel sufferings.

The several other punishments, for trifling crimes committed by the christians, are left to the discretion of the respective judges, who being usually of malicious and vindictive dispositions, decree tortures the most inhuman.

At Tunis, if a christian slave is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he murders his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are together the most considerable of the Barbary states. In this empire christian slaves are treated with the greatest cruelty: the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked, and half starved, and sometimes murdered by the emperor, or their masters, for mere diversion.

#### *Curfory* VIEW of the PERSECUTIONS in SPANISH AMERICA.

THE sanguine tenets of the Roman catholic persuasion, and the cruel disposition of the votaries of that church, cannot be more amply displayed, or truly depicted, than by giving an authentic and simple narrative of the horrid barbarities exercised by the Spaniards on the innocent and unoffending natives of America. Indeed, the barbarities were such, that they would scarce seem credible from their enormity, and the victims so many, that they would startle belief by their numbers, if the facts were not indisputably ascertained, and the circumstances admitted by their own writers, some of whom have even gloried in their inhumanity, and, as Roman catholics, deemed those atrocious actions meritorious, which would make a protestant shudder in reciting.

In 1492, the West-Indies, and the vast continent of America, were discovered by that celebrated navigator Christopher Columbus. This distinguished commander landed first in the large Island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, which was at that time exceedingly populous; but this population was of very little consequence, the

inoffensive inhabitants being murdered by multitudes, as soon as the Spaniards gained a permanent footing in the island. Blind superstition, bloody bigotry, and craving avarice, rendered that, in the course of years, a dismal desert, which, at the arrival of the Spaniards, seemed to appear as an earthly paradise; so that at present there is scarce remaining a remnant of the ancient natives.

The natives of Guatemala, a country of America, were used with great barbarity. They were formerly active and valiant, but from ill-usage and oppression grew slothful, and so dispirited, that they not only trembled at the sight of fire arms, but even at the very looks of a Spaniard. Some were so plunged into despair, that after returning home from labouring hard for their cruel task-masters, and receiving only contemptuous language and stripes for their pains, they have sunk down in their cabins, with a full resolution to prefer death to such slavery; and, in the bitterness of their anguish, having refused all sustenance, thus expired.

The vindictive and merciless Spaniards by repeated barbarities, and the most execrable cruelties, not only depopulated Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahama islands, but in the space of 40 years, destroyed above 12,000,000 of souls upon the continent of America.

Not only innumerable were the cruel methods by which they massacred and butchered the poor natives, but likewise of the most diabolical nature.

Thus the Spaniards stripped a large and very populous town of all its inhabitants, whom they drove to the mines, leaving all the children behind them, without the least idea of providing for their subsistence, by which inhuman proceeding six thousand helpless infants perished for want.

As soon as the people of any town had the reputation of being rich, an order was immediately sent, that every person in it should turn Roman catholics; if this was not directly complied with, the town was instantly plundered, and the inhabitants murdered; and if it was complied with, a pretence was soon after made to strip the inhabitants of their treasure.

One of the Spanish governors having seized upon a very worthy and amiable Indian prince, in order to extort from him where his treasures were concealed, caused his feet to be burnt till the marrow dropped from his bones, and he expired through the extremity of the torments he underwent.

During the interval, i. e. between the years 1514 and 1522, the governor of Terra Firma put to death, and destroyed, 800,000 of the inhabitants of that country.

Also between the years 1523 and 1533, five hundred thousand natives of Nicaragua were transported to Peru, where they all perished by incessant labour in the mines.

During the space of twelve years, from the first landing of Cortez on the continent of America, to the entire reduction of the populous empire of Mexico, the amazing number of 4,000,000 of Mexicans perished, through the unparalleled barbarity of the Spaniards. To come to particulars, the city of Cholula consisted of 30,000 houses, by which its great population may be imagined. The Spaniards seized on all the inhabitants, who refusing to turn Roman catholics, as they did not know the meaning of the religion they were ordered to embrace, the Spaniards put them all to death, cutting to pieces the lower sort of people, and burning those of distinction.

## C H A P. V.

Containing a Copious ACCOUNT of the Several PERSECUTIONS and OPPRESSIONS in GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND.

GILDAS, the most ancient British writer extant, who lived about the time that the Saxons left this island, has drawn a most shocking instance of the barbarity of those people. This author informs us, that

the Saxons, on their arrival, being heathens like the Picts and Scots, destroyed the churches and murdered the clergy wherever they came: but they could not destroy christianity, for those who would not submit to the



the Saxon yoke, went and resided beyond the Severn. Neither have we the names of those christian sufferers transmitted to us, especially those of the clergy.

The massacre of the monks of Bangor, A. D. 586, was the most dreadful instance of barbarity under the Saxon government. These monks were in all respects different from those men who bear the same name at present.

The Danes, a roving crew of barbarians, landed in different parts of Britain, both in England and Scotland, in the 8th century.

They were at first repulsed, but in A. D. 857, a party of them landed somewhere near Southampton, and not only robbed the people, but murdered the clergy, and burnt down the churches.

These barbarians penetrated into the center of England, and took up their quarters at Nottingham in 868; but the English, under their king Ethelfrid, drove them from those posts, and obliged them to retire to Northumberland.

About 870, another body of these barbarians landed in Norfolk, and engaged in battle with the English at Hertford. Victory declared in favour of the pagans, who took Edmund, king of the East Angles, prisoner, and after treating him with a thousand indignities, transfixing his body with arrows, and then beheaded him.

They burnt many of the churches, and among the rest that belonging to the Culdees, at St. Andrew's in Fifeshire, in Scotland. The piety of these men made them objects of abhorrence to the Danes, who, wherever they went, singled out the christian priests for destruction, of whom no less than 200 were massacred in Scotland.

Thus it was in that part of Ireland now called Leinster; there the Danes murdered and burnt the priests alive in their own churches; they carried destruction along with them wherever they went, sparing neither age nor sex, but the clergy were the most obnoxious to them, because they ridiculed their idolatry, and persuaded their people to have nothing to do with them.

About the reign of Edward III. the church of England was extremely corrupted with errors and superstition; and the light of the gospel of Christ was greatly eclipsed and darkened with human inventions, burthensome ceremonies, and gross idolatry.

All the followers of Wickliffe, then called Lollards, were become extremely numerous, and the clergy were vexed to see them increase. Whatever power of influence they might have to molest them in an underhand manner, they had no authority by law to put them to death. However, the clergy embraced the favourable opportunity, and prevailed upon the king to suffer a bill to be brought into parliament, by which all Lollards who remained obstinate, should be delivered over to the civil power, and burnt as heretics. This act was the first in this island for the burning of people for their religious sentiments; it passed in the year 1401, and was soon after put into execution.

William Santree or Sawtree, was the first person who suffered in consequence of this cruel act; he was a priest, and was burnt to death in Smithfield.

A short time after this, lord Cobham, in consequence of his attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe, was accused of heresy, and being condemned to be hanged and burnt, was accordingly executed in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, A. D. 1419.

Thomas Badley, a taylor, and a layman, was the next man who suffered under this bloody statute; and a letter having been tendered to him, which he refused, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and tied to the stake in Smithfield; where he was burnt alive, rejoicing in the Lord his God.

William Thorpe was the next person we read of who was tried upon this abominable statute; he was a man of some knowledge, who adhered to all the doctrines taught by Wickliffe. He was brought many times before archbishop Arundel, and at last committed a close prisoner, where he died, but in what manner cannot now be ascertained.

At this time 36 persons, denominated Lollards, suf-

fered death in St. Giles's, for no other reason than professing their attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe. They were hung on gibbets, and faggots being placed under them, as soon as they were suspended, fire was set to them, so that they were burnt while hanging. Only one of their names has been transmitted to us, which is that of sir Roger Archer, whom they distinguished from the rest by stripping him stark naked, and executing him in that indecent manner.

About the same time one Richard Turning was burned alive in Smithfield, and suffered with all that constancy, fortitude, and resignation, which have so much distinguished the primitive christians.

Abraham, a monk of Colchester, Milburn White, a priest, and John Wade, a priest, were all three apprehended on a charge of heresy, in 1428.

A short time after father Abraham suffered at Colchester, and with him John Whaddon; both of whom died in a constant adherence to the truth of the gospel. Milburn White and John Wade suffered also about the same time in London.

About the year 1430, Richard Ilvedon, a wool-comber, and a citizen of London, was brought before the archbishop, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive on Tower-hill, for no other reason than that he embraced and professed the doctrines of Wickliffe.

About the year 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, who had a living near Malden, in Essex, was brought before the bishop of London, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was condemned and burned alive in Smithfield.

About the year 1439, Richard Wick, a priest, was burned alive on Tower-hill, for preaching the doctrines of Wickliffe.

About 1440, some of the greatest persons in the kingdom were condemned to perpetual imprisonment for heresy, as being Lollards; among whom was the duchess of Gloucester, who had long been a follower of Wickliffe. It was otherwise, however, with Roger Only, a priest, who being condemned as an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive in Smithfield.

One Thomas Granter was apprehended in London, August, 1473; he was accused of professing the doctrines of Wickliffe, for which he was condemned as an obstinate heretic. This pious man being brought to the sheriff's house, on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, desired a little refreshment, and having eat some, he said to the people present, "I eat now a very good meal, for I have a strange conflict to engage with before I go to supper;" and having eaten, he returned thanks to God for the bounties of his all-gracious providence, requesting that he might be instantly led to the place of execution, to bear testimony to the truth of those principles which he had professed. Accordingly he was chained to a stake on Tower-hill, where he was burned alive, professing the truth with his last breath.

Joan Boughton, a lady of considerable rank, was burned in Smithfield for professing the doctrines of Wickliffe, April 28th, 1494. This lady was no less than 80 years of age, and a widow.

The king being at Canterbury, in 1498, a priest was brought before him, accused of heresy, who was immediately ordered to be burnt alive.

About the year 1499, one Babram, a pious man, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, having been accused by some of the priests, with holding the doctrines of Wickliffe. He confessed he did believe every thing that was objected against him. For this, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and a warrant was granted for his execution; accordingly he was brought to the stake at Norwich, where he suffered with great constancy.

One William Tilfery, a pious man, was burned alive at Amersham, in a close called Stoney-prat, in 1506, and at the same time, his daughter, Joan Clarke, a married woman, was obliged to light the faggots that were to burn her father.

Also this year one father Roberts, a priest, was convicted



viſited of being a Lollard before the biſhop of Lincoln, and burnt alive at Buckingham.

One Thomas Norris was burned alive for the testimony of the truth of the goſpel, at Norwich, in 1507. This man was a poor, inoffenſive, harmleſs perſon, but his pariſh prieſt converſing with him one day, conjectured he was a Lollard. In conſequence of this ſuppoſition he gave information to the biſhop, and Norris was apprehended.

One Lawrence Gualle, who had been kept in priſon two years, was burnt alive at Salisbury in 1508, for denying the real preſence in the ſacrament. It appeared, that this man kept a ſhop in Salisbury, and entertained ſome Lollards in his houſe; for which he was informed againſt to the biſhop; but he abode by his firſt testimony, and was condemned to ſuffer as an heretic.

Alſo a pious woman was burnt at Chippen Sudburne, by order of the chancellor, Doctor Whittenham. After ſhe had been conſumed in the flames, and the people were returning home, a bull broke looſe from a butcher, and ſingling out the chancellor from all the reſt of the company, he gored him through the body, and on his horns carried his entrails. This was ſeen by all the people, and it is remarkable, that the animal did not meddle with any other perſon whatever.

William Succling and John Bannifter, who had formerly recanted, returned again to the profeſſion of the faith, and were burned alive in Smithfield, Oct. 18, 1511.

About the year 1517, one John Brown, (who had recanted before in the reign of Henry VII. and bore a faggot round St. Paul's,) was condemned by Dr. Wonhaman, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and burnt alive at Aſhfild. Before he was chained to the ſtake, the archbiſhop Wonhaman, and Yeſter, biſhop of Rochelter, cauſed his feet to be burned in a fire till all the fleſh came off, even to the bones. This was done in order to make him again recant, but he perſiſted in his attachment to the truth till the laſt.

Alſo about this time one Richard Hunn, a merchant taylor of the city of London, was apprehended, having reſuſed to pay the prieſt his fees for the funeral of a child; and being conveyed to the Lollards Tower, in the palace of Lambeth, was there privately murdered by ſome of the ſervants of the archbiſhop.

On September 24, 1518, John Stilincen, who had before recanted, was apprehended, brought before Richard Fitz-James, biſhop of London, and on the 25th of October was condemned as an heretic. He was chained to the ſtake in Smithfield amidſt a vaſt crowd of ſpectators, and ſealed his testimony to the truth with his blood. He declared that he was a Lollard, and that he had always believed the opinions of Wickliſſe; and although he had been weak enough to recant his opinions, yet he was now willing to convince the world that he was ready to die for the truth.

Thomas Mann was burnt in London, in 1519, as was one Robert Celin, a plain honeſt man, for ſpeaking againſt image worſhip and pilgrimages.

Alſo about this time, was executed in Smithfield, in London, James Brewſter, a native of Colcheſter. His ſentiments were the ſame as the reſt of the Lollards, or thoſe who followed the doctrines of Wickliſſe; but notwithstanding the innocence of his life, and the regularity of his manners, he was obliged to ſubmit to papal revenge.

The ſame year, one Chriſtopher, a ſhoemaker, was burned alive at Newbury, in Berkiſhire, for denying thoſe popiſh articles which we have already mentioned. This man had got ſome books in Engliſh, which were ſufficient to render him obnoxious to the Romiſh clergy.

Thomas Bernard was burned alive at Norwich in 1521, for denying the real preſence.

In the beginning of the year 1522, Mr. Wrigſham, a glover; Mr. Langdale, a holer; Thomas Bond, Robert Harchets, and William Archer, ſhoemaker, with Mrs. Smith, a widow, were apprehended on Aſh Wedneſday, and committed to priſon. After examination, the biſhop of Litchfield declared them to be he-

retics, and they were all condemned and burned alive at Coventry.

Robert Silks, who had been condemned in the Biſhop's court as an heretic, made his eſcape out of priſon, but was taken two years afterwards, and brought back to Coventry, where he was burned alive. The ſheriffs always ſeized the goods of the martyrs for their own uſe, ſo that their wives and children were left to ſtarve.

Thomas Harding, who, with his wife, had been accused of hereſy, was brought before the biſhop of Lincoln in 1532, and condemned for denying the real preſence in the ſacrament. He was then chained to a ſtake, erected for the purpoſe, at Cheſham in the Pell, near Botely; and when they had ſet fire to the faggots, one of the ſpectators daſhed out his brains with a billet. The prieſts told the people, that whoever brought faggots to burn heretics would have an indulgence to commit ſins for forty days.

About the latter end of this year, Worham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, apprehended one Hitten, a prieſt, at Maidſtone; and after he had been long tortured in priſon, and ſeveral times examined by the archbiſhop, and Fiſher, biſhop of Rochelter, he was condemned as an heretic, and burned alive before the door of his own pariſh church.

One Thomas Bilney, profeſſor of civil law, at Cambridge, was brought before the biſhop of London, and ſeveral other biſhops, in the Chapter-houſe, Weſtminſter, and being ſeveral times threatened with the ſtake and flames, he was weak enough to recant; but he repented ſeverely afterwards.

On this account he was brought before the biſhops a ſecond time, and condemned to death. Before he went to the ſtake he confeſſed his adherence to thoſe opinions which Luther held; and, when at it, he ſmiled, and ſaid, "I have had many ſtorms in this world, but now my veſſel will ſoon be on ſhore in heaven. He ſtood unmoved in the flames, crying out, "Jeſus, I believe;" and theſe were the laſt words he was heard to utter.

Some few weeks after Bilney had ſuffered, Richard Byfield was caſt into priſon, and endured ſome whipping, for his adherence to the doctrines of Luther: this Mr. Byfield had been ſome time a monk, at Barnes, in Surry, but was converted, by reading Tindal's verſion of the New Teſtament. The ſufferings this man underwent for the truth were ſo great, that it would require a volume to contain them. Sometimes he was ſhut up in a dungeon, where he was almoſt ſuffocated by the offenſive and horrid ſmell of filth and ſtagnated water. At other times he was tied up by the arms, till almoſt all his joints were diſlocated. He was whipped at the poſt ſeveral times, till ſcarce any fleſh was left on his back; and all this was done to make him recant. He was then taken to the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth palace, where he was chained by the neck to the wall, and once every day beaten in the moſt cruel manner by the archbiſhop's ſervants. At laſt he was condemned, degraded, and burnt in Smithfield.

John Tewksbury was the next perſon that ſuffered. This was a plain ſimple man, who had been guilty of no other offence, againſt what was called the holy mother church, than that of reading Tindal's tranſlation of the New Teſtament. At firſt he was weak enough to abjure, but afterwards repented, and acknowledged the truth. For this he was brought before the biſhop of London, who condemned him as an obſtinate heretic. He ſuffered greatly during the time of his imprifonment, ſo that when they brought him out to execution, he was almoſt dead. He was conducted to the ſtake in Smithfield, where he was burned, declaring his utter abhorrence of popery, and profeſſing a firm belief that his cauſe was juſt in the ſight of God.

About this time Valentine Treeſt, and his wife, were apprehended in Yorkſhire, and having been examined by the archbiſhop, were deemed as obſtinate heretics, and burnt.

James Baynham was the next perſon that ſuffered in this reign, a reputable citizen in London, who had married the widow of a gentleman in the Temple. When chained to the ſtake he embraced the faggots, and ſaid, Oh,





*The Burning of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Brabram, in Norfolk.*



*The Martyrdom of Mr. Rich<sup>d</sup> Feuries, a Goldsmith, at Lyons, who after having his Tongue cut out, was burnt alive.*



*The Appearance of a Monstrous Large Owl, SURPRIZES the Pope, and all his Clergy, at the Council of Constance, A.D. 1410.*



*A Representation of Poor Men, who, by order of the Romish Church, are doing Penance, by carrying Straw on their Backs, &c. to keep the Vulgar in Awe.*



"Oh, ye papists, behold! ye look for miracles; here now may you see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in bed; for it is as sweet to me as a bed of roses." Thus he resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

A short time after the death of this martyr, one Traxnel, an inoffensive countryman, was burned alive at Bradford, in Wiltshire; because he would not acknowledge the real presence in the sacrament, nor own the papal supremacy over the consciences of men.

John Frith, a noted martyr, died for the truth, in the year 1553. When he was brought to the stake in Smithfield, he embraced the faggots, and exhorted a young man, named Andrew Hewit, who suffered with him, to trust his soul to that God who had redeemed it. Both these sufferers endured much torment, for the wind blew the flames away from them, so that they were above two hours in agony before they expired.

About the latter end of this year, one Mr. Thomas Bennet, a school-master, was apprehended at Exeter, and being brought before the bishop, refused to recant his opinions, for which he was delivered over to the secular power, and burned alive near that city.

One Collins, a madman, suffered death with his dog in Smithfield, in 1538. The circumstances were as follow: Collins happened to be in church when the priest elevated the host; and Collins, in derision of the sacrifice of the mass, lifted up his dog above his head. For this crime Collins, who ought to have been sent to a madhouse, or whipped at the cart's tail, was brought before the bishop of London; and although he was really mad, yet such was the force of popish power, such the corruption in church and state, that the poor madman, and his dog, were both carried to the stake in Smithfield, where they were burned to ashes, amidst a vast crowd of spectators.

This year also some other persons suffered, of whom we shall take notice in the order they lie before us.

There was one Cowbridge suffered at Oxford; and although he was reputed to be a madman, yet he shewed great signs of piety when he was fastened to the stake, and after the flames were kindled around him.

About the same time one Purderve was put to death, for saying privately to a priest, after he had drank the wine, "He blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice."

Also about the same time was condemned William Letton, a monk of great age, in the county of Suffolk, who was burned at Norwich for speaking against an idol that was carried in procession; and for asserting, that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds.

A short time before the burning of these men, Nicholas Peke was executed at Norwich; and when the fire was lighted, he was so scorched that he was as black as pitch. Dr. Reading standing before him with Dr. Hearne, and Dr. Spragwell, having a long white wand in his hand, struck him upon the right shoulder, and said, Peke, recant, and believe in the sacrament. To this he answered, "I despise thee and it also;" and with great violence he spit blood, occasioned by the anguish of his sufferings. Dr. Reading granted forty days indulgence for the sufferer, in order that he might recant his opinions. But he persisted in his adherence to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies; and he was burned alive, rejoicing that Christ had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake.

On July 28, 1540, or 1541, (for the chronology differs) Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, was brought to a scaffold on Tower-hill, where he was executed with some striking instances of cruelty. He made a short speech to the people, and then meekly resigned himself to the axe.

Certainly this nobleman is ranked among the martyrs with great propriety: for although the accusations preferred against him did not relate to any thing in religion, yet had it not been for his zeal to demolish popery, he might have to the last retained the king's favour. To this may be added, that the papists plotted

his destruction, for he did more towards promoting the reformation, than any man in that age, except the good Dr. Cranmer.

A short time after the execution of Cromwell, Dr. Cuthbert Barnes, Thomas Garnet, and William Jerome, were brought before the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of London, and accused of heresy.

When before the bishop of London, Dr. Barnes was asked whether the saints prayed for us? To this he answered, that he would leave that to God; but (said he) I will pray for you.

These men were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, on the 13th of July, 1541, where they were all chained to one stake; and there suffered death with a constancy that nothing less than a firm faith in Jesus Christ could inspire.

There was one Thomas Sommers, an honest merchant, with three others, was thrown into prison, for reading some of Luther's books; and they were condemned to carry those books to a fire in Cheapside; there they were to throw them into the flames; but Sommers threw his over, for which he was sent back to the Tower, where he was stoned to death.

Horrid persecutions were at this time carried on at Lincoln, under Dr. Longland, the bishop of that diocese. At Buckingham, Thomas Bainard, and James Moreton, the one for reading the Lord's prayer in English, and the other for reading St. James's epistles in English, were both condemned, and burned alive.

Anthony Parsons, a priest, together with two others, were sent to Windsor, to be examined concerning heresy; and several articles were tendered to them to subscribe, which they refused. This was carried on by the bishop of Salisbury, who was the most violent persecutor of any in that age, except Bonner. When they were brought to the stake, Parsons asked for some drink, which being brought him, he drank to his fellow-sufferers, saying, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts to God; for after this sharp breakfast I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. At these words Eastwood, one of the sufferers, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, desiring the Lord above to receive his spirit. Parsons pulled the straw near to him, and then said to the spectators, This is God's armour, and now I am a christian soldier prepared for battle: I look for no mercy but through the merits of Christ; he is my only Saviour, in him do I trust for salvation; and soon after the fires were lighted which burned their bodies, but could not hurt their precious and immortal souls. Their constancy triumphed over cruelty, and their sufferings will be held in everlasting remembrance.

One Saitees, a priest, was, by order of bishop Gardiner, hanged in Southwark, in 1546, without a council process; and all that was alledged against him was, that of reading Tindal's New Testament.

Also this year one Kirby was burned at Ipswich, for the testimony of the truth, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. When this martyr was brought to the stake, he said to one Mr. Wingfield, who attended him, "Ah! Mr. Wingfield, be at my death, and you shall say, there standeth a christian sufferer in the fire."

#### PARTICULARS of a Horrid PLOT, in the REIGN of KING CHARLES II. concerted by the PAPISTS, for Destroying the CITY of LONDON by FIRE.

**P**ROVOKED by revenge, and prompted by the force of superstitious principles, the papists still dedicated their thoughts to every machination their invention could project, to obtain the wished-for purposes, namely, the destruction of the protestants in this island.

At length having failed in several efforts, they be-thought themselves of a scheme for destroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themselves might



might be productive of facilitating their further intentions of extirpating the protestants, and, once more, establishing popery in the English dominions.

Notwithstanding thir scheme, in some measure, took place, yet it was not productive of the consequences they hoped and wished for. A great part of the city was, indeed, destroyed, the melancholy particulars of which we shall copy from the London Gazette, published a few days after :

“ Whitehall, Sept. 8, 1666.

“ ON the second instant, at one o'clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire, at a baker's, in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Gracechurch-street, and downwards to Cannon street to the water-side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

“ The people, in all parts about it, were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unwearied assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

“ By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose it's force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple church, near Holborn-bridge, Pic-corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basinghall-street, by the Postern, at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch-street, near Clothworkers-hall in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

“ On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished. But so as that evening it unhappily burst out again afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder, to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

“ His majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was the greatest, till this morning that he hath sent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance.”

During the progress of this dreadful conflagration, orders were given for pulling down various houses in the Tower of London, in order to preserve the grand magazine of gunpowder in that fortress; to the preservation of which, the violent easterly wind contributed more than the precaution.

Many thousands of citizens, who, by this calamity, were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, destitute of all necessaries, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of huts could be erected for their relief. In order to mitigate the distresses of the people, his majesty ordered a great quantity of naval bread to be distributed among them; and issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates of the city to encourage the bringing of all kinds of provisions.

By the certificate of Jonas Moore and Ralf Gatrix, the surveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared, that this dreadful fire over-ran 373 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 13,200 houses, 89 parish churches, besides chapels; and that only eleven parish churches within the walls were left standing.

To this account may also be added the magnificent buildings of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Custom-house, and Blackwell-hall; many hospitals and libraries, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and a great number of other stately edifices; together with three of the city gates, and the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, the Poultry and Wood-street Compters; the loss of which, by the best calculation, amounted to upwards of ten millions sterling. And notwithstanding all this destruction, yet only six persons lost their lives.

Various were the conjectures of the people on the cause of this singular calamity: at first some imagined it to be casual, but from a train of circumstances, it afterwards appeared to have been done from the malice and horrid contrivances of the papists. Several suspected persons were taken into custody; but no positive proof being produced against them, they were discharged.

Though this diabolical scheme took place, in a great measure, to the wishes of the wicked contrivers, yet, instead of being prejudicial, it was, in the end, productive of the most happy consequences to the metropolis. It certainly, for a time, occasioned the most distinguished distress to the inhabitants, but it afforded an opportunity that never happened before, and, in all human probability, never may again, of restoring the city with more uniformity, conveniency, and wholesomeness, than could be expected in a town of progressive growth. The streets were before narrow, crooked, and incommodious; the houses chiefly of wood, dark, close, and ill-contrived; with several stories projecting beyond each other, as they rose, over the narrow streets. The free circulation of the air was, by these means, obstructed; and the people breathed a stagnant unwholesome element, replete with foul effluvia, sufficient of itself to generate putrid disorders, and disposed to harbour any pestilential taint it might receive. All these inconveniencies were removed, by the streets being made more open, and the buildings principally formed of brick; so that if, either by accident or otherwise, a fire should happen in future, it's progress would be soon stopped, and the direful consequences which generally arise from such circumstances rendered trifling.

Besides the conveniencies already mentioned, the fire of London was certainly productive of an advantage of the most valuable nature, namely, the extirpation of that contagious and destructive distemper the plague, which, but the year before, had brought thousands to their graves. This horrid disease had made great devastation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but, thank God, it's baneful influence has never taken place here since the before-mentioned catastrophe, and there is great reason to suppose that the fire materially contributed to the production of so happy a circumstance.

To perpetuate, however, the remembrance of so singular an occurrence, a monument was erected in that part of the city near which the fire began. It is esteemed the noblest modern column in the world; and may, in some respects, vie with the most celebrated of antiquity, which are consecrated to the names of Trajan and Antoninus.

*A full*



*A full ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTION in SCOTLAND during the REIGN of KING HENRY VIII.*

**P**ATRICK Hamilton was the first person we meet with who suffered in Scotland on the score of religion: he was a gentleman of independent fortune, and descended from a very ancient and honourable family.

When he had acquired a liberal education, being desirous of farther improving himself in useful knowledge, he left Scotland, and went to the university of Wirtenberg, in Germany, in order to finish his studies.

During his residence here, he became intimately acquainted with those eminent lights of the gospel, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon; from whose writings and doctrines he strongly attached himself to the protestant religion.

When the archbishop of St. Andrew's (who was a rigid papist) heard of Mr. Hamilton's proceedings, he caused him to be seized, and being brought before him, after a short examination relative to his religious principles, he committed him a prisoner to the castle, at the same time ordering him to be confined in the most loathsome part of the prison.

Mr. Hamilton the next morning was brought before the bishop, and several others, for examination, when the principal articles exhibited against him were, his publicly disapproving of pilgrimages, purgatory, prayers to saints, for the dead, &c.

Mr. Hamilton acknowledged these articles to be true, in consequence of which he was immediately condemned to be burnt; and that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of any note who were present, and to make the number as considerable as possible, even admitted the subscription of boys who were sons of the nobility.

This bigoted and persecuting prelate was so anxious for the destruction of Mr. Hamilton, that he ordered his sentence to be put in execution on the afternoon of the very day it was pronounced. He was accordingly led to the place appointed for the horrid tragedy, and was attended by a prodigious number of spectators. The greatest part of the multitude would not believe it was intended he should be put to death, but that it was only done to frighten him, and thereby bring him over to embrace the principles of the Romish religion. But they soon found themselves mistaken.

As soon as he arrived at the stake he kneeled down, and, for some time, prayed with great fervency. After this he was fastened to the stake, and the faggots placed round him. A quantity of gunpowder having been fastened under his arms, was first set on fire, which scorched his left hand and one side of his face, but did no material injury, neither did it communicate with the faggots. In consequence of this, more powder and combustible matter was brought, which being set on fire took effect, and the faggots being kindled, he called out, with an audible voice, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?"

The fire burning slow put him to great torment; but he bore it with christian magnanimity. What gave him the greatest pain was, the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who frequently cried, "Turn, thou heretic; call upon our lady; say, *Salve Regina*, &c." To whom he replied, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan." One Campbell, a friar, who was the ringleader, still continuing to interrupt him by opprobrious language; he said to him, "Wicked man, God forgive thee." After which, being prevented from farther speech by the violence of the smoke, and the rapidity of the flames, he resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it. This steadfast believer in Christ suffered martyrdom in the year 1527.

There was one Henry Forest, a young inoffensive Benedictine, who being charged with speaking respectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into prison;

and, in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was sentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was sentenced to be burnt.

A consultation being held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindsay, one of the archbishop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Forest in some cellar; for, said he, the smoke of Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew.

This infamous advice was taken, and the poor victim was rather suffocated than burnt.

David Stratton and Norman Gourlay were the next who fell victims for professing the truth of the gospel.

As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down, and prayed for some time, with great fervency. They then arose, when Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ their time in seeking the true light of the gospel. He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers who attended.

Their sentence was then put into execution, and they cheerfully resigned up their souls to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.—They suffered in the year 1534.

The martyrdoms of the two before-mentioned persons were soon followed by that of Mr. Thomas Forret, who, for a considerable time, had been dean of the Romish church; Killor and Beverage, two blacksmiths; Duncan Simson, a priest; and Robert Forrester, a gentleman. They were all burnt together, on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, the last day of February, 1538.

The year following the martyrdoms of the before-mentioned persons, viz. 1539, two others were apprehended on a suspicion of heresy; namely, Jerom Ruffel, and Alexander Kennedy, a youth about eighteen years of age. These two persons, after being some time confined in prison, were brought before the archbishop for examination. In the course of which, Ruffel, being a very sensible man, reasoned learnedly against his accusers; while they in return made use of very opprobrious language.

When the examination was over, and both of them deemed heretics, the archbishop pronounced the dreadful sentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

They were led the next day to the place appointed for them to suffer; in their way to which, Ruffel, seeing his fellow-sufferer have the appearance of timidity in his countenance, thus addressed him: "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer."

Being arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time; after which, being fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, they cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansions.

In the year 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrew's made a visitation into various parts of his diocese, where several persons were informed against at Perth for heresy. Among these the following were condemned to die, viz. William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Ravelson, and Helen Stark.

The following were the accusations laid against these respective persons, viz.

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of Sir Francis, nailing rams horns on his head, and fastening a cow's tail to his rump; but the principal matter



matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themselves with a goose on a fast day.

Also James Raveleson was accused of having ornamented his house with the three crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's cap.

Also Helen Stark was accused of not having accustomed herself to pray to the virgin Mary, more especially during the time she was in child-bed.

They were all found guilty on these respective accusations, and immediately received sentence of death; the four men for eating the goose to be hanged; James Raveleson to be burnt; and the woman, with her sucking infant, to be put into a sack, and drowned.

The four men, with the woman and child, suffered at the same time; but James Raveleson was not executed till some days after.

Many others, besides the above-mentioned persons, were cruelly persecuted, some being banished, and others confined in loathsome dungeons. Among whom were Mr. John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformist; and John Rogers, a pious and learned man, who was murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which a report was spread, that he had met with his death by attempting to make his escape.

*A full ACCOUNT of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, and DEATH, of Mr. GEORGE WISHART, who was strangled, and afterwards burned, in SCOTLAND, for professing the TRUTH of the GOSPEL.*

**T**HIS gentleman was born in Scotland, and after receiving a grammatical education at a private school, he left that place, and finished his studies at the university of Cambridge.

For the sake of improving himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various parts abroad, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity.

Having been some time abroad he returned to England, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having taken up his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Now being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and on his arrival in Scotland he first preached at Montrose, and afterwards at Dundee. In this last place he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans, which he went through with such grace and freedom, as greatly alarmed the papists.

One Robert Miln, in consequence of this, (at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrew's) a principal man of Dundee, went to the church where Wishart preached, and in the middle of his discourse publicly told him not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it.

Such a sudden rebuff greatly surprized Wishart, who, after a short pause, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and the audience, said, "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me than it is to yourselves: but I am assured, to refuse God's words, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now you yourselves refuse me; and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth: but if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, he will

visit you with fire and sword." At the close of this speech he left the pulpit, and retired.

He went after this into the west of Scotland, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many.

Some short time after this Mr. Wishart received intelligence, that the plague was broke out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that it was almost beyond credit how many died in the space of 24 hours. This being related to him, he, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, determined to go there, saying, "They are now in troubles, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed."

Now he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the east-gate for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. He took his text from these words, He sent his word, and healed them, &c. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them.

The plague soon after abated; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

Having taken his leave of the people of Dundee, he said, "That God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place."

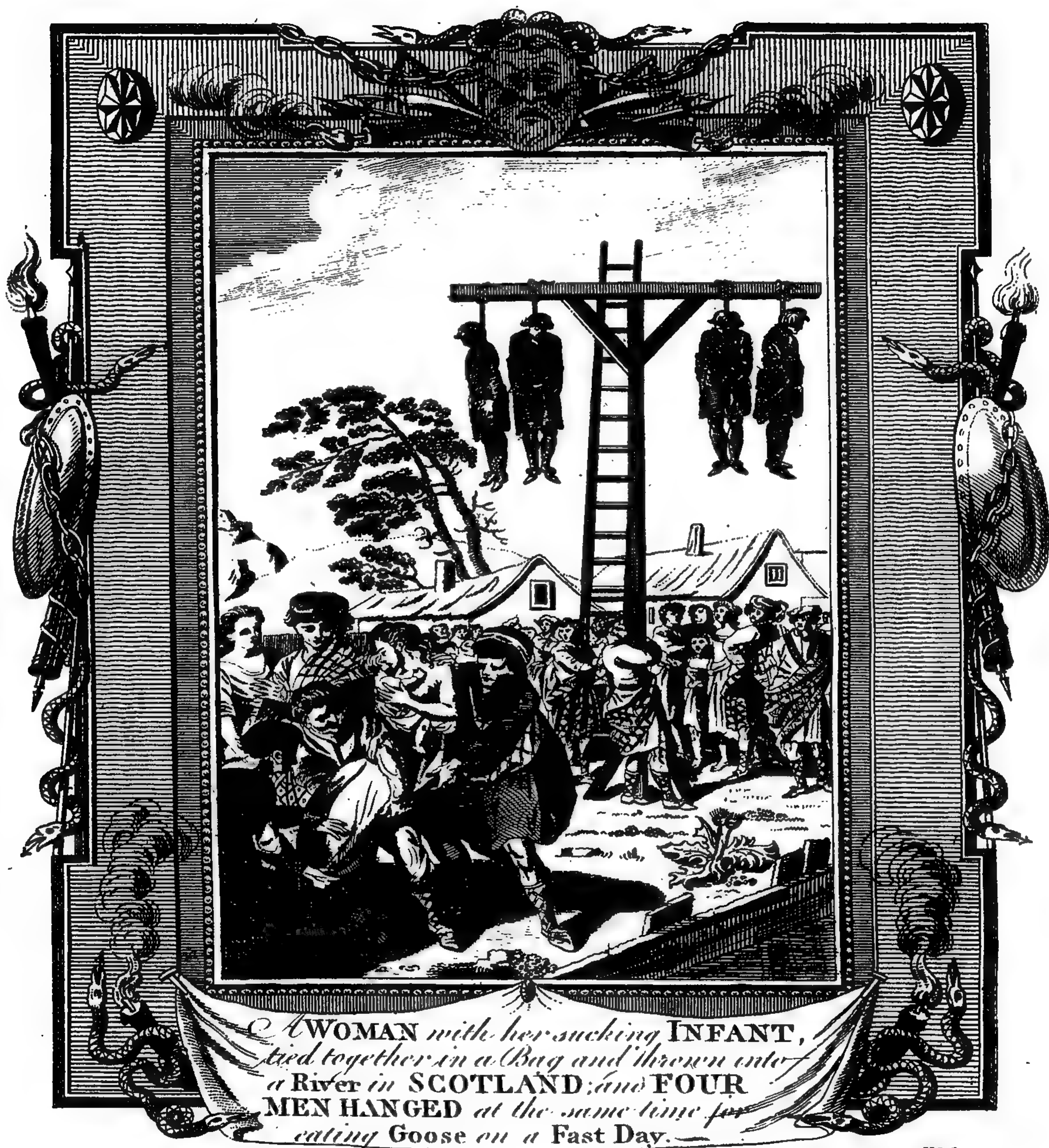
From thence he went to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer.

Some say, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people, cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: one day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart having a sharp, piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" and immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force;" and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whatsoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching more heedfulness for the time to come." By this conduct he appeased the people, and saved the life of the wicked priest.

Shortly after his return to Montrose, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinrier, in which he was desired with all possible speed to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time the cardinal had provided sixty men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some honest men, his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some





*A WOMAN with her sucking INFANT,  
tied together in a Bag and thrown into  
a River in SCOTLAND; and FOUR  
MEN HANGED at the same time for  
eating Goose on a Fast Day.*



some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the discovery; and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart: whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

Some short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him.

While in the yard, he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency: after which he arose, and returned to his bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures."

Upon this he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot."

Some short time after, cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, being informed that Mr. Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East-Lothian, he applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended; with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied.

The cardinal, in consequence of this, immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than 18 articles were exhibited. Mr. Wishart answered the respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most of those who were present.

The examination being finished, the archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wishart to recant; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

On the morning of his execution there came to him two friars from the cardinal; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

When he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope round his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

Having thus said, he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them, that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then he was fastened to the stake, and the faggots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoke.

The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the cardinal) shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease." Which prediction was soon after fulfilled. The executioner then pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, so that he was soon strangled; and the fire getting strength, burnt with such rapidity that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

One Adam Wallace was the next person who fell a martyr to popish bigotry; he was of Winton, in East-

Lothian, and having obtained a true knowledge of the gospel of Christ, spent the greater part of his time in endeavouring to propagate it among his fellow-creatures.

This gentleman's conduct being noticed by some bigoted papists, an information was laid against him for heresy, on which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

When examined, sentence of death was passed upon him as an heretic; and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power, in order for execution.

In the evening of the same day, Wallace was visited by several Romish priests, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he stood so steadfast in the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in vindication of the true gospel, that they left him with some wrath, saying, "He was too abandoned to receive any impression."

He was conducted the next morning to the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he cheerfully resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in full assurance of receiving a crown of glory in the heavenly mansions.

One Walter Mill was the last who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ; he was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This person, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was installed a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of heresy, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abscond. But he was soon apprehended, and committed to prison.

When interrogated by sir Andrew Oliphant, whether he would recant his opinions, he answered in the negative, saying, He would sooner forfeit ten thousand lives, than relinquish a particle of those heavenly principles he had received from the suffrages of his blessed Redeemer.

Sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, in consequence of this, and he was conducted to prison in order for execution the following day.

This steadfast believer in Christ was 82 years of age, and exceeding infirm; from whence it was supposed, that he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he addressed the spectators as follows:

"The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer up to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of antichrist: but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." And then added, "That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account."

In this manner this pious christian cheerfully gave up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ's gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

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*A Full ACCOUNT of the PERSECUTIONS against the PROTESTANTS in IRELAND, distinguished by the Name of THE IRISH MASSACRE.*

NOTwithstanding the various attempts made by the Irish against the English usually go under the denomination of rebellion, yet they more properly deserve the epithet persecution, as all their destructive efforts were particularly levelled at the protestants only, whom they were determined, if possible, totally to extirpate from the kingdom. They had, indeed, hitherto mis-carried; but they at length hit upon a project that succeeded



ceded to their wishes, and produced a catastrophe that will remain in characters of blood to the latest posterity.

That the Romish clergy of Ireland were the principal fomenters of the rebellions in that kingdom, already mentioned, is particularly evident from their treacherous and disloyal behaviour under queen Elizabeth and king James I. they continually urging to the people the lawfulness of killing all protestants, who supported the right of the crown of England to Ireland; and assuring them, that all papists, who should die fighting against the protestants, would go immediately to heaven.

These Irish ecclesiastics, under Charles I. were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason, in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbidden.

Notwithstanding all this, soon after the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and, from thence, used to pass, to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorrain, and Rome; where the detestable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals, and their followers.

Some short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the papists of Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the protestants; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The chief design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom; and that all the protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre was, the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the jesuits; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended conflict.

That this detested scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were artfully practised by the papists; and their behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shewn, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection appeared.

Now the day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which most signal service the English parliament voted him 500l. and a pension of 200l. during his life.

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprized, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a proper posture of defence. The lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city: and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the

destruction and extirpation of the protestants in that part of the kingdom.

The metropolis was thus happily preserved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelly derived from no cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost licence, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcases of defenceless children of the English.

Neither was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments.

All the commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames, together with their wives and children.

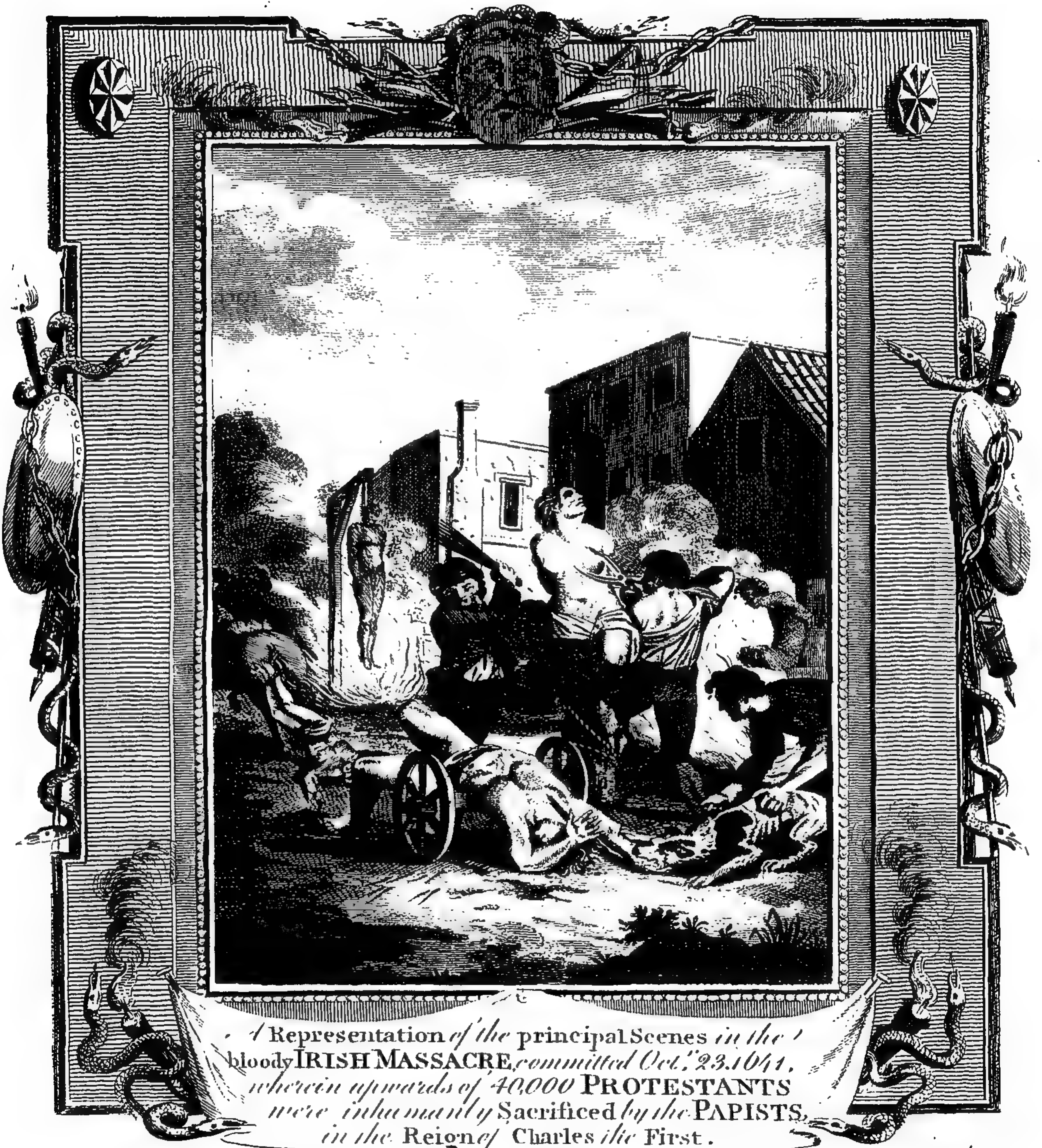
So great is the general description of this unparalleled massacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner begun to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard-of nature.

The vain and ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people, that the protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

When the papists besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were protestants, surrendered on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English protestant minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some





*A Representation of the principal Scenes in the  
bloody IRISH MASSACRE, committed Oct. 23. 1641,  
wherein upwards of 40,000 PROTESTANTS  
were inhumanly Sacrificed by the PAPISTS,  
in the Reigne of Charles the First.*



some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

In like manner the garrison at Sligo was treated by O'Connor Slygah; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Curlew mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome gaol, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those protestants who survived were brought forth by the White-friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of White-friars went some time after, in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river; on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this very time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, bishop of that see, had charitably settled and supported a great number of distressed protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his episcopal residence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swiney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then seized on all the goods and effects belonging to the persecuted bishop.

Immediately after this the papists forced Dr. Bedell, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greatest part of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the season was cold, (it being in the month of December) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

In this situation they continued till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop was courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself and his sorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

At this time he was in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642.

Now his friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained; he, at first, telling them, that the churchyard was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with heretics: however, leave was at last granted, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the Irish papists) yet some of the better sort, who had the highest veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*: that is, "May the last of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as

he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

Very extensive was his learning, and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the papists having destroyed most of his papers, and his library.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of scripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emanuel-College, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above 40 English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning in the sea. These chusing the latter, were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah not less than 100 were all put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Several others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by daemons instead of men.

There were some of them laid with the center of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Several were fastened to horses tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Many were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some in particular were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to the waists, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

So great was the savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offsprings were taken from them, and thrown to dogs and swine. And to increase the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator before he suffered himself.

They hanged above 100 Scottish protestants at the town of Liffenskeath, shewing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded 1000l. of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacring at least 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were driven,



driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

At the same part of the country, at least four thousand persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike a farther terror on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

At one place one hundred and forty English, after being driven for many miles stark naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors, that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable existence.

They took other companies under pretence of safe-conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the treacherous papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

About one hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbel, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together.

They massacred forty-eight families in Killoman, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

The inhabitants in Kilmore, which consisted of about two hundred families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of them sat in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they put them to death. The whole country was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths, that rage and malice could invent.

These bloody villains shewed so much favour to some as to dispatch them immediately; but they would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

They put all the protestants at Casel into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together, for several weeks, in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

They murdered nine hundred and fifty-four protestants in the county of Antrim in one morning; and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county.

They forced twenty-four protestants into a house, at a town called Lisnegary, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an English woman, and dashed out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

All the protestants in Kilkenny, without exception, were put to death; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

An English woman they beat with such savage bar-

barity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and after ripping up it's belly, threw it to it's mother, there to languish till it perished.

One man they forced to go to mass, after which they ripped open his body, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having dashed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it.

Having committed these, and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven protestants, and among them that of a pious minister, all which they fixed up at the market cross. They put a gag into the minister's mouth, then slit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered, and exposed the unhappy protestants.

Impossible is it to conceive the pleasure these monsters took in exercising their cruelty; and to increase the misery of those who fell into their hands, when they butchered them they would say, "Your soul to the devil."

One of these miscreants would come into a house with his hands imbrued in blood, and boast that it was English blood, and that his sword had pricked the white skins of the protestants, even to the hilt.

As soon as any one of them had killed a protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after which they left it exposed to be devoured by dogs; and when they had slain a number of them they would boast, that the devil was beholden to them for sending so many souls to hell.

It is no wonder that they should thus treat the innocent christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God, and his most holy word.

They burnt two protestant bibles in one place, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and bibles belonging to it. They took other bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the face of the protestants, saying, "We know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this."

Many of the protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner, telling them, at the same time, "That if they came to-morrow, they should hear the like sermon."

They put to death several ministers in Munster, in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and darts till he fell down, and expired.

In some places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the protestants, and in that manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miserable existence.

Many young men they also obliged to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned; wives to assist in hanging their husbands; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

They compelled a young man in one place to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged the son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glasflow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on forty protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no sooner done this, than they told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world, which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

Upwards of thirty protestants, men, women, and children, in the county of Tipperary, fell into the hands



hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other instruments.

In the county of Mayo about sixty protestants, fifteen of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burke and his soldiers; but that inhuman monster by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, some of whom they stabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and several were drowned.

Great numbers of protestants in Queen's county were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were placed together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.

Several were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired in the greatest torture.

Several were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles; and left till they perished in that wretched posture.

Some were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung strait. In this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

Seventeen men were buried alive at Clownes; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and their bodies afterwards thrown into a ditch.

Many were hung by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, in which postures they left them till they expired.

Others were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Some, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of it's mother's head, and in that manner finished it's short but miserable existence.

No less than three hundred protestants were drowned in one day in the county of Tyrone; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwise put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This person, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish papists owned to him, that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, 12,000 protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

The river Bann being not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand into the river, where they miserably perished.

The cathedral of Armagh did not escape the fury of these barbarians, it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Colerain; when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them all.

Similar barbarities were practised on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand.

No. 80.

But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

Now these desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities as perhaps not to be equalled) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege, notwithstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful protestant citizens under sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retreat.

During this time ten thousand troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided in the most capital parts of the kingdom, happily eclipsed the power of the Irish savages; and the protestants, for a time, lived happy and unmolested.

However in the reign of king James II. they were again interrupted, for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 1689, great numbers of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treason. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the resolution and uncommon bravery of the garrisons of the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniskillin, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to king James, and to the furious popish party that governed him.

On the 18th of April, 1689, the remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened by twenty thousand papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw undisciplined protestants, who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of lord Mountjoy's disciplined soldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only seven thousand three hundred and sixty one fighting men.

At first the besieged hoped, that their stores of corn, and other necessaries, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege their wants increased; and these became at last so heavy, that for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonfuls of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities, that they eat dogs, cats, and mice.

While their miseries increased with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets. And it is remarkable, that when their long expected succours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

Most happily these succours were brought by the ship Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phoenix, of Colerain, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of war, their seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one fighting men were reduced to four thousand three hundred, one-fourth part of whom were rendered unfit for service.

10 X

As



As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country thirty miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

The succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months before.

The very day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskilliners engaged a body of six thousand Irish Roman catholics, at Newton Butler, or Crown-Castle, of whom near five thousand were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, dispirited the papists, and they gave up all farther attempts to persecute the protestants.

In the following year, viz. 1690, the Irish took up arms in favour of the abdicated prince, king James II. but they were totally defeated by his successor king William the Third. That monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they have ever since continued; and it is to be hoped will so remain as long as time shall continue.

In the year 1731, by a report made in Ireland, it appeared, that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into that kingdom; that several convents had been opened by jesuits, monks, and friars; that many new and pompous mass-houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral Romish priests

had appeared, that the very papists themselves considered them as an unnecessary load.

Notwithstanding all this, the protestant interest at present stands upon a much stronger basis than it did a century ago. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains; and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they who in the morning seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil, have, for many years past, become quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of English society, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities, and are employed in our manufactures. They are received also into English families; and are treated by the protestants with great humanity.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing; and most of the ancient popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romish religion and superstition.

It is also to be hoped, that inestimable benefits will arise from the establishment of protestant schools in various parts of the kingdom, in which the children of the Roman catholics are instructed in religion and reading, whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled from their eyes, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that country.

For the sake of preserving the protestant interest in Ireland upon a solid basis, it behoves all in whom that power is invested, to discharge it with the strictest assiduity and attention; for should it once again lose ground, there is no doubt but the papists would take those advantages they have hitherto done, and thousands might yet fall victims to their malicious bigotry.

## MEMOIRS of Mr. JOHN FOX, the original AUTHOR of this COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

**T**HIS ingenious author was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1517; the very year, when Luther, in Germany, began the reformation.

Mr. Fox's father died when he was very young; and, his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law; with whom he dwelt, till the age of sixteen, at which time he was entered of Brasen-Nose college, Oxford; and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr. Alexander Nowel, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Fox plied his academical studies, with equal assiduity, improvement, and applause. In 1538, he took the degree of bachelor in arts; and that of master, in 1543. The same year, he was elected fellow of Magdalen college.

Upon his first removal to the university, and for some time after, he was strongly attached to the heresies and superstitions of popery. To his zeal for these, he added a life strictly regular and moral. His indefatigable and profound researches into ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the primitive fathers; and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the holy scripture, in its original languages, became the means of convincing him, to what an immense distance the Romish church has departed from the faith, practice, and spirit, of christianity.

With the intent to make himself yet a more competent judge of the controversies then in debate between protestants and papists, he searched with indefatigable assiduity into the ancient and modern history of the church. And with such zeal and industry did Mr. Fox apply himself to these inquiries, that, before he was 30 years of age, he had read over all the Greek and all the Latin fathers; all the scholastic writers; together with the acts of all the councils; and, moreover, made himself master of the Hebrew language. But from this strict and severe application, by night as well as by day;

from forsaking his old popish friends, and courting the most sequestered retirement; from the dubious and hesitating manner, in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he spoke of religious subjects; and, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the church, which he had, before, been remarkable for strictly and constantly frequenting; arose the first surmises of his being alienated from the reigning superstitions, and infected with (what the bigoted Romanists termed) the "new heresies."

Thus, we find the humble and benevolent Mr. Fox was not without his enemies; yet through grace, he determined to venture the loss of all things, for Christ's sake: in consequence of which, he openly professed the gospel, and was publicly accused of heresy. His college passed judgment on him, as an heretic convicted; and, he saw himself expelled from the university in a short time after.

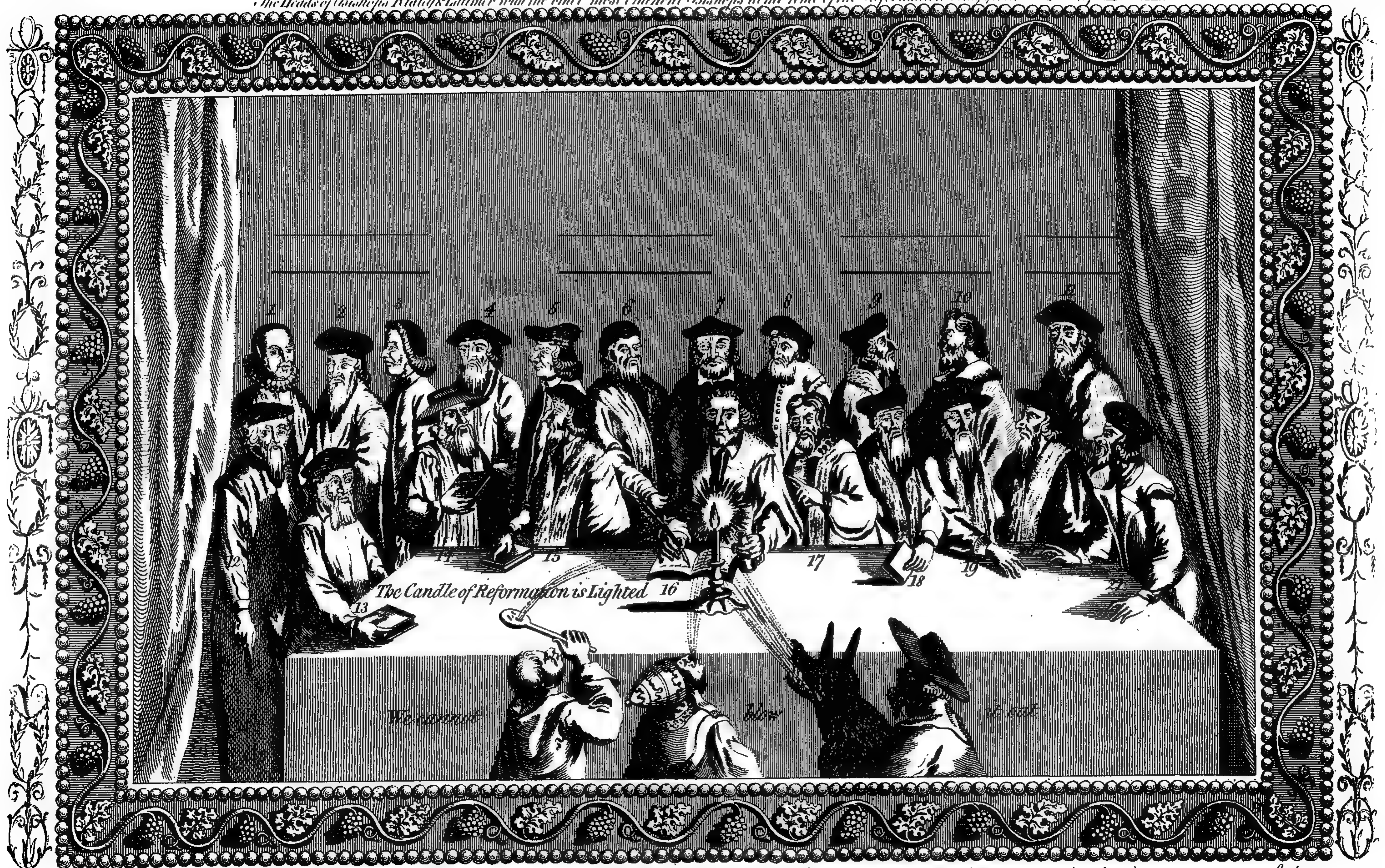
This gentleman's troubles sat the heavier on him, as they lost him the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to assist and protect a person condemned for a capital offence. His father-in-law, particularly, seized this opportunity to withhold from Mr. Fox the estate which his own father had left him; thinking, that he, who stood in danger of the law himself, would with difficulty find relief by legal means.

Thus forsaken and oppressed, Mr. Fox was reduced to great straits; when God raised him up an unexpected patron in sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire; who received him into his house, and made him tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter, of Coventry; and continued in sir Thomas's family, till his pupils were grown up: after which, he, with some difficulty, procured entertainment with his wife's father, at Coventry; from whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII. he removed to London.

Being,



1 Perkins. 2 Prague. 3 Bucer. 4 Martyr. 5 Zuinglius. 6 Knox. 7 Zanchi. 8 Bullinger. 9 Oecampadius. 10 Buxtorf. 11 Beltr. 12 Arminius. 13 Wickliff. 14 Beza. 15 Calvin. 16 Luther. 17 Melancthon. 18 Aquinas. 19 Molern. 20 Grotius. 21 Hus.  
*The Heads of Bishops Ridley & Latimer with the other most eminent Bishops at the time of the Reformation being given in N<sup>o</sup> 2. of this Work.*



*The Portraits of the Principal PRIMITIVE REFORMERS, of Various Countries, to whom (unver GOD) we are indebted for the glorious Light of the  
 PROTESTANT RELIGION with emblematical Allusions to the vain attempts of the Pope, the Fryer, & the Devil to blow out or extinguish the pure light of the  
 Gospel*



Being, for a considerable time after his arrival in the capital without employment or preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. But the Lord's good providence relieved him, at length in the following extraordinary manner. As he was sitting one day in St. Paul's church, his eyes hollow, his countenance wan and pale, and his whole body emaciated (or, rather, within a little of being literally starved to death); a person whom he never remembered to have seen before, came and sat down by him; and, accosting him familiarly, put a respectable sum of money into his hand, saying, Be of good comfort, Mr. Fox; take care of yourself, and use all means to preserve your life; for depend upon it, God will, in a few days, give you a better prospect, and more certain means of subsistence. He, afterwards, used his utmost endeavours to find out the person, by whose bounty he had been so seasonably relieved; but he was never able to gain any discovery. However, the prediction was fulfilled; for, within three days from that memorable incident, he was taken into the duchess of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the earl of Surrey's children, who (on the imprisonment of the earl, and of his father the duke of Norfolk, in the tower) were committed for education to the care of the duchess.

With this female, Mr. Fox lived at Ryegate, in Surrey, during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the five years reign of king Edward VI. and part of queen Mary's. Gardiner, the bloody bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese this good man so long lived, would have soon brought him to the shambles, had he not been protected by one of his noble pupils, then duke of Norfolk. Gardiner always hated Mr. Fox (who, it is said, was the first person that ventured to preach the gospel at Ryegate); and saw, with deep concern, the heir of one of the noblest families in the kingdom, trained up in attachment to protestantism, under Mr. Fox's influence. The prelate, therefore, formed various designs against the safety of the latter; and sought, by many artifices and stratagems, to work his ruin. The holy man who was no less suspicious of the bishop, than the bishop was of him, found himself obliged in prudence (though much against the duke's inclination, who loved and revered him as a father) to quit his native land, and seek shelter abroad. His grace of Norfolk, perceiving that no arguments nor intreaties could induce his honoured tutor to remain in England, took care to provide him with every accommodation requisite for his voyage. Mr. Fox, accordingly, set sail from Ipswich haven, accompanied by his wife, who was then pregnant, and by several other persons who were leaving their country on a religious account. The vessel had not been very long at sea, before a storm arose; which, the next day, drove them back into the port from whence they had set out. Having, with great difficulty and danger reached the land, Mr. Fox was saluted with indubitable information, that bishop Gardner had issued a warrant for apprehending him, and was causing the most diligent search to be made after him. On this, he made interest with the master of the ship to put to sea again, without delay; though at evident hazard of their lives, as the tempest had not yet subsided. Through God's goodness, however, they all arrived, in two days, at Nieuport in Flanders; from whence Mr. Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp, and Frankfort; and so to Basil, in Switzerland, whither great numbers of the English resorted in those times of domestic persecution and troubles.

About this time the city of Basil was one of the most famous in Europe, for printing; and many of the learned refugees, who retired thither, got their subsistence by revising and correcting the press. To this employment Mr. Fox betook himself; and it was here, that he laid the first plan of his inestimable history and martyrology, intitled, "Acts and Monuments of the Church."

In the month of November, 1558, the bloody Queen Mary died, and, the day before she died in Eng-

land, Mr. Fox, in a sermon then preached by him at Basil, publicly and positively predicted, that the day then next ensuing would be the last of her life. An event so circumstantially foretold, by one at such a distance from the place of Mary's residence, and so punctually accomplished, by the hand of Divine Providence, could only be made known to the predictor, by revelation from the Almighty.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne, encouraged Mr. Fox to return home: where, on his arrival, he found a faithful and serviceable friend, in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk; who hospitably and nobly entertained him, at his manor of Christ-Church, in London, till his [i. e. till the duke's] death: from which latter period, Mr. Fox inherited a pension, bequeathed to him by his deceased benefactor, and ratified by his son the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her secretary of state, the great Cecil; her majesty gave him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury; which was, in a manner, forced upon him; for he brought himself with difficulty to accept of it. Dr. Fuller tells us, that archbishop Parker summoned him to subscribe; in hope, "that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity." But, instead of complying with the command, Mr. Fox pulled out of his pocket the New Testament in Greek; and, holding it up, said, To this will I subscribe. And, when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused; saying, I have nothing in the church, but a prebend at Salisbury; and if you take it away from me, much good may it do you. He was however permitted till his death to retain it.

Mr. Fox, on his re-settlement here, set himself to revise and enlarge his admirable Martyrology. With prodigious pains, and constant study, he finished that celebrated work in 11 years. For the sake of greater correctness, he never employed any amanuensis; but wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and searched and transcribed all the records and papers himself. But, by such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or recreations which nature required; his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations, as only conversed with him occasionally, could not recollect him at sight. Yet, though he grew daily more lean, withered, and exhausted; his hard studies went on as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours.—The papists, foreseeing how extremely detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, exerted their whole art and strength, to lessen the reputation of his work. This malice of theirs was of signal service, both to Mr. Fox himself, and to the church of God at large: as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most exact and scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from whence he drew his informations and accounts.

Thus having long served both the church and the world by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a beneficent, useful, and holy life, he comfortably resigned his soul to Christ, on the 18th. of April, 1587. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; of which parish he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for some time, vicar.

The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure; and so fully persuaded was he, that the time was just at hand, when he should quit the body, that (probably, to enjoy unmolested communion with God, and to have no wordly interruptions in his last hours) he purposely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness; and, before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, was flown to heaven.



# DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDERS

OF

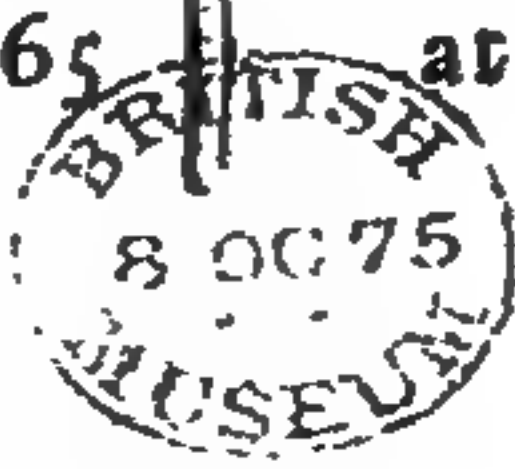
## FOX'S ORIGINAL and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

AN ENTIRE NEW EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED.

Embellished with an Entire New Arrangement of Copper-Plates, which must be placed as follow :



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TO PART I.

**CONTAINING**

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